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THE
BIBLICAL REPERTORY
AND
PRINCETON REVIEW
FOR THE YEAR
1854.

VOL. XXVI.

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THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.
JANUARY, 1854.

No. I.

ART. I.—*Recent Commentaries on the Song of Solomon.*

Das Hohelied untersucht und ausgelegt, von Franz Delitzsch, Dr. u. ord. Prof. d. Theologie zu Erlangen u. s. w. 1851. 8vo. pp. 237.

Das Hohelied von Salomo, uebersetzt und erklärt, von Heinrich August Hahn, Dr. Phil. Lic. Theologie und ausserordentlichcm Professor der letzteren an der König. Universität zu Greifswalden, u. s. w. 1852. 16mo. pp. 98.

Das Hohelied Salomonis ausgelegt, von E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. und Prof. d. Theologie zu Berlin. 1853. 8vo. pp. 264.

The Song of Solomon, Compared with other parts of Scripture. Second Edition. London, 1852. 16mo. pp. 230.

A Commentary on the Song of Solomon, by the Rev. Geo. Burrowes, Prof. in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1853. 12mo. pp. 527.

IT is remarkable that such a number of Commentaries upon this brief and difficult book should have appeared within so short a period, and in places so remote from each other. This circumstance, if it be not purely casual, resulting from the accidental direction of the studies of the individuals whose productions we have before us, would seem to indicate an extensive leaning in the church at present towards the study of the Can-

ticles. This might either arise from a felt appropriateness of its lessons to existing necessities, or it might mark a struggle after, if not an advance towards its more perfect interpretation. If we may take these volumes as indicating not only the fact of an increased attention to this portion of Scripture, but the grounds from which it has sprung, we would say that the latter of the reasons suggested above predominated in Germany, the former in England and America. The German expositions originated in the conflict of opposing systems of interpretation, and seek to mediate between them, whether successfully or not, by clearing up what has hitherto been obscure, by resolving unexplained difficulties, and by assigning with greater precision and definiteness the place of the book in the general scheme of Old Testament revelation. The American and English, on the other hand, have had it chiefly in view to elucidate and to unfold what is herein contained, for the practical uses of the people of God, for the strengthening of their faith and the increase of their love. In our remarks upon these publications we shall find it most convenient to group them according to this difference in their character and objects.

The three German commentators are men of note and of ability, and fortunately of thoroughly evangelical sentiments. They all belong to the school of strict Lutherans, and are as fair exponents as could be selected of the views and tendencies of the best class of biblical scholars upon the continent. They seem too, in the present instance, to have been actuated by a singular unanimity of motive, notwithstanding the great diversity of method pursued and of results attained. Each of them prefaces his publication by informing us that the occasion of it was the new light which he had just received, or fancied he had received, upon the general meaning and structure of Solomon's Song, and which he hastened to lay before the world. Delitzsch tells us that, in the course of his lectures upon the History of the Old Testament, he came upon this Song at the close of the summer semester of 1849. He was compelled to break off, for he did not understand it. He devoted to the subject long and earnest thought, and was at length rewarded by a solution of the mystery: and we have here without essential alteration, the lectures which he delivered to his classes the following winter.

Hahn makes a similar confession of long continued doubts and uncertainty, finally cleared up by a more thorough comprehension of the doctrine of a Messiah. Hengstenberg had for many years cherished the purpose of writing upon this book. Indeed so long ago as 1828 he had projected a commentary upon it, and made some preliminary preparations to that end. It was laid aside, however, in consequence of the difficulties of the task, to which he did not at that time feel himself adequate. He comes to it now with the experience of many years as an interpreter, and with the results gathered from those fields of scriptural inquiry which his previous studies have led him to explore. The question whether he should first address himself to the Song of Solomon, or to the preparation of a second edition of his Christology, which he has for some time had in contemplation, was decided by the appearance of the book of Delitzsch, containing as it did views at variance with those held for ages in the church, and which he felt called upon to controvert by a fresh modification of old opinions.

Delitzsch, Hahn, and Hengstenberg are united of course in maintaining the canonicity of this book, its unity, its integrity, and its composition by Solomon: beyond this there is scarcely a point on which they do not diverge. We only state what our readers would probably take for granted beforehand, when we say that the unity, integrity, and genuineness of this book have been assailed in Germany. The state of religious opinion in that country during the past century, and the prevalent taste for a destructive criticism make it almost impossible for it to be otherwise. And if the Song of Solomon had been exempted from attack, it would have enjoyed this immunity alone. The ease with which the methods of an unsparing criticism admit of application to the best accredited remains, whether of sacred or of profane antiquity, and the extravagant and incredible results to which they lead, are among the proofs of its worthlessness and failure. In fact, with their novelty these processes have lost most of their terrors. They have long since ceased not only to alarm, but even in their stale insipidity to interest and amuse. It is not probable that the world will be persuaded by them that either the Iliad of Homer or the Song of Solomon is a con-

glomerate of heterogeneous fragments compacted together, but having no original nor proper connection.

Magnus, of the Royal Frederick Gymnasium at Breslau,* has gone to as great a length as any in chipping up this part of Scripture into bits, and he may be taken with his conclusions, as a sufficient specimen of the whole class to which he belongs. Upon the first page of his Introduction, he blazons his discovery that the Song of Solomon is made up of no less than five descriptions of constituents. These are—1. Fourteen complete sonnets; 2. Eight fragments, which, with one exception, are capable of being again united into three complete sonnets; thus making, in all, seventeen pieces, independently composed by different poets, and at different periods, from B. C. 924 to 490, or thereafter; 3. Later supplements to two of these sonnets; 4. Eighteen glosses, which are again distinguished as pure or mixed, original or borrowed; 5. Seven spurious repetitions. These various materials were wrought over and amalgamated by some nameless editor of unknown date, who published this compound of his own making as a single production from the pen of Solomon, and succeeded in inducing the world to believe it, until Magnus and his compeers have in these last days arisen to expose the cheat. No one certainly can ask us to undertake the thankless labour of refuting such a brain-spun theory in detail. We have no disposition to trouble ourselves or our readers by exposing here its particular extravagances and absurdities. There is a plain and direct way of establishing the truth in this matter, without the necessity of chasing every delusive light through the lonely fens and dreary morasses over which it flits.

The most satisfactory proof of unity in a composition is one which cannot be drawn out into formal propositions, nor classified under distinct heads. It is the impression silently made upon the mind of the reader in the course of perusal from a hundred nameless circumstances which he would find it impossible to gather up, and to present in full array before the mind of another. It is the same process by which we would tell

* In his *Kritische Bearbeitung und Erklärung des Hohen Liedes Salomos.* 1842. 8vo, pp. 244.

whether a manuscript we were examining was all in the same handwriting. There is something about a familiar hand which enables us to distinguish it from all others, (though we might be at a loss to explain in every case what it was precisely,) so that we can neither be misled by the similarity of the attempted imitation on the one hand, nor by the free variety in the strokes of the same vigorous pen on the other. As far as a thing of this nature is susceptible of formal proof, we may refer in evidence to the superscription itself, whether we regard this as expressive of the mind of the writer, which it undoubtedly is, or allow Magnus to have his own way when he asserts that it proceeded from the subsequent collector. The "Song of Songs," a superlative of excellence like holy of holies, heaven of heavens, evidently marks the composition as a unit; or even if we admit the explanation, which, to escape this conclusion, has, in defiance of usage, been put upon the expression—a song composed of many songs—the result will still be the same. It will still be announced as a unit, though consisting of several subordinate and related parts. Then, the subject is the same throughout, the love of the king to his bride: the same personages appear in every part of the Song—king Solomon, the Shulamite, the daughters of Jerusalem. There is throughout the same style of thought and of expression, the same fertility of illustration from nature, the same peculiarities in the language, e. g. its Aramæic colouring, the unusual form of the relative, &c.; a frequent use of the same words and phrases (ii. 16 comp. vi. 3: whom my soul loveth, i. 7, iii. 1, 2, 3, 4: bride addressed as fairest among women, i. 8, v. 9, vi. 1: sick of love, ii. 5, v. 8: thy love better than wine, i. 2, iv. 10: ii. 17 comp. iv. 6. and viii. 14: vi. 4 comp. ver. 10.) Sometimes a regularly recurring formula, as if a burden to mark the close or the opening of a strain (ii. 6, 7, iii. 5, viii. 3, 4, comp. also v. 8: iii. 6, vi. 10, viii. 5,) and even larger passages of close mutual resemblance (ii. 10—13, comp. vii. 11—13: iii. 1—5 comp. v. 2—8: iv. 1—3, comp. vi. 5—7.) A final argument may be drawn from the general structure and plan of the poem, if it can be shown that the alleged fragments are well adjusted parts of a consistent whole, and that instead of being a parti-coloured patchwork, loosely stitched

together, its beautiful pattern has from beginning to end been woven from the same threads and on the same loom. Our authors attempt to show this each in his own way. How well they have succeeded will appear in the sequel.

This Song is in its title ascribed to Solomon. Unvarying tradition corroborates this testimony. All the phenomena presented by the book itself correspond entirely with the authorship claimed for it. The figures drawn indiscriminately from all parts of Solomon's dominions, from Jerusalem, Engedi, Sharon, Tirzah, Gilead, Heshbon, Carmel, Lebanon and Hermon, present the land of Israel as still existing in its unity. The marked characteristics of this Song fall in very well, too, with what we learn from the history of Solomon's partiality for nature, for handsome gardens, for splendid buildings: and even the allusion to the horses of Pharaoh (i. 9) may be worth referring to in this connection. The theme and the spirit of the whole seem to reflect the general happiness and prosperity. Even De Wette admits that the images and allusions, and the freshness of its life, well adapt it to the times of Solomon, though he persists in denying its composition by Solomon himself.

It has been alleged on the ground of the mention of Tirzah, vi. 4, that it could not have been written before this was made the royal city of Israel, as Jerusalem was of Judah. But it is hard to see why this delightful place, as it is characterized by its very name, could not be mentioned as an image of beauty, as well before Jeroboam fixed his residence there as afterwards. In fact this very verse is alleged on the other side with at least quite as much plausibility, as showing that Jerusalem and Tirzah still belonged to the same territory, and the schism of Jeroboam had not yet taken place. The argument which Ewald* endeavours to deduce from the unfavorable light in which the character of Solomon is here presented, rests upon his mistaken view of the whole Song and falls with its refutation. That Solomon could not have spoken of his own personal appearance in such terms as are employed v. 10—16 *et passim* is an objection which lies only against the literal understanding of the Song,

* Das Hohelied Salomos (1826) p. 13.

not its composition by Solomon. Delitzsch partly relieves but does not remove it, by suggesting that he could not do otherwise than put into the mouth of his bride the language of ardent love, which is naturally that of exaggerated praise. The true and sufficient answer is, that it is not Solomon himself who is described, but One of whom he was the type and earthly representative. The Aramaic tinge of the language does not infer its composition in or near, much less after the times of the exile, but is due, as the practised scholar will at once see, to the elevation of its poetry, which delights in foreign and unusual forms. The words translated orchard, iv. 13 (סַרְדָּה, παράδυτος), and chariot, iii. 9, (גִּירֵבָן, φορέσιον) have been claimed as betraying the first a Persian and the second a Greek origin: and it has hence been argued that the composition of the book must be assigned to a date as late as the Persian, if not the Macedonian domination. But apart from the fact that this is too broad a conclusion to rest upon such narrow premises, the foreign derivation of these words is by no means so certain as is alleged. Hebrew etymologies have with not a little probability been proposed for both. It has never yet been made out that such a word as the first named existed in the ancient Persian, unless this be received on the statement of Xenophon and other Greek writers. In fact many scholars believe it to be of Indian origin, and explain it from the Sanscrit. The modern Persian ‘fardus’ has demonstrably come from the Hebrew through the Arabic since the Mussulman conquest. The second word certainly bears a striking resemblance to the Greek from which it is alleged to be derived. Still such a resemblance, however remarkable in the outward forms of words, must not be held, in defiance of their ascertained history, to establish community of origin, else we might have to admit that Jutland was thus named because it juts out so singularly into the sea, and hurricane, because it hurries away the sugar-canies of the planter. But if the non-Hebraic origin of these words be allowed, it will still have to be shown that they could not have been incorporated into the language either before or in the time of Solomon, with his multiplied relations with foreign powers, and his trade reaching even to India and to Spain.

Thus far the volumes which we are examining agree. They

differ widely, however, in their views of the character of the composition, its structure and interpretation. Delitzsch regards the Song of Solomon as a sacred drama with all the essentials of that style of poetry, though not designed for scenic representation. It contains, according to him, a distinct plot gradually unfolding itself in successive acts and scenes. He divides the whole into six acts of two scenes each: the end of three of the acts (1st, 2d, and 5th,) being determined by the adjuration of the daughters of Jerusalem not to wake the sleeping love: and the commencement of three (3d, 5th, and 6th,) by the question, Who is this, etc.? The scheme which he adopts is the following, viz.

Act I. i. 2—ii. 7.	Scene 1. i. 2—17.	Scene 2. ii. 1—7.
II. ii. 8—iii. 5.	ii. 8—17.	iii. 1—5.
III. iii. 6—v. 1.	iii. 6—11.	iv. 1—v. 1.
IV. v. 2—vi. 9.	v. 2—vi. 3.	vi. 4—9.
V. vi. 10—viii. 4.	vi. 10—vii. 5.	vii. 6—viii. 4.
VI. viii. 5—14.	viii. 5—7.	viii. 8—14.*

Both the scenes of the first act are laid in the banquet hall of the palace, and exhibit the reciprocal attachment of the king and his beloved. It is opened by a choir of virgins, the daughters of Jerusalem, praising the king and esteeming his love more than the wine before them. After them speaks one, not of their number, and who loved the king yet more than they. She owns that her beauty has been tarnished by the sun, and pleasantly laments that while she had been keeping her brothers' vineyards she had not kept her own—the king had won from her her heart. Then turning to the king, whom in the simplicity of a country maiden she can only conceive of as a shepherd, such as she has been accustomed to see, she asks him where he feeds his flocks, that she may find him alone and without a rival present. The daughters of Jerusalem adapting themselves to her simplicity give her an unmeaning answer, when the king himself tenderly addresses her, and they continue to employ to each other the language of endearment.

* Ewald in his Commentary made but four acts, the third extending from iii. 6, to viii. 4. In an article published in the *Tübinger theolog. Jahrb.* for 1843, he reckons five, the third closing with v. 8, and the fourth with viii. 4. See also his *Jahrb. Bibl. wissenschaft* for 1848, p. 49.

The second act finds the loved one returned to her country home. The king is seen bounding over the intervening mountains, and in an instant is at her door enticing her abroad. She yields to his solicitation, and comes forth singing at his request a vintager's song, ii. 15, which however has a deeper meaning: and they ramble over the hills in company till night fall. In the next scene she narrates how in a dream she searched for and found her missing lover. In the third act a grand festive procession conducts the affianced bride to the palace, and the succeeding nuptials are intimated by mutual addresses of fond affection, and by the exhortation to the assembled guests to partake of the marriage feast. The Song has here reached its climax in the joyous union of the king with his bride; it only remains to make a farther exhibition of their love by scenes taken from a period subsequent to the consummation of this union. The fourth act sets forth the unalterable character of their love. The bride narrates to the daughters of Jerusalem a painful dream of partial estrangement and unsuccessful search: and in answer to their queries she indulges in praises of her beloved, and tells them where he has gone to feed his flocks. She finds the king where she had expected, and all sadness is removed by his loving address. The fifth act displays the beauty and humility of the queen, and the strength of her attachment to the king, whom she loves not for the splendour of his court, but for his own sake. In the first scene she and the daughters of Jerusalem are the speakers; in the second, she and the king. The subject of the sixth act is the renewal and confirmation of their attachment, with plans for the welfare of the sister and brothers of the bride.

According to Hahn, this Song is not a drama, but is so far dramatic in its character that it contains one action with its various incidents, and these not narrated by the writer, but all spoken and performed by the personages themselves. It lacks, however, the regular progress of the drama. The incidents do not present themselves in chronological order, but are to be gathered up from the various parts of the Song, and harmonized into one. The whole is divided into six sections precisely coincident in length with the acts of Delitzsch. The first three form one group: the last three form another supplementary to

the first, and in which each member corresponds to the same member of the first group. Thus the fourth section supplements the first; the fifth supplements the second; and the sixth the third. The chronological order is the fourth and first, the fifth and second, the sixth and third.

In the first section the maiden appears in eager quest of the king whom she loves; she finds him and enjoys full satisfaction in loving communion with him. In i. 8, she was seeking the king; in i. 9, he is already with her, giving assurance of his love. How and where she found him, we have not been informed. This interval is filled by section second. He had suddenly appeared to her in her home, to which we must suppose her despondingly to have returned, and addressed her in the language of love. But before this, she had had in the night of his absence a long and painful search for him. The conclusion of the whole is reached in section third, where the king returns in state with his bride, whom he had sought, as before described, in her wilderness home, and their mutual fondness finds expression in words of tender endearment. The second group carries us again over the same ground, its aim being to exhibit it more fully by disclosing some particulars not yet told. The fourth section supplements the first by going back beyond it to explain the origin of the love there represented as already existing. The king yet unknown to the maiden, but impelled by tender affection for her, had knocked at her door craving admission. She delayed long, and at last petulantly rose to open to him. Offended at her cold repulse he had turned away. Her love was now kindled: but he was gone and she could not find him. The fifth supplements the second by its more definite information as to the king's reappearance. Repulsed from her door he had gone down to his gardens. Thence we must suppose him to have been a secret spectator of her search, and to have concealed himself that he might better test the reality and ardour of her affection. He can refrain no longer. Before he was aware he mounted as a prince the chariots of his people, to overtake the disconsolate maiden and to bid her return. The sixth section supplements the third by speaking more fully of her final indissoluble union with the king, and of her anticipation of the time when her younger sister should share her bliss.

Delitzsch has undoubtedly improved upon previous attempts to discover a drama in this Song; but the obstacles to this assumption are too great to be overcome. In spite of all the ingenuity and skill which he must be acknowledged to have displayed, it is impossible not to pronounce his attempt also a failure. There are invincible difficulties in the way of discovering here a plot gradually developed, which arise from the simple fact that the contrary is plainly demonstrable. The advance of the action does not correspond with the progress of the Song; for the union is as intimate near its commencement ii. 6, and ii. 16, as it is at its close, vii. 10, or viii. 3. This led Hahn to fall back upon his semi-dramatic theory. Constrained to give up the onward movement of the drama, he still seeks to hold fast the unity of the action and the complexity of the plot. But he has not, by the structure which he assumes, relieved the subject. It is still too cumbrous, too artificial, too fanciful. The simple placing of these two schemes in juxtaposition is sufficient to expose their unsatisfactory and baseless character, without the need of any extended argument or minute examination. It is plain that both rest not upon the text, but upon the invention of the interpreter. To discover either of them requires, as the Germans say, a vast deal of reading between the lines. And the same ingenuity, if allowed equal liberty, could produce other schemes of the book to any amount, as far removed from these as they are from each other.

The view which Hengstenberg takes of the structure of the book, pleases us better in the general than in its details. He gives up the idea of a drama and of a plot altogether. The mutual love of the king and his bride is the theme of the Song. The relation subsisting between them is presented in its various lights. One aspect of it is more prominent in one portion, and another in another. And there are various rests or pauses, where one train of thought has run its course, and a fresh one is commenced. He quotes as applicable to this book what De Wette says of Daniel: "It has a plan, and forms one whole; but its plan is for one and the same thing to recur in a variety of ways, and thus to present itself with ever increasing definiteness and distinctness."

It is very unfortunate for the pleasure of his readers, if not

for the soundness of his expositions, that Hengstenberg has recently adopted such extravagant views regarding the use of certain numbers in the structure of the books of the Bible. We must submit to see this hobby freshly ridden to death, we suppose, in every publication of his for some time to come. He makes in all ten divisions in this book: five contain the union, and five the reunion.

FIRST PART.

- I. i. 2—ii. 7, subdivided into 7, 3×3 and 7 verses.
- II. ii. 8—17, a decade subdivided into 7 and 3.
- III. iii. 1—11, a decade of two fives with a concluding verse.
- IV. iv. 1—7, seven verses.
- V. iv. 8—v. 1, a decade of two fives.

PART SECOND.

- I. v. 2—vi. 3, subdivided into 7, $1+7$, and 3.
- II. vi. 4—vii. 1, a decade of 7 and 3.
- III. vii. 2—11, a decade of two fives.
- IV. vii. 12—viii. 4, seven verses, 3 and 4.
- V. viii. 5—14, a decade of 3 and 7.

And then again under each of these divisions he finds both clauses and words numbered off in the most surprising and absurd way. If we were obliged to adopt a numerical scheme for this book, rather than fall in with all this complicated and pedantic triviality, we would choose that of Hofmann,* which has greatly the advantage as well in simplicity as in systematic regularity.

A more important question than those relating to form and arrangement is that of the interpretation of the book. Here again we find our authors divided, and that not in subordinate points merely, but upon those of greatest consequence. If any point in interpretation can be settled by the concurrent

* Into three sections of 38 verses, each divisible again into sub-sections of 23 and 15 verses.

I. i. 2—iii. 5, (38 vs.) = i. 2—ii. 7. (23 vs.) + ii. 8—iii. 5 (15 vs.)
 II. iii. 6—v. 16 (38 vs.) = iii. 6—v. 1 (23 vs.) + v. 2—16 (15 vs.)
 III. vi. 1—viii. 12 (38 vs.) = vi. 1—vii. 10 (23 vs.) + vii. 11—viii. 12 (15 vs.)
 viii. 13, 14 is then a loosely appended close. See Hofmann, Weissagung und Erfüllung I. pp. 189—193.

voice of the Synagogue and the Church, the general outlines of the exposition of the Canticles are so settled. With all the diversity in minor details, the sentiment has been unanimous among the adherents to the orthodox faith from the earliest times, that the subject of this Song is not a scene taken from the life of Solomon, but the love of the heavenly Solomon and his earthly bride, of Jehovah and Israel, of Christ and his Church. Delitzsch, though he repudiates this view himself, does not pretend to deny that it has prevailed ever since the days of Ezra. In the Talmud the allegorical appears as the traditional and only legitimate view. All the canonical Scriptures are holy, it is there said, but the Song of Solomon is holiest of all: and the whole world is not worth so much as the day when Israel received it. The Targum upon this book expounds it of the Lord's relation to his chosen people, and applies various passages to those portions of their history in which his love for them was particularly manifested. All the great Jewish expositors of the middle ages pursue the same course. In the language of Hengstenberg, "All the Jewish witnesses that we can summon declare themselves for the allegorical interpretation; none against it. In several Jewish testimonies it is expressly affirmed, that a different explanation never found place among them."* The same interpretation has always been that of the Christian Church. Cyprian, Augustin, Ambrose, Jerome, Origen, Cyrill, Theodoret, in fact all the great authorities among the early fathers from whom we have any expression of their views upon this matter, treat it as an allegory, and make its subject Christ and his Church. Thus explained, it exerted a marked influence upon the mystic literature of the middle ages: and the great champions of scholasticism reserved for their ripest years the high achievement of preparing voluminous expositions of this Song. The literal explanation of it as a love song of Solomon's, or an epithalamium on the occasion of one of his marriages, has always been held in detestation as sacrilegious. It is spoken of by some of the

* So Aben Ezra: *Absit, absit, ut canticum canticorum de voluptate carnali agat, sed omnia figuratè in eo dicuntur. Nisi enim maxima ejus dignitas, inter libros scripturæ sacrae relatum non esset; neque ulla de eo est controversia.*

fathers, but in terms of abhorrence, and as only entertained by carnally minded men. It is reckoned as a heresy by Philastrius. It was one of the charges for which Theodore of Mopsuestia was condemned by the council at Constantinople in 551. Its advocacy has always proceeded from men in ill repute with the church, such as Theodore, Castellio, Grotius, Episcopius. It never gained any prevalence until the Rationalism of Germany paved the way for the lowest and most unworthy views of Holy Writ. It has been long fashionable in that country to regard the Song of Solomon as an amatory poem, whose heroine was Pharaoh's daughter or some simple country maiden; although the allegorical view has not been without occasional defenders, e. g., Scholz, Welte, and Keil.

Delitzsch is not unaware of the strength of the presumption which lies against any other than the received interpretation. He says, p. 45, "A most serious and weighty question of conscience here arises: Is it right designedly to depart from the allegorical view, and strike into other roads, of which scarce one or two have thought before our age? The spirit of innovation must here appear the more suspicious, as the first impulse thereto, it is frankly confessed, proceeded from Rationalism, which, by reason of its thoroughly psychical and sarcical nature, could have no appreciation of another than a moral or erotic understanding of the Song of Solomon. For centuries, yes, for millenniums, the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Solomon has been current in the Synagogue and the Church; and learned and unlearned, proceeding on this hypothesis, have found in it edification and comfort. Is it perchance from a conceit of our own wisdom, and that we who are of yesterday fancy ourselves to have outdone the wisdom of two millenniums? Is it out of compliance to the influences of the reigning unbelief, and from a lack of the deep spiritual knowledge and experience of the ancients, that we, as with unwashed and criminal hands, rend asunder the garment of allegory with which the mystery of divine love has invested itself? Is it in contempt of the Spirit promised to and ruling in the Church, that we reject the allegorical explanation, by whose means, beyond all contradiction, thousands upon thousands of the mysteries of the inner spiritual life have been

unlocked to the Church, and have found their appropriate spiritual expression?" These are serious considerations. It would have been better, had they weighed more with Döltzsch than they have.

What then are the stringent reasons which have compelled him to remove the ancient landmarks which the fathers have set up, and in the face of the well nigh universal sentiment of the Church, to adopt views of such ignoble parentage? They may be briefly stated thus.

1. While germs of this idea of the Lord's marriage to his people are found in earlier books of Scripture, it is inexplicable that it should thus all of a sudden have formed the basis of an extended allegory, and have reached in it a fulness and expansion beyond that even of the later books of the Bible.

2. It is inconceivable that Solomon should thus have used his own name to represent the infinite Jehovah, at least without some more distinct indication that such was the case; or if he personated the Messiah, this book will then imply an expansion of the Messianic idea which it had not yet attained at that time, and which had not a parallel even in the prophets.

3. Some particulars are incapable of allegorical explanation, and must of necessity be literally understood.

Another argument is so thoroughly German as to be scarcely worth producing, viz., that this "allernationalste und allerinnerlichste" book as it would be on the allegorical hypothesis, would be inconsistent with the "allgemein-menschliche und praktische" tendencies of the age in which it originated. In other words, the man and the age that produced the Proverbs, could not have produced the Canticles, if an allegory: and by parity of reasoning, the author of Paradise Lost could not have written political essays, nor can any man, however rare his genius or sublime his inspiration, perform two things of dissimilar character.

We protest in the outset against the admission of the principle which underlies these arguments, that the sacred history and literature, or, in fact, any other, must be adjusted to preconceived notions of their peculiar development. It makes all the difference in the world in this, as in any subject, whether the facts govern the theory, or the theory governs the

facts. If the facts be carefully investigated first, and be admitted just as they are, and then the theory is shaped by them; and built upon them, it is all very well. But if the theory come first, and the facts must be trimmed and cut down to suit it, the case is altered very materially. Where is the proof that the communications of revealed truth must be by imperceptible advances, or by regularly measured steps; that some grand truth or noble conception may not blaze suddenly forth, in the writings of some distinguished servant of God specially inspired for its delivery, and stand out upon his pages with a boldness of relief and a clearness of outline, greater even than in productions of a later date, and charged mainly with a different errand? Is it so plain that this cannot be, that palpable facts must at all hazards be got rid of which demonstrate it? And must the doctrine of Messiah's expiation which bursts upon us with such sudden and glorious distinctness in Isaiah, chap. liii., be frittered away, because no succeeding one of the inspired penmen can match, as none that precedes approaches it? And because Micah first and last, and alone of the prophets discloses the place of Messiah's birth, must we, by some forced construction, deny the plain meaning of his words? This plan of compelling exegesis to bend to a previously erected theory of the historical growth of revelation, instead of suffering it to stand fairly upon its own base, is one of the things which, to the detriment of his soundness as an interpreter, our author has borrowed from Hofmann, whose colleague he now is, and under whose influence he has recently come to so great an extent;* an increased predilection for extreme literality is another effect of this intercourse. Both are apparent in the book before us.

Even were the Lord's relation to his people less frequently and plainly presented under the figure of a marriage than it can be shown to be, that should not hinder us from recognizing it in this book, if there be plain evidence of its existence. But the Song of Solomon, unique as is its character, is not an isolated phenomenon, standing by itself, and out of connection

* A writer in a late number of Guericke's *Zeitschrift*, in commenting upon a more recent publication which betrays these same tendencies, laments that it is no longer Delitzsch—Caspari, but Delitzsch—Hofmann.

with the rest of Scripture, without either antecedents to prepare the way for its appearance, or consequents to follow from it. The figure on which this allegory is built, runs through the entire Scriptures, from first to last. The peculiar relation of intimate and exclusive love into which God entered with this alone of all the nations of the earth, and the pledges given and required of perpetual fidelity, so naturally suggest the parallel, that it would be surprising if it were not employed from the earliest period of Israelitish history. Accordingly, we find it already in the Pentateuch. The standing formula for apostasy from Jehovah is "to go a whoring after other gods," implying a breach of the conjugal relation existing between Him and the people. That this is the true origin of the phrase in question, and that it did not grow simply out of an allusion to the debasing orgies of heathen worship, is plain from other expressions which imply the same figure. Thus the jealousy ascribed to God, e. g., Deut. xxxii. 16, 21; Exod. xx. 5; xxxiv. 14—16, in case Israel should forsake him for another, presents him in the light of an injured husband resenting the misconduct of an unfaithful wife. And Benjamin, as a part of the chosen people, is addressed, Deut. xxxiii. 12, by a term of endearment, cognate to one which is employed repeatedly in this Song. This figure, however, while it is contained beneath the expressions referred to above, is, it must be confessed, rather conveyed by hints and allusions than by express statements or detailed parallels. After the time of Solomon we find a marked change in the frequency and distinctness with which it is employed. It had evidently been brought out to the consciousness of the people of God, as it was not before. The first of the prophets, Hosea, presents us, in the opening of his book, with an allegory, in which he personates the Lord as Solomon does here, and Israel appears under the image of an unfaithful wife. The same idea is expanded at length by Ezekiel, chaps. xvi. and xxiii., and is repeatedly suggested by both Isaiah, (i. 21, l. 1, liv. 5, lxi. 10, lxii. 4, 5,) and Jeremiah, (ii. 2, iii. 1, 20, etc.) not to mention the abundant passages of this nature in the New Testament. What simpler explanation can there be of this plain difference between the usage of the Pentateuch and that of these later books of the Scripture, than

the appearance in the interval of Solomon's Song, allegorically understood?

Whether there are not sufficient indications that the Solomon of this Song was the heavenly and not the earthly Solomon, we will inquire hereafter. It is sufficient at present to say, that there are at least enough indications of this to have led the great body of its readers in all ages so to understand it. That David's immediate son and successor should thus stand as the representative of his great descendant, cannot be surprising to any one who remembers the language of the promise, 2 Sam. vii. 12—16, or the Messianic Psalms founded upon it, or Psalm lxxii., in which Solomon depicts the glory of Messiah's sway in figures borrowed from his own reign, or the similar employment of the name of David by the prophets, e. g., Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24, xxxvii. 24, 25. And if the connection which Hengstenberg endeavours to establish between the names Shiloh and Solomon is well founded, and besides being identical in signification, the latter name was given with allusion to the former, and because David foresaw in the prosperous and undisturbed reign of his son a type of Him to whom the dying Jacob predicted that the nations would peacefully submit, this will form another ground of intimate relationship. That the distinctness with which Christ is here conceived in his personality and in his divinity, and the vividness with which he is represented, is no argument against the reference of this Song to him, is plain from a comparison of such Psalms as ii. and cx. by David, and xlvi. by the sons of Korah.

That there are some particulars to which it is not easy to attach a distinct signification in the allegory, does not lie in the slightest against the allegorical interpretation. It lies in the very nature of a figure that there is not a complete correspondence on every side, between it and that which it represents. There are certain marked respects in which the resemblance holds: and the aim of him who employs it, is to set these forth. But at the same time if he would present the image fully and vividly to the mind of another, he must give to it many subordinate touches and much delicacy of shading, whose force will reside not in any distinct and separate signification, but in contributing to the general effect. Thus in a

poem of the exquisite finish and the superb imagery of that before us, we find not bare skeleton figures, but living, breathing forms of flesh and blood. The Church presents itself to the imagination of the writer as a bride of peerless beauty, ravishing the heart of her loving Immanuel: and he does not dismiss the thought with a single sentence which shall in a bald prosaic manner suggest the comparison. He dwells upon it. It is a living form to him, and he will make it so to his readers. He draws her portrait; he catches every lineament and every feature, and transfers it to his breathing page. He sketches the very ideal of beauty, so that it shall draw the admiring gaze of every eye. He labours to depict, till all shall see her as he does, the impersonation of loveliness and grace. He shows you her hair, her eyes, her mouth, her well set rows of milk-white teeth, her ivory neck, her proudly graceful figure, with her rich attire: until she stands with all her charms before your eyes, distinct in every feature. This fairest among women is the beloved of the Lord: and as you feast your eyes upon the radiant assemblage of charms here displayed, you wonder not that the king should exclaim of his bride, the Church, in whom he sees such a combination of excellencies reflected, "Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair." But now, if instead of gazing upon her in the rare and delicate beauty of her features and the elegant symmetry of her proportions, and transferring the impression made upon you by the representation as a whole to the bride of Christ, the Church, which is inexpressibly lovely in his eyes, and should be in ours, you insist upon dissecting it, and tearing piece from piece and limb from limb; if the hair must be made to represent one thing in the Church, and the nose another, and the eyes, and the cheeks, and the mouth, and the neck others still, you have nought remaining of the once lovely form but mangled and unsightly fragments, and in place of an emblem both natural and expressive, you have only a multitude of fanciful and farfetched incongruities.

The true rule of exposition in the case of all extended figures, whether symbols, parables or allegories, is not that every thing is to have a distinct significance which appears in the figure, but that the grand idea of the whole is to be first

seized—what it was designed as a whole to image forth—then whatever naturally and appropriately ranges itself about this is significant: what does not, is to be reckoned subordinate, and as belonging merely to the figure as such. The great error of the allegorical interpreters of this Song, is, as it seems to us, extravagance and excess, leading as it must of necessity do to arbitrary and unwarrantable expositions. Hengstenberg has fallen into this mistake as well as others. He is not willing to admit that there is a single expression which has not its distinct allegorical signification. The investigations which he institutes are, it is true, conducted with great thoroughness and seeming caution: and they possess not a little value from the light which they serve to throw upon the usage of Scripture symbols. But it was impossible, proceeding on the principle he did, that his interpretations should not oftentimes be in the highest degree forced and unsatisfactory. No doubt an error of defect here is possible as well as that of excess. Points of really intended resemblance may be overlooked, and details actually significant may be neglected as part of the filling up. But this certainly has not been the usual error hitherto.

Although we cannot acknowledge the validity of the reasons urged by Delitzsch for departing from the beaten track of the Church in regard to this book, let us nevertheless see how satisfactory is the new path which he has struck into. After hesitating and hanging in doubt for some time, whether a fresh allegorical scheme could not be made out free from the objectionable features of the other, by making Solomon the impersonation of wisdom and the Shulamite a soul in love with it, or *vice versa*, he finally gave up this whole method of interpretation as untenable. Falling back upon the literal hypothesis he threw himself into the wake of Ewald and Hofmann, to the former of whom he gives the praise of having done more than any of his predecessors to unfold the true plan of the book, as the latter had to unfold its true idea. To Ewald is ascribed the credit of having established its dramatic unity and vindicated its ethical character, though he was mistaken in both the plot and its moral. He found in it the praise of faithful love. The true hearted Shulamite remains constant in her attachment to her absent swain in spite of all the attractions of Solomon's

court, and all the efforts of the monarch to disengage her affections and secure them to himself. We are amazed to find Delitzsch preferring this view of Ewald to the allegorical, and asserting that thus the position of the Canticles in the canon would be fully justified: whereas on this hypothesis it would have nothing to do with religion, nor even with morality. It would aim only at the inculcation of a romantic sentiment, and would have no more right to a place in an inspired rule of faith and practice than the odes of Anacreon or the novels of Scott.

The peculiarity of Hofmann's view is his attempt to link this book in with its place in the sacred history, and to derive from this its significance. His idea is, that those things are perpetually realized imperfectly and in worldly outward good under the Old Testament, which are to be more gloriously brought to pass in spirituality and perfection under the New. The imperfection which inhered in each form of good actually granted, and especially its providential removal after a period of temporary possession, were intended to awaken conceptions and desires, which could only seek and find their gratification in the higher and more permanent good things of the future. The period of Solomon was an epoch marked by the richness of temporal blessing. The summit of earthly good, after which the history had since the days of Joshua been striving, was reached. Peace and tranquillity, wealth and abundance, had raised the kingdom to its highest pitch of prosperity and splendour. The ruler of this kingdom, Solomon, found in all his realm nothing so dear to him, nothing that so possessed and charmed his heart as his royal bride: nothing yielded him such pure unmixed happiness as his reciprocated love for her. He accordingly paints for us this picture of the highest earthly bliss in his experience. This is the proper design of the Song. It is a portrait from the life of Solomon of the most exalted happiness which the history of Israel at that stage afforded. The author of the Song probably intended nothing beyond this. But as the glorious kingdom of Solomon hastened to decay, it was shown that full satisfaction was not to be found in natural but in spiritual things. The removal of the shadow was to make way for the appearing of the substance. What had in this preliminary stage been thus promised in the sphere

of nature should be fulfilled in the sphere of grace. When the King of glory appears, his people shall be his bride; and the delightful image of loving communion presented in the Song shall be realized afresh, in full perfection, in the intimacy of that personal relation which shall for ever unite Christ and his Church.

The theory of Delitzsch has been built upon this of Hofmann, with some modifications and improvements. Its meaning, according to him, resides less in the personality of Solomon, whether viewed in relation to the felicity which he enjoyed, or to his official dignity as king of Israel, than in the action itself, the marriage. He holds that it was written by Solomon to celebrate his marriage with his favourite wife. At the same time it had an ethical, an ideal, and a mystical significance. The chaste and faithful love of the Shulamite, her simplicity, modesty, delight in nature, her freedom from all pride and affectation, the noble yet childlike deportment of Solomon, and the absence of all jealousy and envy on the part of the daughters of Jerusalem together give to it a finely portrayed ethical character; and Delitzsch takes a very needless degree of credit to himself for having brought this feature out more distinctly, as he supposes, than had previously been done. The individual, local and personal allusions of the Song, are pointed to in proof that this was its main and primary intent. At the same time advantage is taken of the ordinary license of poets who are not required to confine themselves to the strictness of historical statement. The daughters of Jerusalem are not real, but ideal figures, belonging only to the machinery of the piece, made use of to furnish an occasion for the proper personages to say what could not otherwise have been so readily introduced. By an extension of this same license an ideal character was given to the whole occurrence. It is such an embellishment of real facts as makes the love of the Shulamite the ideal of woman's love, and Solomon's marriage with her likewise an ideal. The theme of the Song then, upon this view of it, what it aims to set forth in the persons of Solomon and the Shulamite, is the divine idea of marriage, that original conception in the divine mind which the institution of the relation between man and

wife was intended to realize, that intimacy of faithful love and mutual devotedness, which is properly denoted by twain becoming "one flesh." The attitude in which this Song would thus be set in respect to the original marriage, somewhat resembles that occupied by the 8th Psalm in respect to man's creation, which according to the most recent and best interpreters describes the ideal man in the position assigned him by his Creator in the world.

Upon this is built its mystical signification. That we may not fail to convey our author's meaning here, we shall employ his own words, pp. 194, 195: "The same God who as Creator has wrought in the creation a body of finite ectypes derived from infinite archetypes, as Ruler of the world and Former of its history, causes lower types to repeat themselves in higher antitypes. As in nature around us the seed corn is the prefiguration of the fruit and this latter is the higher repetition of the former, so in the world's course there is established the law of development, that historical relations or events repeat themselves ever afresh in higher or lower circles, so that the good and the bad elements of history are occupied in ascending or descending as it were a winding stairs. In the ascent of the good elements is further revealed the special law, that the type advances through the antitype nearer to the archetype, whose ectype it is in regard to its essential character. This shows itself in the work of redemption in general, and in the particular facts of redemption. Adam the man of the creation has his antitype in Jesus Christ, the man of redemption: and in him there is likewise the commencement of a humanity corresponding to its archetype and carried onward to the closest proximity to this archetype. So is it also with marriage. This relation, fundamental to all the historical life of humanity, has its antitype in the loving relation of Christ to the Church; and in this loving relation which itself describes several ascending circles, marriage is lifted out of its lower circle to the absolute sphere of its supramundane archetype."

According to this view, marriage considered as a relation instituted immediately upon the creation, has its archetype eternally existing in the divine mind, in the intimate love and union of the sacred Persons: it belongs consequently to the idea of

humanity as made in the image of God. This relation, degraded by the entrance of sin, was taken nevertheless into the service of the dispensation of grace, conditioned as this was by the chosen seed and the promised seed, and was thus redeemed, purified and lifted into a higher sphere. An antitype was projected for it in the marriage of Christ to the whole body of the redeemed, in which the original divine idea shall be most completely realized and attain its closest approximation to its glorious archetype. Marriage thus containing in itself this higher reference (comp. besides other passages Eph. v. 23—32) the Song of Solomon which exhibits it in its true divinely conceived idea, must aptly set forth likewise the antitype of marriage, the mystical union of Christ to his bride, and that in its various stages of the preliminary relation of Jehovah to Israel, the betrothing which is conducted by the Spirit, with the word and sacraments to the end of time, and the consummated nuptials of eternity.* This is not a casual or seeming correspondence, such as ingenuity might make out, or an arbitrary fancy might suppose, though no real ground for it in fact existed: but it is the living and indissoluble, because divinely designed connection between the type and the antitype. Nothing of this, however, was in the mind of Solomon when he penned the Song; he had no such thought, unless of the most vague and imperfect kind. The discovery of this mystical sense belongs not to the historical exposition, but to the devotional and homiletic application. And there will necessarily remain a residuum of the local and temporary which can by no mystical alchymy be transmuted into the spiritual and eternal.

That conception of the Canticles which has just been presented, must be carefully distinguished from that of those in-

* It may be interesting to state here that Delitzsch declares himself in favour of the millenarian view of the Last Things, p. 229. He there sums up the closing scenes of the present dispensation in the following order: the premillennial resurrection of martyrs and confessors, then the millenium with the earth inhabited partly by those belonging to the future and partly by those belonging to the present state, followed by the loosing of Satan and the final banding of Gog and Magog for the overthrow of the saints and of the literal Jerusalem, their miraculous discomfiture, the general resurrection of the dead, and the purification of the old heavens and earth by the fires of the last day.

terpreters who hold it to be an allegory descriptive primarily and in the intention of Solomon, of the union of Jehovah and his people, or of Christ and his Church, though composed upon the occasion of one of his marriages and suggested by it. This latter view is the one taken by Delitzsch himself of the 45th Psalm, which he most strangely supposes to have been written on the occasion of the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah: though, as he admits, it was designed to have no special reference to that or to any other prince of the kingdom of Judah, and no one ever thought of him as its subject. The only objection to this in the case of the Canticles is the absence of all ground for it. The recent festivities of a wedding, whether his own or that of another, may, for aught we can say, have suggested to the mind of Solomon this beautiful allegory. But there is no more reason in saying that he could not have written it without such an occasion, than there would be in a similar assertion regarding the parables of our Lord. It might as well be said that the prodigal son, and the lost sheep, and the ten virgins, and the unjust judge, must all have had their counterparts in some recent occurrence. But, however this may be, to say of a production that it is an allegory suggested by a particular event, is a very different thing from saying that it is no allegory at all, but properly and truly descriptive of that event, though a deeper meaning was buried beneath his words than the writer or any of his cotemporaries ever imagined.

We freely concede that this view of Delitzsch is incomparably superior to those which make of this Song a mere erotic effusion with or without a moral. If the only alternative presented were this or those, we could not hesitate an instant which to adopt. It is only thus that we can reconcile ourselves to its appearance from the quarter whence it has come. It is evidently designed to mediate between the views prevalent for the last century in Germany, and that established for ages in the Church, so to raise the former as to include in it all that is essential in the latter, while it shall steer between the difficulties of both. In this feature of his attempt he has not indeed been successful. Intent upon avoiding imaginary difficulties on one side, he has encumbered himself with such

as are real and serious upon the other. In so far as it is an advance, however, it is in the right direction. And if it shall tend to infuse loftier views into the prevailing exposition of this book on the continent, if it shall gain over to that measure of truth which it contains those whom the plump propounding of the allegorical interpretation would have offended, there will be reason therein to rejoice. But as is apt to be the case with half-way opinions, it does not afford in itself tenable ground. It is useful only as beckoning those who can be induced to take it, a step in advance, and as encouraging the hope that they who take this, unable then to stop, will be compelled to continue on until they reach firm footing on the solid rock of truth.

We shall say nothing at present respecting that view of the Old Testament in the general, upon which the theory of Canticles under consideration rests. Its discussion would lead us too far from our main design. It is already known to our readers that it is adopted by a considerable and influential school of German interpreters and theologians. It is called by its advocates in distinction from the simply typical, the typico-genetic view—the name being intended to suggest a growth, an organic and vital connexion linking the type with the antitype, like that which binds together in inseparable union the seed and the fruit, the bud and the flower, the germ and the plant. It is contended for as bringing more system and greater consistency into the subject of the types and leaving less to the arbitrary and capricious fancy of the interpreter. The danger is that the general inspiration asserted of the history will be suffered to override the special inspiration of the sacred writers, and that the free and omnipotent actings of the Spirit of God will be reduced to a level with the uniform if not the unconscious operation of natural causes. Disregarding, however, as unessential to our present argument, the peculiarities of this hypothesis, we shall state a few reasons which seem to us decisive against the typical interpretation of the Canticles, in whatever form presented, and in favour of the allegorical.

The first is supplied by the place of the book in the canon of Scripture. If, as the typical theory requires us to suppose, it was in the intention of its author simply designed to cele-

brate his own marriage, how came it in this collection of sacred writings? Mystify this subject as we may, it is impossible on this hypothesis to make of the Song of Solomon anything which, in his own view or in that of his contemporaries, could have had the slightest pretension to be classed with religious or devotional, not to say inspired compositions. Sceptical writers admit that the collectors of the canon must have understood it as an allegory, or they would not have put it where they did. That it properly belongs where we find it, can admit of no question among Christians. If there were no other proof, the authority of our Lord and his apostles has settled for ever the integrity and inspiration of the entire Jewish Scriptures. Delitzsch does not dispute this point. Evidently conscious that he is treading near dangerous ground, he takes special pains to define his position by a formal and explicit statement of his belief in the inspiration of this book, pp. 177, 178. "The Song of Solomon is no less inspired than any one of the Psalms. Moved by the Spirit of God, Solomon wrote this Song in the midst of a relation shaped by the God who was conducting the scheme of gracious revelation. Yes, we can without the imputation of a mechanical idea of inspiration maintain that his soul was the harp on which the Holy Ghost played this Song. For within the limits of this Song, to which we must confine ourselves without suffering our gaze to wander outside to Solomon's life, wedded love emerges from the troubled and unsteady billows of polygamy, in the pure and chaste form of its prime destination, the idea of marriage stands before us in the pure radiance of an inwardly effected indissoluble alliance of two souls, and our eyes are refreshed in the midst of the Old Testament with a gladsome prelude to the New Testament restoration of the prime original."

There may be detected in some of the above expressions a falling off from the strict views which our author once entertained upon this subject. But let that pass. A single word in reference to the idea of marriage as deduced by this hypothesis from the Song of Solomon. There is not in it the remotest allusion to the religious aspects of marriage, or to the religious duties which it involves. Nothing is even said in the most general way of the fear of God, as its basis; besides the fact

that other things involved in this relation or that follow close upon it are left wholly out of sight, such as domestic occupation, the blessing of children, &c. Still farther, it is psychologically as inexplicable how Solomon ever came upon the design of treating the true idea of marriage, disjoined from the perversions of polygamy, as Delitzsch can fancy it to be that he conceived this allegory. If the Spirit of God could suggest the one and enable him to its execution, he could as easily do the same in the case of the other: not to say that the single verse, vi. 8, destroys the whole hypothesis.

A second argument may be drawn from the inconsistencies and incongruities, which beset every attempt to find in the Song an actual occurrence. The numerous denials of its integrity and unity already referred to, are tantamount to a confession, that literally understood it cannot be brought into consistency and harmony. The lover is sometimes a king, sometimes a shepherd. The beloved is now a simple country damsel, i. 6, ii. 15, now a prince's daughter, vii. 1. The search for her lover through the streets of the city at night, iii. 1—4, and again v. 6—8, would be in violation of all delicacy and propriety; the assumption of dreams finds no warrant in the text, and only shows how untenable is the scheme of interpretation which requires it. In i. 4 the bride is in the palace, in iii. 6, she is coming up from the wilderness, and in iv. 8, Solomon calls her from Lebanon. Any number of such examples can be found, which are all very easily reconciled if this is an allegory, but not if it be a real occurrence.

Thirdly. There are not a few intimations of the allegorical character of the Song. The unity of the bride is occasionally lost in the plurality represented by her, i. 4, v. 1. The comparison of a bride to the horses of Pharaoh's chariots i. 9, to an army with banners vi. 4, 10, and of her neck to the tower of David with its thousand bucklers iv. 4, would be unintelligible in itself; but is plain enough if the great multitude of God's redeemed people be meant. The coming forth from the wilderness like pillars of smoke, iii. 6, is a plain allusion to Israel's march from Egypt with the Lord at their head. The praises of Solomon's beauty, v. 10—16, are only then comprehensible if the Solomon of the Song is one more exalted than

its author. Perhaps also an indication of the allegorical sense may be found in the name given to the bride vi. 13, not "the Shulamite" but Shulamith, formed from Solomon by appending a feminine termination and denoting the bride of the Prince of Peace—and in the title "The Song of Songs" which can hardly be justified in its application to this book, unless its subject be of the most exalted kind.

Fourthly. The 45th Psalm is so closely allied with the Song of Solomon that the same principles of interpretation must evidently be applied to both. Consequently the arguments which establish that to be an allegory (as Delitzsch in effect admits it to be* p. 40) prove the same for this also.

It will be sufficient to add in the last place the testimony of the New Testament. This is given not merely in express allusions to the language of the Song allegorically understood, but in adopting the figure upon which it is founded, and applying directly to Christ the title of the bridegroom, and designating his Church as the bride. Comp. John iii. 29, Matt. ix. 15, etc.

Hahn has in his interpretation again attempted an impossible medium. In his view the Song is semi-allegorical. The bride, her brothers, the vineyards, the foxes, everything but King Solomon is allegorical. Solomon stands generically for the king of Israel in an absolute sense, including with himself his successors upon the throne down to Prince Messiah. But even if this inconsistency were not of itself sufficient to wreck his theory, the application which he makes of it is utterly untenable. The bride is Japhetic Heathendom, whom the king of Israel sought in his love, and would gain to his embrace, to make them partakers of the blessings of the covenant. The brothers, the foxes, the little sister are all representatives of Hamitic Heathendom, now hostile to the kingdom of God and still unripe for fellowship with it, but regarding whom the prospect is held out of their future exaltation to covenant privileges. The thing revealed is the destination of the king of

* His conviction upon this point is either not very firm or not of long standing, as in an article published in the same year with the book before us, he ventures the opinion that this Psalm is not "directly Messianic." Rudelbach und Gueriches Zeitschrift for 1851, p. 312.

Israel. This was not accomplished, nor even aimed at by Solomon or any of the barely human princes that succeeded him. It is realized only in Christ. It will be sufficient to ask in reply to this scheme, in what passage of Scripture is the heathen world or any part of it represented as the bride of either the earthly or the heavenly king of Israel?

Hengstenberg, as already hinted, expounds this book allegorically throughout. We cannot, however, regard as improvements the modifications which he has attempted to effect of the commonly received view. He conceives this Song to be a prophetic picture of the literal Israel, who is the bride, in their relation to the Messiah before and after his coming.* The first part, i. 2—v. 1, reveals in various forms and combinations the fact of Messiah's gracious, joy-inspiring advent, that he would bear the name of Solomon, Prince of Peace, that his advent would be preceded by sore trials and sufferings, the just punishment of an unfaithful people, and arising principally from the hostility or supremacy of foreign powers. These are variously set forth as the scorching sun i. 6, the winter and rain ii. 11, the darkness of the night iii. 1, the wilderness iii. 6. They are made more intense, iii. 1—3, by the attempt of the people to help themselves, and to bring on Messiah's salvation prematurely by their own efforts. With the advent of Messiah is connected the reception into his kingdom of the Gentiles represented by the daughters of Jerusalem. Comp. Ezek. xvi. 61, Psalm lxxxvii. 4—6. The second part, v. 2—viii. 14, contains Israel's sin against the heavenly Solomon at his coming, the consequent judgment upon them, their penitence and reunion with him under the friendly co-operation of the daughters of Jerusalem, the same Gentiles to whom they had before brought salvation themselves. Thus Israel becomes again the centre of the kingdom of God, and the relation thus formed afresh shall never be broken. As these truths are for the most part revealed elsewhere in the Old Testament with greater or less distinctness, he argues that it does no violence to the scheme of divine revelation to suppose that Solomon was in this Song commissioned to disclose them.

But it is fatal to this view that the bride of Christ is not

* See the summary statement of his views, p. 239.

Israel after the flesh, but Israel after the spirit; and whatever disclosures prophecy may have made regarding the fortunes of the former, they cannot be conveyed under an emblem appropriate only to the latter. And whatever speciousness may appear to attach to this specific historical application of the Song, it is no greater than could be claimed for fifty other conjunctures in which the same great idea has found repeated realization. The mutual love of Christ and his Church, with the weaknesses and errors of the latter and the temporary withdrawals and forgiving grace of the former, is not confined to one epoch nor to one train of circumstances. There may be periods in which it is specially conspicuous: but it is more or less clearly evidenced in every part of the Church's history, and in all the Lord's dealings with her.

We are not so much surprised that this scheme has been proposed, as that it has been proposed by Hengstenberg. Its prominent features are in direct opposition to what we have heretofore conceived to be his leanings and tendencies; and the palpable objections to it are just the reverse of those which we might have been prepared by his former expositions to anticipate. He has often been subjected to the charge of finding too little, but never before, so far as we are aware, has he been guilty of finding too much in the Old Testament about the literal Israel. He has been charged with too great fondness for idealizing the utterances of inspiration; but he certainly has not been prone to err on the side of their too specific application.

It will not be possible at the close of this article, already sufficiently extended, to characterize in detail the English and American expositions before us. Nor is it necessary that we should. It belongs to the excellencies of both these works that they present few points for the critic's attention. There is no attempt in them to build up new theories, no straining after novelty, but a simple effort to bring out the spiritual meaning wrapped up in this beautiful allegory, for the instruction and edification of the people of God. In turning to these from the volumes that have hitherto engaged our attention, one feels himself to be in an entirely different atmosphere,

and is sensible of a complete change in the tone and spirit of all by which he is surrounded. The theoretical has been exchanged for the practical; the exercise of the intellect for the devotion of the heart. We are now in the domain of religious feeling. We are no longer spectators of rare feats of interpretation, but gaze upon the patient toil of those who would open up rich veins of pious thought. It is the very marrow of the soul's life, which is exposed to view in these volumes. They lead us into the inmost recesses of the renewed heart, and bid us look upon its longings after communion with the Saviour, its delight in him and in his service, its distress under the hidings of his face, its joy at his return. The idea upon which they are founded is, that what is in the Song of Solomon said of the love of Christ and his Church, may be applied in its measure to each true member of that Church. They have drawn from it consequently the ideal of the intercourse maintained between the individual soul and Christ. While there may be a tendency in this to mysticism, and some of the figures may be unduly pressed to extract from them an appropriate Christian sense, there is spread over these pages much rich instruction, upon which pious souls will feed with profit and delight. A valuable additional feature of Professor Burrowes's exposition, is the pains taken to elucidate the imagery of the sacred poet by abundant, perhaps too abundant illustrations from oriental manners, and parallels from the choicest works of profane literature. We hope that his book may contribute not a little to a fuller understanding, and a more extended devotional use of this part of holy Scripture, which, however it has been undervalued and even decried in some quarters, was the especial favourite of an Edwards and a McCheyne.

ART. II.—*Curiosities of University Life.*

Das Akademische Leben des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, mit besonderer Beziehung auf die protestantisch-theologischen Fakultäten Deutschlands, nach handschriftlichen Quellen: von A. Tholuck. Halle, 1853, 8vo. pp. 327.

WE could not readily name a recent work more likely to be received with avidity than this, if it were put into English dress. It is prepared almost wholly from sources existing in the manuscripts of university archives. Far from intending to give an abridgment or abstract, we shall content ourselves with culling some of the more striking facts, believing that we shall thus satisfy the rational curiosity of learned readers. And in doing this, we shall freely adopt the language of the learned and excellent author.

The work treats of university life, in the seventeenth century, and especially in the German States; but the writer very often goes back to the days of the Reformation, and even to the middle ages. The university corporation—which derives its name from the *universitas studiosorum, magistrorum, and not scientiarum*, as many suppose—had its centre of power in its rector. From the very origin, the rector was invested with a sort of princely dignity. After the close of the fifteenth century, he bore the title of Magnificence. Mencke remarks that in 1715 the city soldiers of Leipsick presented arms at the rector's approach. Where the prince was not rector, there was a pro-rector, who discharged the duties; this may be compared with the chancellor and vice-chancellor of Oxford and Cambridge. When the rector appeared in public, with purple robe, golden chain, and sceptre, it was only the prince and bishop, and not always the latter, who took precedence of him.

Next in order to the rector, was the chancellor. The origin of the office was accidental, from the fact, that in Paris the cathedral chancellor was also superintendent of the high-school.

It is evident, however, that the grand attraction of the university was its teachers. These had certain distinguished pri-

vileges. One was that of jurisdiction; and this not merely in academical, but in civil and criminal matters, and over the professors and their families, as well as over the students. They had rights, also, in regard to appointments. The rule was, that a professor should be nominated by the faculty of arts, and confirmed by the government. There were, however, exceptions in favour of the prince or state. Instructors were exempt from tax, tribute, billeting of troops, and the like. In some countries professors sat with the clergy in the states-general. To a great extent, they possessed the right of censure, in regard to publications.

At a very early date, the rank of professors among themselves was fixed by law. The theological faculty stood first. When they were unanimous, their decision on theological questions was final. Next to the divines came the jurists. Until the peace of Westphalia, all chancellors and privy counsellors were taken from their number. The philosophical or artistic faculty ranked lowest. Many feuds arose about the standing of doctors in certain higher faculties over professors of a lower order.

The distribution of professors into ordinary and extraordinary, is well known in Germany, and had its beginning very early, being found at Königsberg in 1545. Extraordinary professors had no stipend from the regular sources. Their relation to the faculty varied in different places. Next came the adjuncts, who in Königsberg stood above the extraordinaries, from whom they were chosen. To these must be added the *Magistri legentes* of the philosophical faculty, who needed no authority but the express consent of the university. In the middle ages, as soon as any one rose Master, he began to teach others. This explains the formula of collation, still common among us. These might be likened to the English tutor, and the modern German *privatdocent*. Special teaching privileges were often conferred on such masters as were eminent for their attainments.

The essential part of the professor's work was always the public lecture. Adam Osiander, in 1677, had five classes daily, at Tübingen, and the great Voetius had eight. Deutschmann and Weickmann at Wittenberg, and Heben-

streit at Jena, in 1696, lectured from six to eleven, and from three to six o'clock, each *una serie*, daily. It is said, but hardly credited, that Löscher read to thirteen classes in a day. These were exempt cases; the average may be set down at two private and four public exercises weekly. To these were added acts, or disputations, at which the professor held the chair. Theological professors were often also ecclesiastical counsellors, and canonical judges. They were likewise called to be superintendents and visitors of gymnasia and other schools. The study-labours of some were extreme and wearing. Luther and Calvin suffered from numerous diseases; Gerhard continually complains of the delicacy of his health; many suffered from the *malum hypochondriacum*, often doubtless identical with our dyspepsia, and from the stone. Amusements were few, but interruptions were many, from christenings, weddings, and the like, which were formal and time-consuming. Every travelling Master called on every professor of note, often staying for hours. Twice a day—it is a rare thing with German professors now—they attended church on Sunday; where, as Gerhard's funeral eulogy declares, this good man “was never seen to go to sleep;” and once a week there was an additional service. Till the close of the century the hospitable usage obtained, of entertaining learned visitors. When Crusius celebrated his eightieth birthday, in 1606, at Tübingen, he invited his colleagues to good cheer at the Golden Sheep. There were, however, not a few, who, as Stoltterfoht of Lubeck says of himself, began their day at three in the morning, or who, like Dilherr, inscribed on the study door, “*Sta, hospes,-nec pulsa, nec turba, nisi major vis cogat!*”

These pages contain new and valuable matter concerning the sustentation of professors. In early times, as in the first universities of Italy, the provision was very irregular, and chiefly from fees. But if we regard the small number of hearers, the emolument for lecturers was considerable—cases being known, in the thirteenth century, of from three hundred to four hundred and fifty dollars of our money for a single lecture. After the Reformation, most professors in theology, law and medicine, had some other employments, which in part sustained them. The stipend of German professors was

small. In Wittenberg, the professor of poetry, in 1536, had eighty gulden (each of twenty-one good groschen;) and in 1728 the whole income of a professor of philosophy was about two hundred and fifty rix-dollars. In 1556 the highest theologians at Wittenberg received two hundred gold gulden. In 1662, Meisner, at the same place, had five hundred florins. The receipts of Calixtus, at Helmstadt, in 1637, were five hundred rix-dollars, of Horneius four hundred. In Strasburg, there were theological chairs in 1622 which brought fifteen hundred florins. But the poor literati had many expenses. The houses of professors were proverbially prolific, and Fiebiger wrote a book, *De Polyteknia Eruditorum*. Hülsemann of Leipsick had ten children; Meisner, who died at forty-three, as many; Martini fifteen; Calovius thirteen; Mayer thirteen; Micrälius fifteen; Walther fourteen, and Winkelmann eighteen. For the supply of necessities many of these learned men had donations and perquisites, which supplemented their slender salaries. All collations of degrees brought something in. Solemn opinions on controverted questions, when demanded, were followed by an honorarium. Dedications of books to great men were means of invoking golden showers, greater or smaller. The first volume of Gerhard's *Loei*, inscribed to Oxenstierna, brought him fifty ducats; for the fifth, dedicated to the Hanse towns, he received twenty-nine gulden. For a dedication to Gotha, he had two Hungarian ducats, and from Leipsick a gilt pitcher. Calixtus in the same way obtained from Duke Frederick Ulrich a hundred rix-dollars. Pfeiffer, for his *Dubia Vexata*, four hundred rix-dollars from George III.; Jacobäus a hundred ducats from the elector of Brandenburg. Whether authorship, properly so called, was lucrative in many cases, remains doubtful. Professors, moreover, took boarders into their families, and thus eked out their support. Boarding was one rix-dollar a week, and lodging eight rix-dollars a half year. Theological teachers often had, besides, their churches or lectureships. On a view of the whole matter, therefore, the instructors of that day may be considered to have been at least as well off as their successors in our own.

The great subject of university lectures must not be omitted.

These were called *lectiones*, not because they were always wholly read, but because their basis was a text-book, which was read ; hence *textum legere* and *lectionem habere* were convertible phrases. The object of the lecture was to prepare students for the examination for degrees. Accordingly, we find decrees, forbidding professors to lengthen out their course beyond the ordinary term. Public lectures were in the *collegium*; private lectures *intra privatos parietes*. In 1575, the collegial buildings of Altdorf comprised five professors' houses, the libraries, the auditoriums, the anatomical theatre, the convent-hall, the alumneum, the laboratories, the observatory, the *oconomia*, the lodge of proctors, and the prison. The average of lectures daily read by any one is in this part of the book set down by Tholuck at three. The ordinary professor was held to four lectures in a week. Saturday was disputation-day; Thursday was bathing-day. The morning was the season for the more important courses; and generally the older professors came first. But day began early in the sixteenth century. Von Osse, a jurist, about 1540, tells of lectures at five in the morning; to prepare for which, there were students who rose at two and three o'clock. In Heidelberg, professors lectured, by statute, from six to eight. In the seventeenth century, eight or nine seems to have been thought early enough.

Then, as now, there was diversity in the manner of delivering the lecture. As we have said already, it was not always read. The phrase for lecturing was, with reference to the text, *legere librum*. The statutes of Bologna expressly forbade the dictation of expositions; and in Cologne, it was enjoined in 1392, "Si in lecturis schedulis memorialibus uti contingat, discrete hoc fiat et honeste." The statutes of Erfurt, in 1633, say much the same, to wit; that the professor offer nothing from manuscript, in the way of dictating any thing to be written down, but *ore tenus vel penitus memoriter*, or from memorandums brought from home, communicate his instructions. Nevertheless, both in Romish and Protestant universities this method of dictation obtained wide currency. It seems to have been introduced by the Jesuits, whose rules enjoined a dictation of formal propositions. In the sixteenth century this mode was so fixed at Padua, that the young men used to send

their *famuli* to take down the lectures. The same was the way at Paris. In Heidelberg, it was allowed to bachelors *dictare ad pennam*. The degrees of rigorous adherence to this were however various. Among the manuscripts of Andreä occur Commentaries on the epistles, *dictati ad calatum*. Meisner's *Pia Desideria* were published in 1679, exactly from the *Heft*, or note-book of the student.

From about this time extemporaneous lectures appear to be the exception. "When I was sixteen years old," says Schuppe of Marburg, "and had gone through my year of freshman—fagging (of which more presently,) I attended lectures on oratory by a famous jurisconsult. I took down diligently all that he dictated, and when I went home engrossed the same, underscoring what pleased me with red and green ink. When I afterwards came to another university, I visited the celebrated orator Fuchsius, who had been the amanuensis of Keckermann. He saw my Heft, read it, and said, 'If you have the Rhetoric of Dietericus and Keckermann by you, I will show you that all this is taken out of it, word for word.'" In 1662, the Tübingen visitation censures Wagner for dwelling too long on one topic, and dictating whole treatises. In 1644, Cundisius says, that "to deliver all memoriter is not edifying; that he therefore dictates, with occasional free remark." In 1649, it is ordained that the student shall not be overburdened with too much writing. In 1653, there is a statute against too rigid dictation, and the delivery of long commentaries, which the teacher may afterward publish in a volume.

The polemic temper of the times led some professors to dwell for a whole term on some single head of controversy. These dissertations formed the folios and quartos of that day. According to Æneas Sylvius, one Haselbach of Vienna lectured two and twenty years on the first chapter of Isaiah, and had not got through at the time of his death. Ulrich Pregizer, chancellor at Tübingen, began lecturing on Daniel, March 27, 1620, and ended his three hundred and twelve lectures thereupon, August 23, 1624. On the day last named he assaulted Isaiah, which occupied him twenty-five years, in fifteen hundred and nine lectures. On the day of ending these, he fell upon Jeremiah, and expounded the former half in four hundred

and fifty-nine lectures, April 10, 1656, "on which day, being eighty years old, he slept in the Lord." Stümperwerk is reported by Spener as a *monstrum prolixitatis*; he spent a year on the first nine chapters of Isaiah. In 1655, Lyser, of Wittenberg, had been some years upon Job. Of both Rungius and König it is known that they spent their whole professional life upon Genesis. Against these abuses there were perpetual edicts of the authorities. Thus in 1614, at Wittenberg, no professor shall lecture on one chapter more than three or four days, nor on one locus in theology more than sixteen days; this was comforting. After the middle of the century, we find a growing disposition to suppress theological subtleties. In the Italian universities it was not unusual, nor is it now, for the lecture to be interrupted by questions from the student. Repetition of lectures, or what in some medical schools is known as 'quizzing,' was considered the *nervus instructionis*. This took place during the last quarter of the hour, or in the evening, or next day. In Tübingen there were repetents, called *Resumptores*. In some universities it was the rule that the hearers should be strictly catechized upon the foregoing lecture.

Curious notices are given, of this as well as the preceding century, respecting the diligence of professors. The old Erfurt statutes of 1447 complain of Masters who have prebends, and yet neglect their work; and enjoin on such to lecture thrice a week. In Helmstadt, 1614, the duke speaks of some who passed twenty weeks without giving a lecture. A letter from the same place, in 1619, names the professors "a swarm of drones." In 1698, Metzger writes from Tübingen: "I know not what to say of my studies. We cannot really learn theology, for there are no lectures, and hence no learning, except from books. Why then do we come to college? Our friend Förtsch, who alone merits the name of professor thus far, reads upon philosophy and morals; in a word, we live in perpetual sloth. In this whole semester there have been only six public lectures." In Jena, one writes to the government: "Musaeus has not lectured for thirty weeks; having his work against Wedelius in hand, he may have been hindered." The climax of *far niente* is attained by Sagittarius, who writes thus:

"From last winter till the end of August 1681, I have read no lectures; first, from dread of the plague, which scattered all my hearers and their messmates except one; then from being busy day and night on the Catalogue, then absent in Carsbad, then again on the Catalogue. I have not purposely omitted any lecture, but sometimes the severe illness of my wife and my own hypochondria have prevented. I began to note in my calendar how often this happened, but gave it up, lest reading it over should renew my grief." Sometimes a horse-market afforded an excuse, as Tscherning of Rostock sings in 1650:

Cras plurimus frequensque
Ilic et hic equiso,
Ilic et hic agaso . . .
Quis ergo, quis doceret,
Quis hoc die doceret
Tot inter et caballos !

Numerous holidays, even after the Reformation, gave opportunity to intermit duty. Against this laxity, the government enacted penal statutes, and inflicted fines for neglecting to lecture. Notwithstanding all that is here said, there are very few theological professors of that age, who did not publish something. Many of them had good libraries. In 1665 the library of the younger Buxtorf brought 1200 rix dollars, and in 1660, that of Bosius of Jena, 6000 rix dollars. There were certainly many men devoted to their calling, such as Muso of Rinteln, whose motto was, "Professorem oportet laborantem mori."

But what shall we say of the diligence of students? In 1600, Cothmann, professor at Rostock, beseeches the students to attend at least one lecture in the week. We must not forget, among the causes of irregularity, the custom of travelling from one university to another, of which something shall be added below. This was very delightful to young nobles, and men of wealth, who came with horses and servants. In the Basle annals of 1584, we read: "The Brandenburg nobleman, Bernhard Schulenberg, came *studiorum causa* with servants and three horses." In the Tübingen visitation report of 1608, it is related, that "young nobiles studiosi attend no lectures, and are not enrolled by the dean

of faculty; professing that they come, not to study, but to visit the university." Meisner of Wittenberg, in the funeral discourse upon Hutter, says: "He heard more lectures from Pappus at Strasburg, than one in a hundred of you now hear. For most choose to be self-taught, and account it a disgrace to be among learners. Let a man (say they) stay in his study, and leave public lectures to novices." In 1644, Professor Richter of Jena writes: "Some hold it to be disgraceful to go to lecture, or study hard; and this deters others." In 1696, Bachmann complains: "The lectures are not diligently attended; there is many a one who says, 'I am not at Jena for the sake of study.'"

But the instances are not all of this kind. Meisner, at the age of nineteen, at Wittenberg, is reproached by his friend, that he will not leave his studies long enough to write a letter. The celebrated chancellor Hoe of Wittenberg, thus writes: "As my children wonder that I should have studied in three different faculties within the term of four years, let them know, that often for two or three days I had not a warm morsel in my mouth. Many a night I did not go to bed, but read and wrote continually, so that the devil has sometimes blown out my light, made a racket in my room, and stormed me with books." And young Erick Calixtus writes from Altdorf, in 1648: "I am especially devoting myself to the formation of a Latin style, for which purpose I am reading the letters of Cicero and Pliny; adding the endeavour to ground myself more deeply in Greek. If I had opportunity for Hebrew, I would not neglect it. Hackspan the Orientalist teaches Syriac and Arabic. Besides, I am zealously pursuing the study of history, and attend also to its 'two eyes,' geography and chronology. I have also begun a *repetitorium* of logic, and mean to turn my attention to ethics. Felbiger expounds the metaphysical conclusions of Horneius, which, however, I am afraid to attend, because I lack the necessary preparation. I also give myself to the study of the Scriptures and of personal piety. In short, I will earnestly strive to show myself pious toward God, discreet toward man, and diligent in my studies." No better account could be given than that of Bert, concerning the young men of Leyden: "Tantam fuisse juven-

tutis in literis et sapientiae studio contentionem, tantam in doctores reverentiam, tantum zelum atque impetum pietatis, ut vix major esse potuerit."

In the olden time, the professor entered his auditorium with the doctor's cap, *biretum*, and in clerical robes. Red cloaks were known in some places as a university costume. Pointed beard and moustache were also common; after the middle of the century wigs became more in use. On the professor's entrance, the students rose respectfully. They used also to raise the cap at the mention of certain honourable names. In some universities the hour was opened and closed with prayer. The tone of the lecture was commonly that of books, but the learned men did not always forbear jesting. Towards the end of this century, we begin to discern traces of a scurrility which was afterwards more common. The lectures were thus far exclusively in Latin. In Rostock, students spoke Latin, even when summoned before the Senate. The earliest theological lectures in German were read by Buddeus, in the eighteenth century. The student-garb of the early seventeenth century had something of a Spanish air; a three-cornered *biretum*, flowing locks, neck bare to the shoulders, great linen ruff, a cloak which was most modish when long, slashed trunk-hose, short, broad-flapped boots, and sword or dagger, with huge figured hilt. Beards had been forbidden, but crept into use. In 1510, the Frankfort authorities declared themselves against effeminate curling of the hair. Meyfart describes the student, during the time of the thirty-years-war, "with sword, feather, boots, spurs, collar, and scarf over the breast and left shoulder; a twisted pigtail behind, a slashed doublet, and a short cloak, which does not hide the parts which all respectable people cover." After the middle of the century, we must add a full-bottomed periwig. Besides the sword, the older students of this period carried sticks into the lecture-room. In 1679, it was matter of censure for the student to appear before a professor without his cloak. In Holland, professors of theology wore a long cloak with sleeves, and students went to church and lectures in morning-gowns. The same slovenliness began to manifest itself in Germany, towards the close of the century. A Jena protocol of 1696 says: "From the time that

Pennalism was abolished, there was a great decline in manners, and no student appeared in a cloak." Sometimes they had morning-gowns under their mantles, or went to meals *sans culottes*. Even in polished Leipsick, the complaint, in 1702, 1713, and 1719, is that students go about in gowns and night-caps, smoking tobacco. When Gebauer, the law professor, went from Leipsick to Göttingen, he insisted that the young men should be uncovered during lecture, but could not bring it about. If a Pennal, or freshman, came to a lecture, which was seldom allowed, it was only on condition that he appeared ragged and dirty, and without stick or sword. Each faculty had its respective auditorium. These were sometimes very cold; indeed the warming of public rooms had not yet become common, even in Germany.

The good and evil morals of the times reflected themselves in the little sphere of university life. Before the thirty-years-war, there was partly sobriety and partly rudeness; afterwards a general relaxation, except where religion was revived, as it was extensively from 1650 and onwards. We have already spoken of one professional delinquency, the neglect of public lectures. Among other prevalent faults were ambition, envy, and quarrelsomeness. In the former part of the century there were beautiful instances of harmony and warm friendship among learned men. The Wittenberg professors were a remarkable instance. Meisner, Franz, and Martini, are represented as living like brothers. Not less pleasing is the picture of the "three Johns," at Jena—John Gerhard, John Major, and John Himmel. Leipsick and Tübingen were also in peace. As might be expected, some exceptions are noticed. But the contrast is great, in the latter half of the century. In 1665, it became necessary to warn professors not to use their chairs for the abuse of living or dead colleagues. There was professor against professor, and faculty against faculty. Tübingen lost students, because of quarrels among its theologians. Tobias Wagner was the champion of the day. The terrible quarrels at Königsberg became widely notorious. In the Reformed universities, the contests between Cartesians and Voetians were very bitter. The younger Alting and Maresius lived at Franeker, under the same roof, yet without exchang-

ing words. Steubing says of Herborn, “the whole school was not only rent into factions, but one professor against another. They not only stung one another in lectures, wherever they could, but had brawls before the government.” As the dreaded Pietism began to influence one and another, these strifes and bickerings took on more meanness and more bitterness. The Leipsick *Acta publica* have this record: “On the 15th and 17th of June, the superintendent and our college Ittig vituperated me (Olearius) and Dr. Rechenberg, and called us the *eruca*, infecting with its poison the noble rose-garden of the grace of God. For our doctrine concerning the *terminus gratiæ*, parents were restrained from sending their sons to Leipsick.” At other places, the instances of mutual complaint and crimination are very numerous. They even lashed one another in sermons. Complaint was made of Danzius at Jena, that he had offered to give fifty gulden to a soldier, if he would cut off the nose and ears of Hebenstreit.

The ransacking of old manuscripts by Tholuck has brought out many unsavoury things in the private morals of professors. Duke Julius warned the Helmstadt faculties not to nominate to him any “guzzling professors.” In 1609, Lavater says of Professor Eglin of Marburg: “Eglin is so deep in debt that he could not satisfy his creditors if he were to coin every hair on his head into a ducat. As Paraeus writes, he gave such offence during his late sojourn at Heidelberg, that they wished him to go back to Marburg, so as not further to scandalize the young students.” Meyfart writes of professors, about the middle of the century, “who gormandized and tipped with the academic youth, and danced in halls and gardens.” In Tübingen, a visitation decree of 1652 charges certain professors with card-playing. The people of the Palatinate were given to good things, especially to Neckar and Moselle wine. *Palatino more bibere* became a proverb. Hebenstreit complains of Danzius, as above, “that he had been so drunken, that he lost his senses and lay along on the earth, . . . and had to spend the night in the alehouse.” It is true, Danzius alleges in his answer, that “it was against his will.” These degrading instances, however large a place they occupy in the recovered documents of that day, must nevertheless be re-

garded as painful exceptions. There were not a few who, in addition to learning, possessed gifts and graces which were a blessing to their pupils; such were Meisner, Franz and Martini, at Wittenberg; Gerhard, Himmel, Glassius and Chemnitz, at Jena; the Tarnovii, the Quistorps and Lütkemann, at Rostock; Helvicus at Marburg; Schmid at Strasburg, and Hafenreffer at Tübingen.

As the universities owed their prosperity entirely to the students who chose to frequent them, certain privileges were allowed to the young men. They were not, generally, amenable to the municipal courts. They were free from taxes on their books and other effects. They had the right to remove noisy workmen from the neighbourhood of their chambers. They had liberty in regard to fishing and hunting, as is still the case at Marburg and Göttingen.

Great honour was bestowed on the clerical profession and those who were preparing for it. This was an inducement for men to bring up their sons to the church; and by a sort of levitical descent, certain families, as, for instance, those of Musäus, Lyser, Olearius and Osiander, have had an unbroken succession of ministers for two hundred years. In the Fabricius family, five brothers and two sons were clergymen at the same time. At the beginning of the Reformation, there was a scarcity of preachers, but in the seventeenth century they were multiplied to excess. Some remained till the age of forty, looking for a charge.

Melanthon went to the university at thirteen; but this was regarded as an exception. The age of seventeen was more usual, as in the case of Calixtus, Hulsemann, Dorsche and Calovius; König and Ernst Gerhard were entered at sixteen; Affelmann and Hedinger at fifteen; Helvicus, Henry Hulsius, Reland and M. Pfaff, at thirteen; John Buxtorf at twelve, and William Lyser and Henry Dauber at ten. Helvicus, on being matriculated in 1581, turned Cato's distichs into Greek verse, and at fifteen put the Sunday gospels into Hebrew; and when he commenced as Master, in his nineteenth year, had read all the Greek historians, orators and tragedians. Dauber held Hebrew disputations under Pasor, at the age of eleven. In his thirteenth year he held a *collegium hebraicum*. At eight-

een he was professor of law. Drusius says of a son, who died nine years old: "I have lost a son, my only one, and therefore dearest to me, on whom all my hopes rested, who—to omit other things—had made such progress in the oriental tongues, that I may say his equal was not in Europe. Many, both in England and the low countries, who were acquainted with him, know that I speak the truth. In his fifth year, he began to learn, besides Latin, the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac. In his seventh year he could read the Hebrew Psalter fluently. Two years later he could read unvocalized Hebrew, and knew, beyond many rabbins, the system of points."

The word *deposition* indicates the strange ceremonial to which the newcomer was subjected on assuming the academic yoke. It is wonderful to observe how widely a custom of this kind has obtained among various classes of men, on land and sea. It was thought necessary that the matriculate should come to his rights through humiliation. Similar vexations are traceable to the Greek schools of philosophy. They existed in the universities before the Reformation. The freshman, or "fox," as he is called in Germany, was known at Paris as a *bec jaune*, in Latin *beanus*. He was regarded as "pecus campi, cui, ut rite ad publicas lectiones praeparetur, cornua deponenda essent;" and hence the term *deposition*. As early as 1543, we find these initiations at Prague to have been very formidable. The chief rite consisted in the laying off of the horns attached to an ox-hide, thrown over the novice. The following verses belong to the service on the occasion:

Beanus iste sordidus,
Spectandus altis cornibus,
Ut sit novus Scholasticus
Providerit de sumptibus.

Signum fricamus horridum,
Crassum dolamus rusticum,
Curvum quqd est, deflectimus,
Altum quod est deponimus.

In substance, these annoyances prevailed at all the universities. At Tübingen, the ceremonies were conducted by older students; at Strasburg, Heidelberg, Erfurt and Jena, by the *famulus communis*. We have an account of the process as

observed at Strasburg in 1671. The Bacchants, or students, appear in procession, under the command of the Depositor-in-chief. The hair of the Beanus is removed with an enormous pair of shears; his ears are cleansed with a stick; a tooth, called the bacchant-tooth, is extracted; his nails are rasped with an enormous file, each act being accompanied with an appropriate address. After which comes the hand-kissing, and libation of wine on the head, with a grand banquet and jollification. In some places there were interspersed mock examinations of the candidate, who was boxed on the ear for his wrong answers. Serious men protested against these enormities, especially as they took place even when a student changed his university. Putsch, the celebrated editor of Sallust, went to Jena from Leyden, and then to Leipsick; at the last mentioned place he had to endure the *depositio*. At Heidelberg there was talk of abating this nuisance as early as 1600. In 1636, Schmid of Strasburg wrote against it. But it was not done away until the next century; and it existed at Jena in 1726, and at Erfurt in 1733.

It may be interesting to inquire what there was in the German universities answering to our college foundations, scholarships, and education-funds. In Wittenberg, about 1564, the Elector Augustus made a foundation for a stipend of between forty and a hundred gulden, every four years, for twenty-seven students; this was raised to a hundred and fifty in 1577. At Tübingen, Marburg, Rostock, Heidelberg, Altdorf, and Basle, there were like provisions. These beneficiaries were subjected to many special rules, derived from the monkish age. They were restricted as to their board and exercise. They were allowed to indulge to a certain extent in music. They might be beaten with rods.

The manner of living in learned institutions before the Reformation, was very much like that of the English universities. Noblemen and some others were allowed for special reasons to lodge out of the precincts; but the contrary rule prevailed with most undergraduates. The same was true in the earliest period of the Reformation. But it soon became more common to live in the town. Some good men bewailed the innovation, and especially the disuse of the rule, that no student should be

without his tutor. Osse, in 1556, mentions the diminution of students at Leipsick from sixteen hundred to three hundred and fifty, and ascribes it to the dissatisfaction of parents, who no longer felt that there was any proper guardianship over their sons.

The period necessary in order to the successive degrees, varied at different schools. In Paris, it was two years for bachelaureate, three years for mastership; to which add five years attendance on theological lectures; a ten years curriculum for churchmen. The term for theologians at Tübingen, seems to have been a quinquennium. The same in Holland. Stipendiaries at Marburg studied, at first seven, afterwards five years. Some, however, remained ten years, but the majority about five.

The grand elements of university life in those days were lectures, disputations, and public speeches. Of public lectures we have already made mention. Private lectures were less common than in modern German instruction. The great reliance was on private exercises and disputations. "The students," says Meyfart, "come rarely to the public halls, when there are lectures, but hang about the doors. Sometimes they resort to a *disputatorium*, with their fellows, and then send home their theses with a dedication to their parents." The middle-age method of learning every thing by rote, found its antagonism in free disputation. Before the fourteenth century, it was customary at Paris for the Masters to dispute among themselves once a week in presence of the students, and once a year more publicly in church. In the fifteenth century, Bachelors disputed, under the presidency of the Masters. "They dispute"—so wrote Vives, in 1531, "before meals, at meals, and after meals; they dispute publicly, privately, everywhere, and always." The polemic character of the Reformation times modified, but did not abolish this dialectical pugnacity. Saturdays were commonly devoted to this exercise. In the Reformed Universities of Holland, these methods were equally prevalent. In 1645, Duve writes to Calixtus, from Franeker: "Quamvis continuum illud disputandi exercitium, quod hic quidem inolevit, ut in eo proram ac puppim, imo ipsam theologiae animam collacent, haud magnam mihi spem in animo meo excitet alicujus

πρεσβορίης." Voetius, in his theological method, prescribes a weekly disputation. The Heidelberg statutes of 1588 enjoin two public disputations for theologians; those of 1672, four. At Marburg they were half-yearly. In Herborn, an act was to be held every Saturday, by each professor in his turn. Similar exercises were held by the philologists, and Greek debates were not uncommon. Helvicus introduced Hebrew debates into Marburg and Giessen. Tholuck detects charlatany in Pfaff's advertisement of Samaritan disputations. It was said of Dilherr, at Jena, that he could dispute in eight languages. The grossest scurribilities were sometimes uttered. But the whole thing came to its close; and what remains of university debate in Germany, is "only the tattered fragment of an ancient court-dress."

Take with us a glimpse of the way in which good men two hundred years ago desired that their sons should deport themselves at college; we make one extract from the counsels of the Chancellor Anton Wolf of Darmstadt, in 1630. "Instructions for my beloved son, Eberhard Wolf, how with God's compassionate help he shall conduct himself in his expected two-years absence from home: 1. Every morning when he has risen from bed, and has combed, washed, and dressed himself, let him humbly fall on his knees before his Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, and earnestly send up his prayers with a flame of true devotion and deepest humility; also every day, without failure or forgetfulness, let him use that prayer which I composed and sent with him to Marburg, adding my blessing, weak and futile in itself, but mighty through Christ. 2. After morning prayer, let him read or hear at least one psalm of David, in order to keep in constant and strong recollection the Psalter, which in his tender youth he learned entirely by heart. 3. After the psalm, let him read or hear one or two chapters of the Bible. 4. The same should he do, not only when he rises in the morning, but also in the evening, before he goes to bed. 5. In addition, let him sometimes during the day, retire and cast himself on his knees, and seriously address himself to heaven, in some such wise as I have prescribed on the *Quasimodogeniti* Sunday, last passed.

6. Let him peruse all *disputationes theologicas*, and then attend and listen to them; but when more than one is holden in a month, he may omit all but one, so as not to abstract too much time from the *studio juris*. 7. Let him hear two sermons on Sunday, and one in the week; but in addition, on Sunday, and on Saturday towards evening, let him turn over some fine book of prayers, postills, or theological treatises, and during the same hours complete the second perusal which he has begun of the *Locorum theologicorum Hafnenrefferi*. 8. And it is my particular desire, that at least every quarter, he should devoutly approach the Lord's table; also that he accustom himself diligently to observe all Sundays and feast-days, employing them solely for the improvement of piety, by prayer, reading, hearing, singing, or conversation. 9. All the forenoon hours of the whole week, Sunday excepted, and the afternoons of three days, should he, after devotion and reading of the Bible, bestow *solo juris studio*. 26. For one half year, let him daily for one hour go to the dancing-school, and the year following, to the fencing-school; but if there be no dancing-master at Jena, let him attend to the fencing without the dancing," etc., etc.

The state of morals and religion was outwardly better in the universities of the seventeenth century than at a later day. This may be inferred from what is said by Francke, in his *Timotheus*, that the young men generally attended to the forms even of private devotion. Here and there we meet with a beautiful instance of something more, especially of professors who cared for the souls of their pupils. Such was Schmid of Strasburg. Read the testimony of Lütkemann, a pupil, in a letter to him, in 1644: "In pectore mihi intime versaris, mi pater, qui si me non de novo generasti, ad novum hominem non parum contribuisti. Felicem prædico diem, quo Argentinam ingressus duos nactus sum duces, unum, ut essem philosophus, alterum, ut essem *Dei servus*. Mysterium revelarem, nisi turpe esset multa de se et illo quocum loqueris (dicere); non tamen mentirer, si Deum voluissem laudare, tuque unitatem quandam spiritus cerneret. Nolo quidquam dare auribus. Non tamen negare debeo, si me ministro pietas apud nos hic tabernaculum figat, necnon ad alios extendat, post Deum tibi

debere, qui pietatis semen mihi in manum tradideris." This good man was a teacher of philosophy, as well as a preacher. His maxim was, "I would rather save one soul, than make a hundred learned." He was the instracter of H. Müller, who became the spiritual father of so many children. Under the Spenerian revival, conversions became more common among the learned youth.

But there was a dark side to the picture; though Tholuck warns us against judging of the mass by the instances which he collects. Much of the rudeness belonged to the times. The wars of the period carried evil influences into the seats of learning. The contemporary writers are loud in complaints of the violence which prevailed among students. The first outbreak of this was naturally against the *Philisterium*, a slang-latin term for the townsmen or canaille. A Helmstadt protocol of 1696 relates, that a wedding was invaded by students; the beer was all drunk up, people were smitten on the ribs, and some were wounded with swords. The same year, a poor fellow complains to the Jena deputies, that he had been assaulted by a gownsman, so that he kept his bed for a year. About 1665, there was founded at Helmstadt a *societas venatoria*, which held forth among other offices that of hunting down and vexing the brutes of townsfolk. "Grassationes nocturnæ, et vociferationes, ululatus et rugitus studiosorum," appear as standing charges of edicts against university-men. In Wittenberg, the gravamina were, "clamores vix humani," and "obscoenæ cantiones." The worship of churches was interrupted by profane and obstreperous behaviour. In Reideburg, near Halle, they ascended the pulpit during church-time, played on bagpipes, and dragged women out of the pews to dance. In Helmstadt, they came to afternoon service and put out the singers by their discordant noises. In Strasburg, they would sit in tap-houses during Sabbath hours, filling the neighbourhood with the din of their wassail. Duels and even murders are mentioned. The Marburg Annals of 1619 speak of it as a favour, that the year has passed without any one being slain. The enactments against hard drinking show how widely it prevailed. The work before us contains numerous

statements of thefts by students. A common song ascribes a certain climatic character to the university vices.

“Wer von Tübingen kommt ohne Weib,
Von Jena mit gesunden Leib,
Von Helmstädt ohne Wunden,
Von Jena ohne Schrunden,
Von Marburg ungrefallen,
Hat nicht studirt auf allen.”

The evils of university life were greatly fostered by those combinations or sodalities, often connected with national origin, which in some shape have continued even until our times. The youth of one kingdom or state were banded together, and came into frequent collision with those of another. It was a custom of early origin and wide prevalence. The “four nations” of the University of Paris came at length to be subdivided into provinces. In 1559, at Tübingen, the Poles and the Prussians had their respective brotherhoods. The Heidelberg Annals of 1610 make mention of a tumult between French and German, as also between Silesian and Swiss students. These *Landsmannschaften* often proved too strong for the authorities.

Out of these associations sprang the hideous evil of *Pennalismus*, the terror of the age. The word denotes that peculiar tyranny which was exercised over freshmen and novices, to which the flogging of English public schools is a trifle, and of which every trace has long ago disappeared in America. We have already noted the vexations which awaited matriculates, on their entering the university. Unfortunately the troubles of the newcomer did not end here. We read of *bejauniis*, of mullets to which the *becs-jaunes* were subjected at Paris. That the thing was well understood in Germany appears from Hoe’s autobiography: “I made my deposition of the horns,” says he, “not at Wittenberg, but at Vienna in 1592, and therefore had already accomplished my pennalismus.” As time went on, the exactions from the *beanus*, or fox, became more and more brutal. After the matriculation supper, the novice was attached to some senior student as his famulus, a term familiar to readers of Faust. In some universities our poor client was truly a body-servant of his patron, called him master, waited at meals, followed him abroad, cleaned his shoes, and moreover

was liable to extortions in the way of clothing, books and money. At length, he was bound to go poorly clad, on the ground that his best clothes belonged to the master. The pennals had their separate place in the lecture-room, and were expected to do service in all bacchanal orgies in town and country. These excesses have been known to take place even in professors' houses; and some bear witness that the abuse was especially encouraged by the theological faculty. The term of pennalistic subjugation was nicely fixed to one year, six months, six weeks, six days, six hours, and six minutes. This accomplished, the fox was to go to the individual members of his national society, to receive absolution from each; then the absolution-supper, the collation of right to wear the sword, hitherto withheld, and at last the wished-for consummation, when, from having his hair burnt, he became a *brand-fox*.

Two celebrated men, Schuppe, and the author of *Philaudec von Sittenwald*, are cited in regard to this system of fagging. "When I was come to the university," says the former, "there visited me some right worshipful Pennal-masters, during my term of subjection. Seeing that I had in my hand the *Horæ subsecivæ* of Camerarius, they cried, 'See here what a grand pennal, to be reading big books! My little pennal, dost thou know what thou readest?' I was abashed, and made a low bow. Then one of them came to me: 'Have you any cash?' 'No,' said I. 'Then,' replied he, 'you must send the Camerarius to the wine-shop, and fetch two quarts of wine; I will then give you good help.' I accordingly sent my Camerarius and my Sunday cloak, and begged the publican to wait till I could write-to my father. The burgomaster Lünker, an honest German, was in the shop, and, turning over the volume, saw what I had written in the margin, and said to the maid, 'This must be a fine learned gentleman who has been reading this book;' and then to the host, 'Let him have what he wants.' I did my service as reverently as if I had been page to the duke of Friedland, thinking if I gave too little tribute, I should hear the dreadful sentence, 'Let the brute go hang.'"

At their orgies, as described by Moscherosch, they went to every excess of roystering, with various tricks and injuries put upon the freshmen, who were forced to partake of a horrid

mixture from a covered vessel; its contents are noted in a Jena programme of 1638; “ex farciminum panis, laterum frustulis, sale, luto, bolum quendam confectum et novitiorum ori ita intrusum, ut ex gingivis sanguis profueret, nuper non sine justa indignatione percepimus.” This monstrous usurpation seems to have taken its rise in the seventeenth century. The Jena programme, touching its abolition, speaks of it as having existed for fifty years. Early in the century many edicts were fulminated against it. Jena was the most notorious for the rigour of its pennalism. In 1649, Schmid writing to Hülsemann about his son, says he was frightened away from this university “ob dissolutos commilitonum mores et insultationes, quibus excipi solent illius scholæ proselyti.” About 1630 there began a general coalition for putting it down. Great joy broke forth when the work was at length accomplished. In Wittenberg the rector says in 1661: “The situation of our university,” writes Dortmayer, “is wonderfully changed from what it was, as the ‘servitia, exactiones, symbola, nationes, omniaque vexandi nomina’ are abolished.” This, however, did not infer the dissolving of all national combinations; these indeed were formally legalized at Königsberg.

Among the curiosities of university life, from the American point of view, are the travels of German students. Every one who has spent a summer in those countries, will call to mind the groups of young fellows, with sticks and knapsacks, who traverse the land in all directions; but few are aware how much this had become a regular system. In the seventeenth century the *peregrinatio academica* was a necessary part of education. Voetius, in his well known isagogical work, speaks of it as the keystone of theological edification. Dorsche, in 1634, writes of the theologian Westerfeld, “learned as he is—‘deest illi academiarum Germaniæ lustratio.’” There are many books on the subject, by Zwingler, Thomasius, Winkler, Lipsius, Fabricius, and Erpenius.

Before the seventeenth century the method was to study at several universities. Young men went in numbers to Paris, and many, chiefly for medicine, to Padua. It was not unusual to go to four, or even seven different schools. Some examples may be worthy of note. Rist, of Holstein, went to Rinteln,

Rostock, Leipsick, Utrecht, and Leyden. Reinboht was two years at Leipsick, five at Jena, then again at Rostock. Michaelis was at Königsberg in 1642, some years at Rostock, then at Greifswald and Copenhagen, and lastly at Leyden. John Fabricius was two years at Rostock, three at Wittenberg, two at Königsberg, three at Leyden under Golius, rose master at Rostock, and then travelled through Denmark, Holstein, and France, returning in 1642. Many Germans went to the universities of Holland. But in the seventeenth century this custom began to give place to the proper university-pilgrimage. It was most regular for this to follow graduation as master, or the call to some profession. Holland, which Calixtus calls the *compendium orbis*, was a favourite object of these wanderings. Richter, the chancellor of Altdorf, thus writes to three young men of Nuremburg, in 1615: "At Leyden you will find a house which is frequented by Nurembergers. Erasmus says truly: *Aliam gentem non esse, quæ vel ad humanitatem vel ad benignitatem sit propensior, quæ ingenium habeat adeo simplex et ab insidiis omnique fuko alienum.* He applauds the cleanliness, in which they surpassed all other people, and adds: *Vix in ulla orbis parte doctorum virorum numerus frequentior quam in illo terræ angulo.*" Next after Holland, England was sought by learned young travellers. The Mecklenburg jurist Willebrand, after a journey to Holland, went in 1637 to England. Linde-mann of Rostock, 1634, spent a year in Holland, and six months in England. Schwarz, a Pomeranian polemic, after seven years of study at Wittenberg, was six months at Utrecht, a year at London and Oxford, and a year at Paris. Von Derschow of Königsberg studied in 1635 with Pococke, then a young man; Mieg, of Heidelberg, was in 1633 and 1644, with Lightfoot. In 1675, Dassov of Kiel studied in Oxford with the Jew Abendana, and Danz resorted to the aged Pococke in 1683. Paris and even Geneva were much frequented, especially for the acquisition of the French language.

It is a very natural question, how the poor students of that age obtained means for such long journeys and expensive residences abroad. In the early years of the period, the journey was commonly made in the company of travelling merchants. When Heckermann was recalled, in 1602, from

Heidelberg to Dantzick, he had to remain eight days in Frankfort, because there was no Dantzick trader there. From Basle to Dordrecht is now a journey of two days. But the four Swiss commissioners in 1618, partly in a four-horse coach, with an armed guard, and partly by water, took twenty-one days, and received from the government two hundred ducats for expenses. Moreover, these peregrinations were not intermitted during the thirty-years-war. The answer to the question is first this: there were in certain universities fixed travelling bounties, as for instance, at Copenhagen to the amount of three thousand rix-dollars. Then there were benefactions of princes, nobles, and other patrons. Calovius received from the Prussian estates three hundred and thirty dollars, for travelling. Winkelmann was sent abroad by his landgrave. Many went as *compagnons de voyage*. In some cases, especially in Holland, the stranger made something by private lessons. But we must withhold our hand, and advise those who need fuller details to resort to the original volume.

ART. III.—*Character and Writings of Pascal.*

Pensées de Blaise Pascal sur la religion, et sur quelques autres sujets. Paris: Chez Lefèvre, et Compagnie. 1847.

Lettres écrites à un Provincial, par Blaise Pascal. Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères. 1849.

WHAT reader of ecclesiastical annals does not feel a tender interest in the history of the Jansenists; follow their progress through successive years; mark their efforts for the maintenance of the truth; sympathize with them under their sufferings; and view with admiration their heroic constancy?

The author of this kind of schism in the Romish Church was Cornelius Jansenius; at first Professor of Divinity in the University of Louvain, and afterwards Bishop of Ypres—a man of acknowledged erudition, unwearied activity, and fervent piety. The greater part of his life had been devoted to the

preparation of a work, termed *Augustinus*, which was completed on the day of his death. Its doctrines were presented, for the most part, in the words of Augustin, a father, whose name and authority were universally revered. It contains a luminous exposition of the Pelagian controversy; an account of the opinions of Augustin respecting the powers of human nature, in its original, fallen, and renewed state, and of his sentiments on the sacrifice of Christ, the aids of the Holy Spirit, and the eternal predestination of men and angels—all arranged with perspicuity, enforced by argument, and exhibiting an able defence of those doctrines which, in our times, have usually been distinguished by the term, *Calvinistic*, or *Evangelical*.

Scarcely had the work made its appearance, before it was assailed with the bitterest venom by the Jesuits, who had previously exerted their influence to effect its suppression, and who regarded it as a silent, but formidable attack upon their doctrines concerning human liberty, and divine grace. They not only opposed the work, and traduced the character of the author, but with rancorous malice pursued his remains to the grave, demolished the splendid monument which his friends had erected over him, tore his body from the sepulchre, and threw it into some unknown receptacle. With the same spirit they sought a public condemnation of the work at Rome, and succeeded. The reading of it was prohibited in the year 1641, and in the following year, Urban VIII. condemned it by a solemn bull, as infected with dangerous errors.

The advocates of truth and the friends of the Bishop, denominated from him *Jansenists*, though exposed to suspicion and odium, had increased in considerable numbers, in France, Holland and Belgium. No sooner was the Papal bull published and an attempt made to enforce it, than the most ruthless persecution commenced. Excommunication, fines, cruel banishments, and rigorous imprisonments were every where inflicted. The state-prisons were thronged; threats of fire and of poison were loudly uttered, and, in some instances, executed; the Bastile was crowded with unhappy victims, who entered only to suffer, and who never came out alive. Some wandered about in disguise; others expired in going to foreign countries,

worn out with fatigue and anxiety, praying fervently for their afflicted brethren, and still more affectionately for their persecutors. It was an age of martyrdom, when many were “persecuted for righteousness’ sake,” and were “blessed;” when the “doctrines of grace” were warmly advocated by those whose motto was, “we will defend the truth, if necessary, to the death;” when multitudes nobly struggled in opposition to error, and cheerfully submitted to every species of suffering, rather than deny their Christian faith. In her long roll of martyrs, history records the names of none who suffered with greater constancy, or in a nobler cause.

Port Royal was the fountain whence Jansenism had spread over France; it was made so by St. Cyran, who presided over it, who had aided largely in the composition and publication of the treatise *Augustinus*; and who exerted himself to build up a society for the maintenance and promulgation of the principles of that book. Two houses went under this name, forming but a single abbey—one situated at Paris, the other about six leagues from the city, in a gloomy forest, termed Port Royal Des Champs. This last community differed from a monastery in not being bound by vows: settled in a farm adjoining the convent called Les Granges, it was a kind of literary hermitage, where the time of the recluses was divided between devotion and the cultivation of letters, relieved by mechanical arts and agricultural labours. Here many resorted, some of rank and fortune, to enjoy a sacred retreat from the world. Here sound literature was assiduously cultivated; here men who deserve well of the republic of letters composed works adapted to improve the mind and heart; here youth were taught the rudiments of language and the principles of science; and to this day the Port Royal Grammars, and other classical works, are appreciated and studied. It was alike renowned for its religious fame. Here the Holy Scriptures were supremely revered and diligently studied, and amid some superstition, which we as Protestants cannot approve, there was a steadfast adherence to sound doctrines, united to the exhibition of pious virtue. The corruption of the human heart, the consequent necessity of its renovation by the Holy Spirit, the reference of salvation, in all its relations, to the infinite mercy of

God, through the merits of Christ, were the prominent topics which were taught and embraced. For many years it stood, in the midst of its enemies, a splendid example of profound learning and Christian purity; it shone as a light in the midst of darkness; its fame went abroad through the land, and its influence extended to other countries. Several generations of its peaceful inhabitants had indeed perished amid persecution and trial; but others continued to arise imbued with the same spirit. It continued thus to flourish—"the ear that heard it blessed it;" the "eye that saw it bore witness" to it, until its adversaries, the Jesuits, were at length permitted to triumph, and complete "the measure of their iniquity."

In October 1709, it was entirely destroyed, and its innocent inhabitants were imprisoned for life, in separate monasteries. Few of them long survived their dispersion; they were compelled to remove under circumstances of peculiar cruelty, and soon expired from the hardships of their journey and the ill usage in their prisons. The vengeance of their enemies was wreaked even on the buildings which they had occupied, the sacred edifice where they had worshipped, and the silent tombs where their dead had been interred. The monastery and the adjacent church were entirely overthrown; workmen, hired and prepared for the purpose, rifled the graves in which the recluses of former times were resting; with wicked ribaldry, and outrages too disgusting to be repeated, they piled up a loathsome heap of bones and corpses, on which the dogs were permitted to feed. What remained was thrown into a pit, prepared for the purpose, near the neighbouring churchyard of St. Lambert.

But though the institution has fallen, and its light is extinguished, yet it shall never be forgotten; its memory shall always be blessed. The pious traveller, in visiting Versailles, will turn aside to the dark and gloomy vale, where it once stood, to view its few hallowed remains, and tread the consecrated spot, so sacred to genius, to piety, and to virtue. It shall never be forgotten. Many of its friends and patrons were such as reflected honour upon its cause; their learning, piety and usefulness, gave it a reputation which, in so small a body, and in such a period of its existence, is wholly unexampled. The

names of Arnauld, Nicole, Tillemont, Lancelot, Racine, Saci, Quesnel, Le Maitre, Fontaine, Rollin, and others, have conferred immortality upon Port Royal which will ever keep it in grateful remembrance.

But a more splendid genius than any of these was PASCAL—that “prodigy of parts,” as Locke calls him—a name that is associated with all that is splendid in the highest order of talent, and all that is bright and pure in the practice of holiness. Though he did not formally unite himself with Port Royal, yet he was on terms of strict intimacy with its inmates, spent much time in their society, wrote several of his works while among them, possessed similar tastes and feelings, espoused their doctrines, took part in their controversies; and, for this reason, has been generally regarded as of their order. A formal biography of Pascal we do not design giving—it will be sufficient to advert to a few facts of his history.

He was born at Clermont, in Auvergne, on the 19th of June, 1623. His father, Stephen Pascal, was a man distinguished for his talents and virtues; an eminent lawyer, first President in the Court of Aids, and also an able mathematician and natural philosopher. Having been afflicted with the loss of a wife whom he tenderly loved, he determined to devote the remainder of his life to the education of his three children; and, to fulfil this design, he resigned his office in the year 1631, and removed to Paris. There the young Pascal was subject to the immediate care and attention of his learned and judicious parent, and under his instruction, gave early indications of an uncommon capacity. As soon as he could speak intelligibly, his remarks were pertinent and interesting, and his inquiries new and striking; and while he exhibited a fund of knowledge far beyond his age, his reasoning faculties rapidly increased with his advancing years.

His sister, Madame Perier, tells us what were the methods pursued by the father in the education of his son; how at an early age, he wished to cultivate his taste and improve his memory; how he instructed him in the Greek and Latin languages, and gave him a general view of their nature and signification; how he taught him the import and application of grammatical rules; and how he adopted other methods of in-

struction, well worthy of the attention of those who have the charge of youth.

While the youthful pupil was deriving the highest advantage from the books that were given to him, he conversed much with his father on such subjects of natural philosophy as were calculated to interest his attention; they were such as he delighted to consider, and wished to understand; he would never be satisfied with the bare recital of an experiment, but required a reason for every thing that was presented. With that ardent love of truth and inquisitive turn of mind, which he possessed from his childhood, he applied his powers of understanding to the subjects proposed, and pursued the investigation, until he had acquired a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. On one occasion, anxious to know the reason of a phenomenon which he had seen and heard, he commenced a course of experiments upon sounds, and conducted the investigation with so much success, that at twelve years of age, he composed a treatise on Phonics, remarkable for its ingenuity and correct reasoning. Everybody has heard how at the same age, without a master and without books, he may be said to have invented a part of Geometry, which had cost many years of efforts to the ancients; how his father discovered him in his chamber solving a problem, which was no other than the 32d proposition of the first book of Euclid, without his knowing the name of a single figure. His parent could no longer restrain a mind endowed with such powers; he gave him Euclid's Elements for his hours of recreation, and was delighted to find him, at that tender age, reading it by himself, without need of assistance or explanation. He continued the study of mathematical science, and made such rapid progress, that at the age of sixteen he composed a Treatise on Conic Sections, which displayed an extraordinary effort of mind, and evinced a strength of reasoning and knowledge of science, fully equal to anything that had appeared. These extraordinary attainments, which would have perfectly intoxicated any ordinary man, he bore with humility and modesty; neither pride nor vanity found admission into his youthful heart.

These and other similar circumstances in the early life of Pascal, have been the occasion of much discussion, and of some

incredulity; but the evidence of truth is so strong that it cannot be resisted. Similar appearances in the lives of other men are recorded, and well authenticated. Bacon not only understood, but criticised the works of Aristotle, at fifteen years of age. Maignan, without any instruction, became an able mathematician at the age of eighteen years. Picus, Earl of Mirandola, was a prodigy of learning, even in childhood; and Grotius and Usher, at the same period, were eminent for their attainments in literature. Fontenelle composed a Latin poem at thirteen years of age, which gained a public prize at Rouen. Clairaut was only fifteen years old, when he published a treatise on Quadratures, which obtained the praise of the French Academy, and astonished the mathematical world. To come nearer to our own times, Robert Hall, before he was nine years of age perused and re-perused with intense interest, Edwards on the "Affections," and on the "Will;" and at the same early period read, with a like interest, "Butler's Analogy."

We shall not dwell, however, upon the attainments of Pascal in mathematical and philosophical science; his invention of the arithmetical machine; the principles of the calculation of chances, and the method of solving the problems respecting the cycloid. We shall not enter into details, in showing how he finally determined the great question which divided the opinions of the world, concerning the pressure of the atmosphere; or how he was the first to establish, by mathematical process, the general laws of the equilibrium of fluids. We proceed to consider his *religious* character. However eminent he was as a mathematician, a philosopher, and a general scholar, he was still more elevated when, in addition to these distinctions, he was adorned with the dispositions, and animated with the hopes of the Christian. Towards the end of the year 1647, he experienced a paralytic affection in both his legs, which almost deprived him of the use of them for nearly three months. While thus suffering, he was led to employ much of his time in reading books of piety. It was the period when it pleased God to impress his mind with a deep sense of the nature and obligations of Christianity, and of the necessity of devoting himself supremely to his service. The impres-

sion was so strong, that his former pursuits lost, in his sight, much of their apparent excellency; his literary reputation and triumphs he regarded as nothing; and he unhesitatingly resolved to consecrate the remainder of his life entirely to his God. An incident which occurred about this time—a narrow escape from sudden death—tended to deepen his impressions and confirm his resolutions. To carry his design into effect, he retired for a time from the city, and resided in the country; there he studied the Holy Scripture, diligently examined the subject of its inspiration, and after a patient investigation, was fully convinced of its truth, and of the necessity of believing all that it reveals. It is truly delightful to see such a mind as Pascal's coming to such a conclusion; to behold a capacious and inquisitive genius animated by an ardent desire to penetrate the mysteries of natural science, and requiring a reason for every object of philosophical inquiry, yet restraining his curiosity within the boundaries of physical truth, and receiving the word of God with childlike submission and simplicity. This simple belief of the truth contained in Scripture, solely because it is a divine revelation, governed the tenor of his future life, and directed the course of all his studies. He used often to say, “in the Scriptures, whatever is an object of faith need not be an object of reason.” He regarded it also as a practical book, from which we are to learn the spirit and genius of Christianity—a book which, he more than once said, “was the science not so much of the *understanding* as of the *heart*—intelligible only to those whose heart is right, the reading of which should therefore be accompanied with prayer for the Holy Spirit.” With such views, he studied the sacred volume, and acquired a knowledge of its contents, and a facility of quoting it, unusual at that day; he everywhere recommended it to his friends, and exercised the powers of his mind in demolishing everything that tended to deform its truth. Thus acting, he made as astonishing progress in religion, as he had before done in science. Those very circumstances which tended to retard his pursuits in philosophy, favoured his attainments in piety, so that he was wont to say, “in pursuing human science, sickness retards my progress; but since my present business is to teach lessons of heavenly wisdom, afflic-

tions accelerate my advancement." A devotion so sincere and fervent, an example of holy conduct so edifying, kindled, as it were, a flame in the whole family; his father was willing to listen to his discourses, and to regulate his life by the pious maxims of his son; his younger sister, of fine understanding and brilliant genius, was so impressed by the conversation of her brother that she renounced the world, with all its distinctions, and devoted herself to the service of God in the monastery of Port Royal. He himself, after the death of his father, attracted by its devotion and spirituality, so far attached himself to this institution, as to seek there an occasional retreat from the world; there, in the cells of the city, or in the silent shades of "Des Champs," he produced the two works, which are at the head of our article.

His "*Pensées*," or "*Thoughts on Religion*," originated in a design to write a work on the Evidences of the Christian Religion. It was written at the close of his life, when his last years were a succession of the acutest sufferings; but during this interval, his thoughts were so bright, his love of truth so ardent, and his benevolence so tender, that he wished to appear in a new department—not so much as a controversial, as a contemplative moralist; not as the advocate of a particular body of Christians, but the champion of Christianity itself. Persuaded that something of this kind was needed, he collected and arranged materials for a work which was designed to show the necessity of a divine revelation, and to demonstrate the truth, reality, and advantage of the Christian religion. When his design was known, he was requested by some persons of distinction and learning, to exhibit a general view of what he was preparing. Pascal complied with their wishes. His discourse was continued for nearly three hours, in which were displayed a grandeur of conception, a cogency of argumentation, an extensive range of learning, and a profound skill in theology, that were truly astonishing and delightful. Kindling as he proceeded, this great master of style delineated his scheme with all the grace of a rich and noble eloquence, and produced such an overpowering effect upon his auditors, as led them to declare, that the lapse of many years could not extinguish the emotions, or efface the impression of

that memorable day. It must ever be lamented that an undertaking so comprehensive and well-concerted was not carried into execution. Very much that he invented or collected on this subject was confided to the mere care of his memory; but we rejoice to know that a part has been preserved; that these "Thoughts," found after his death, written on separate pieces of paper, and tied up in bundles, without order or arrangement, were fragments of the matter which he designed to use. Some of them, particularly in the first part, have no relation to the subject; but with these exceptions, there are few passages which ought not to be considered as materials kept in reserve for the monument which was about to be prepared. But small and incomplete as is the work, it is a mine of profound thought and evangelical piety, which deserves to be explored. The ideas and sentiments, only partially evolved, and imperfectly developed, display an intellect of surprising energy and expansion, a richness and novelty of illustration, a depth and pregnancy truly admirable—all expressed in a style terse and simple, and abounding with examples of that serene eloquence which becomes the philosopher and the Christian.

From the "Thoughts" themselves, and from what his friends who heard his discussions have said, it was the design of Pascal to establish the Divine authority of the Scriptures from their *internal* evidence; especially from their peculiar suitability to man, and the strong claim which, on this account, they have upon him.

He begins by telling us what man is. Of the weakness and corruption of human nature, as exhibited in Scripture, and presented in our conduct, he makes an enlarged survey—not however with the exulting triumph of a satirist, but rather with the tenderness of a Jeremiah, weeping over the sins of his nation, and pointing out the ruin with which they are threatened. However weak in intellect, and degraded in heart, man is not contemptible. "He is so great," says Pascal, "that his greatness appears even in the consciousness of his misery. A tree does not know itself to be miserable. It is true there is misery in knowing one's self miserable; but there is greatness also. Thus all man's miseries prove his greatness. They are the miseries of a mighty potentate, of a dethroned

monarch." He then directs us to the height from which man has fallen, and shows us that his misery is aggravated, because of that innocence and peace which he has lost; and his grief greater, because of the recollection of that happiness which was once enjoyed. "What man is unhappy because he is not a king, except a king dethroned? Was Paulus Æmilius considered miserable that he was no longer consul? On the contrary, every one thought that he was happy in having it over, for it was not his condition to be always consul. But Perseus, whose permanent state should have been royalty, was considered so wretched in being no longer a king, that men wondered how he could endure life. Who complains of having only one mouth? Who would not complain of having but one eye? No man mourns that he has not three eyes, yet each would sorrow deeply if he had but one." He thus seeks to humble man only that he may exalt him; to point out the frailty and wretchedness of his condition, only that his attention may be diverted from it, and fixed upon the splendours of the life to come. If such had not been his design, the exhibition would have been not only vain, but injurious—as he says: "It is dangerous to show man unreservedly how nearly he resembles the brute creation, without pointing out, at the same time, his greatness. It is dangerous also to exhibit his greatness exclusively, without his degradation. It is yet more dangerous to leave him ignorant of both, but it is highly profitable to teach him both together. I blame with equal severity those who elevate man, those who depress him, and those who think it right merely to divert him. I can approve of those only who seek in tears for happiness. The Stoics say: Turn in upon yourselves, and there you will find repose. This however is not true. Others say—Go forth from yourselves, and seek for happiness. Neither is true. Disease will come. Alas! happiness is neither within us, nor without us—it is the union of ourselves with God."

On such subjects Pascal had reflected deeply, and expressed himself strongly. With tender sympathy, with humanity, he rebukes those who would leave man in this state of misery and corruption, without attempting relief, and represents their unbelief, not so much the offspring of a disordered understand-

ing, as of a polluted heart.—“What advantage is it to us to hear a man say that he has thrown off the yoke; that he does not think that there is any God who watches over his actions; that he considers himself the sole judge of his conduct, and that he is accountable to none but himself? Does he imagine that we shall hereafter repose confidence in him, and expect from him consolation, advice, succour, in the exigencies of life? Do such men imagine that it is any matter of delight to us to hear that they hold that our soul is but a little vapour or smoke, and that they can tell us this in an assured and self-sufficient tone of voice? Is this then a thing to say with gayety? Is it not rather a thing to be said with tears, as the saddest thing in the world?”

Having shown man as he is, and the utter inefficacy of infidelity to bring relief, Pascal brings the doctrines of the Scriptures as adapted to his moral nature; and hence infers that it is altogether impossible that Christianity should be a fiction—a mere product of human artifice. He shows that however other systems may be suited to angels, or to ideal men, or to solitary philosophers, or to dry moralists, the Christian religion is alone suited to the wants and miseries of fallen man. This religion he does not consider sufficient to present as simply true; he announces it as a system of truth of the highest importance and absolute necessity, as alone capable of scattering the clouds which oppress the mind respecting the origin, condition, and destiny of man; as alone able to soothe and alleviate the multiplied sorrows of life; as alone qualified to shed lustre and brightness through the gloomy avenues of death, and to communicate to the heart of the dying, light, and animation, and joy. In his hand, Christianity appears, not as a mathematical problem, beautiful and true, but yet cold and selfish—unconnected with the happiness of man; but like its Divine Author, living and active; and everywhere “doing good.” How finely in the following passage does he describe the God of the Scriptures, and aim to enkindle a love for him, and a taste for spiritual objects. “The metaphysical proofs of the being and attributes of God are so complicated, obscure and remote from the ordinary modes in which men reason, that they leave a feeble and transient impression; and

even when the mind is most affected by them, this continues only during the short period that the demonstration is distinctly apprehended. The conviction is often momentary, and they suspect that they have been imposed upon. The Divine Being of the Christian is not a God who is merely the author of geometrical truths, and of the order and arrangement of the elements—this is the god of Paganism. Nor is he only a God who superintends the lives and fortunes of men by his providence, bestowing a large and happy course of years upon those who adore him—this is the Divinity of the Jews. But the God of Abraham and of Jacob, who is the God of the Christian, is a God of love and consolation; who fills the heart and replenishes the soul of which he takes possession; penetrating it with a deep sense of its own misery, and of his infinite mercy; a God who unites himself to the centre of the soul, filling it with humility, joy, confidence, and love; and thus rendering it unable to repose on any object but himself, as its supreme and ultimate end. The God of the Christian is a God who causes the soul to feel that he is its only good; that he is its only rest; and that it can have no joy but in loving him; and who teaches it, at the same time, to abhor every obstacle to the full ardour of that affection.” He represents Christ as the whole life and spirit of the renewed man; as attracting, charming, and winning the heart of the sinner—“To know God as a Christian, a man must know his misery and unworthiness, and the need he has of a Mediator, by whom he may draw near to God and be united to him. These two branches of knowledge must not be separated, for when separated, they are not only useless, but injurious. The knowledge of God, without the knowledge of our ruin, is pride. The knowledge of our ruin, without the knowledge of Jesus Christ, is despair. But the knowledge of Christ delivers us both from pride and despair, because in him we discern at once, our God, our guilt, and our only way of recovery. We may know God without knowing our wretchedness, or our wretchedness without knowing God; or both without knowing the way of deliverance from those miseries by which we are overwhelmed. But we cannot know Jesus Christ, without knowing at once our God, our ruin, and our remedy; because he is not merely God,

but God, *our Saviour*. Hence, those who seek God without the Saviour, will discover no satisfactory or truly beneficial light. For they never discover that there is a God, or, if they do, it is to little purpose; because they devise to themselves some way of approaching that God whom they have discovered without the aid of a Mediator; and thus they fall into atheism, or deism, two evils equally abhorrent to the Christian system. We should therefore aim exclusively to know Jesus Christ, since by him alone can we expect to obtain a divine knowledge. Without him, man must remain in sin and misery; in him, man is delivered from them both. In him is treasured up all our happiness, virtue, life, light, and hope; out of him, there is nothing for us but sin, misery, darkness, and despair."

We have not space for other quotations. We might direct the reader to other truths equally affecting and as strongly expressed—seen through the fine colouring of fancy and feeling—the beautiful *contrast between Mahomedanism and Christianity*—the peculiar style of the Evangelists—the character of Jesus Christ—the marks of true religion—comparison of ancient and modern Christians, and other passages of like character.

To derive benefit from this little work, a work which Arnold has ranked among "the greatest master-pieces of human genius," we must read it again, and again—we must *study* it; and remembering that it is only a fragment, think out the train of thought which the author has suggested, and fill up the chasms which he has every where left.

Our unqualified approbation of the whole work is not to be expected; there are sentiments to which we cannot assent, arising from that system of faith in which the author was educated, and which, notwithstanding his high regard for the authority of Scripture, exerted an influence over him; sentiments on the subject of miracles, the character of the church and some of its ceremonies, auricular confession, and the benefit of that extravagant austerity and voluntary suffering, of which he was so painful an example, at the close of his life. Neither can we be perfectly satisfied with the very dark view of human life which he presents. Though upon the whole, it is

just, yet we cannot but think that it is tinctured with too sombre colours; that the sad and gloomy portrait might be softened and relieved. Addison makes a judicious remark; “to consider the world as a dungeon, and the whole human race as so many criminals, doomed to execution, is an idea of an enthusiast; to suppose the world to be a seat of delight, where we are to expect nothing but pleasure, is the dream of a Sybarite.” Both extremes are to be shunned. But Pascal seemed not to avoid the first. Though the world is a wilderness, in which we see every where the ruins of human happiness, yet we may truly say that it wants not green spots and hidden treasures. Our nature has the capacity of deriving happiness from the many sources which a kind Providence has given us; scattered every where as the memorials of Him who does not “willingly afflict,” even the “evil and unthankful;” who regards judgment as his “strange work;” and who is pleased to remember, bless, and watch over, a world, by which he is insulted and forgotten.

But the work from which Pascal derives his highest reputation is his *Provincial Letters*, written several years before his “Thoughts on Religion.” It originated in a long and tedious controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. The former drew up the far-famed “five propositions” on the mystery of Divine grace, and contended that they were found in the book of the Bishop of Ypres; sent them to the Pope, and exerted such power at Rome, that Innocent X. condemned them as heretical.* To the authority of the Holy See, Arnauld and his friends implicitly leaned. But a question was asked—Were the objectionable propositions to be found in the book? Arnauld declared that he had studied it from beginning to

* This is a brief view of these celebrated Propositions—they were as follows:

1. That some commandments of God are impracticable, even to the righteous, who desire to keep them, according to their present strength.
2. That grace is irresistible.
3. That moral freedom consists, not in exemption from necessity, but from constraint.
4. That to assert that the will may resist or obey the motions of converting grace, as it pleased, was a heresy of the semi-Pelagians.
5. That to assert that Jesus Christ died for all men without exception, is an error of the semi-Pelagians.

end, and could not find them there; his enemies, the Jesuits, as strongly asserted the contrary. Hence the ever-memorable distinction that was maintained of the *droit* and the *fait*—the *droit* being the justice of the Pope's censure, which all Catholics admitted—the *fait* being the existence in the Augustinus of the censured Propositions, which all the Jansenists denied. In the midst of this contention, a conclave of Parisian doctors decreed that the five Propositions were in the book—a Papal bull affirmed the sentence—and then, a second conclave required all the ecclesiastical and religious communities of France to subscribe their assent.

While the Jesuits were thus triumphing, their joy was at once converted into dismay, when a new champion suddenly appeared, the most formidable that had yet entered the field. But while they were filled with uneasiness and fear, Port Royal hailed with transport an ally, who, to their own sanctity of manners, and to more than their own genius, added popular arts, to which they could make no pretension.

On the 13th of January, 1656, just before the sentence of condemnation was passed upon Arnauld,* appeared the first of Pascal's “Provincial Letters,” or, as they were then called, “Letters written by Louis de Montalte, to one of his friends in the country.” The others, eighteen in number, were published successively, at intervals of several weeks' duration, for more than a year and a half. The work was anonymous, and the greatest care taken to preserve the secret within the circle of a few personal friends. None but they knew Pascal to be the author, nor was the fact generally known and published, until after his death. It was not hastily composed—the author was often employed twenty days on a single letter; one, the eighteenth, he wrote over more than thirteen times—and all, after being written, he transmitted to Arnauld and Nicole, to be carefully revised and corrected—a proof of the toil that is needed to secure perfection in writing, and of the fact, that more than genius is necessary to attain, in this respect, high and permanent success.

* He was condemned for maintaining that Peter fell, because, at the time of his fall, “Divine grace was suspended or withdrawn from him.” The proposition was pronounced “rash, impious, blasphemous, accursed, and heretical.”

We shall not stop to speak of the literary merits of the work —they have been universally acknowledged. The most distinguished French critics unite in pronouncing it a perfect model of taste and style, which has exerted a powerful influence on the literature of succeeding times. Those of other countries who are acquainted with it unite in bearing the same testimony; all agree that it is a master-piece of the most wonderful acuteness and subtlety of genius, united with the keenest satire and the most delicate wit; an example of the precision of mathematical reasoning, joined with the most convincing and persuasive eloquence. The more it is studied as a literary work, the more we must be ready almost to adopt the language of Boileau, that “nothing surpasses it, in ancient or modern times.”*

The grand design of Pascal, in these Letters, is, not merely to defend persecuted innocence, but also to display the corrupt maxims and policy of the Jesuits. Influenced by a pure zeal for the morality of the gospel, he was induced to take up his pen, in opposition to a system which struck at the foundation of all Christian duty, and to expose it, not merely to theologians, but in such a manner, by his language and pleasantry, as would make it seen and felt by the great body of the people.

In the first three letters, he examines the points of dispute involved in the trial of Arnauld. He exposes the fraudulent alliance between the Jesuits and the Dominicans; he shows how the two contracting parties covered up their fundamental differences of opinion by an abuse of language, using phrases which either had no meaning at all, or involved the grossest contradictions. The Dominicans had always maintained the doctrine of “efficacious grace” necessary for any good action; and asserted that human liberty does not consist in indifference, but is compatible with a certain kind of necessity, which springs from the irresistible power of divine grace. The Jesuits, who are the followers of Molina, denied both these dogmas, and affirmed the existence of “sufficient grace,” and “immediate power” to do good, or to abstain from it, without any extraneous aid. Their allies employed the same phrases,

* “Pascal surpasse tout ce qui l'a précédé, ou suivi.”—*Lettres de Mme. de Sévigné.*

but attached to them a different meaning, understanding that the powers spoken of were of no effect, without the additional aid of the Spirit. They covenanted to use these technical words, without any reference to the sense which the Molinists attached to them, on condition that the Jesuits would not oblige them to declare their whole meaning, and would continue to assert that the doctrines of the Thomists were orthodox. Here was fine scope for the pleasantry and sarcasm of Pascal on the dogma of "sufficient grace," which was not sufficient for the performance of a pious work; and of "immediate power," which was of no avail, except by special and Divine assistance.

Nothing could be better adapted to secure his object than the well-concerted means which he used.—In quest of information in the city of Paris, Montalte meets with a Jesuit; from this father he makes inquiries respecting the theological disputes then in vogue, receives from him satisfaction on every topic, learns the contrivances which the casuists are employing for the defence of their maxims, proposes doubts and objections, which are obviated and answered; and at length calls out all the tenets of the Society, and all the policy it is pursuing.

By the adoption of the epistolary style, which admits of freedom, and throwing most of the arguments into the form of a dialogue, he introduces with ease and grace the happiest repartee; he renders an abstruse and perplexed controversy intelligible to his readers; and even amuses and entertains them, as with a well-wrought comedy. Yet his wit is tempered with the greatest kindness; no gall is mingled with his pleasantry; it cannot be said of him as was said of Machiavel in his comedy—"His laughter at men is but the laughter of contempt." On the contrary, all his invectives show that he takes no delight in inflicting pain, and that he employs them only as a reluctant tribute to the love of truth.

In the succeeding letters, from the fourth to the eleventh, he exhibits the maxims of the Jesuits, and shows that they are subversive of all true principles of morality, religion, and civil government. He gives, there is no doubt, a just delineation of their character. It was the object and effort of this Society

to subjugate the whole world to its influence. To effect this design, science and learning were patronized, but morality and virtue were only secondary; ritual ceremony was insisted on, but purity of heart and life dispensed with—if they could not make men saints, they did the best to prevent them from regarding themselves as sinners—so mild was their law of the confessional—so wide the confines of its exemptions, permissions, and dispensations. Not that their *design* was to corrupt mankind—it was only to “keep pace with the age”—to render obedience to the Church as easy as their license could make it. So says Pascal, in his fifth letter—“Their *object* is not the corruption of manners—that is not their design; neither is it their sole aim to reform them—that would be bad policy. Their idea is briefly this—they have such a good opinion of themselves as to believe that it is useful, and in some sort essentially necessary to the good of religion, that their influence should extend everywhere, and that they should govern the consciences of all. The severe maxims of the gospel being best fitted for managing some sorts of people, they avail themselves of these, when they find them favourable to their purpose: but as these maxims do not suit the views of the great bulk of the people, they waive them in the case of such persons, in order to keep on good terms with all the world. Accordingly, having to deal with persons of all classes, and of different nations, they find it necessary to have casuists fitted for this diversity.”—But though such was not their object, yet the inevitable tendency of their doctrines was to corrupt mankind.

Quoting from their writers of established reputation, such as Escobar, Busenbaum, Bauny, Molina, Filiutius, Lessius, and others, Pascal accumulates a long list of decisions, and shows how their doctrines annihilate all morality. According to these decisions, not to will the commission of a sin, as such, affords ground for excuse; the sinner has the more reason to hope for pardon, the less he thought of God in the perpetration of the deed, and the more violent the passion by which he was impelled; custom, and bad example, as they restrict the freedom of the will, avail as an apology. Other grounds of excuse were freely admitted. Duelling is forbidden by the

laws of God and the Church ; but the Jesuits maintain that if any one run the risk of being deemed a coward, or of losing a place, or of forfeiting the favour of his sovereign, by avoiding a duel—in that case he is not condemned if he fight. To take a false oath, in itself, is a grievous sin ; but, say these casuists, he who swears outwardly, without inwardly intending it, is not bound by his oath ; for he does not swear, but jest. The doctrine of “probability” is another strong example of perverted principle. In doubtful cases, a person might disregard the scruples of his conscience and follow the authority of a single writer, if one could be found who maintained that the desired course of conduct was not unlawful. If there is a conflict of authors, the opinion held by any one of them must be deemed probable ; and we are at liberty to select the most indulgent teacher, and to follow the easiest opinions, even though their soundness be not certain. Again, transgression is no longer heinous, if the intention be directed only to the innocent qualities of the act, while its sinful characteristics are put aside and forgotten. In this way, a slight turn of the thoughts was held to exonerate from guilt. Thus simony is forbidden ; but if a person give money for a benefice, not in order to bribe the bestower, but to gain a means of more effectually serving the Church, he is blameless. A man may kill another who gives him a blow, or even publishes a libel against him, provided he does not act from the spirit of hatred or revenge, but only with a view to retrieve his injured honour.

Such were the maxims of the Jesuitical casuists ; such the mantles which they had provided with which to cover the greatest enormities. Acute and subtle in their reasonings, they reduced their false morality to a system, and framed rules for their guidance in the practices of confession and absolution ; made void all law and obligation by the force of casuistry ; changed the essence of things, and made sin to be no sin ; forced immutable truth to yield to logical subtleties, and stubborn virtue to bend to corrupt inclinations and interests. These rules and principles were the necessary consequence of the position which they assumed, and the mission they were to accomplish. They aimed to subdue the world ; and if they could effect it in no other way, they would do it in conforming

to its spirit ; if the arms of the gospel were insufficient, they would borrow weapons from the evil one ; if they could not succeed by appealing to the nobler instincts of humanity, they would make skilful use of the baser appetites and passions ; if they would injure their cause by practising the lax system of ethics which they preach, they would be irreproachable in their morals, and even austere in their conduct—thus occasioning the sarcastic remark that “ they purchased heaven very dearly for themselves, but sold it on very cheap terms to their converts.”

Such is the system which Pascal happily exposes ; a system at which every moral heathen would blush ; which Epictetus, Seneca, and Cicero, would be ashamed to avow.* He clearly proves that such are their doctrines by appealing to their books, and citing the pages where the extracts are found ; he cites those works only which are of high repute among them, which were adopted as guides in the confessional chair, which had passed through many editions, and which had the “ approbation, license, consent and approval” of the order. Escobar’s Treatise on Moral Theology, so often quoted, went through forty editions ; and more than fifty editions were published of the writings of Busenbaum. He could not be justly accused of making false quotations, or of tampering with evidence so as to produce a false impression. He himself says : “ I was asked if I repented of having written my Provincial Letters ; I reply, that far from having repented, if I had to write them now, I would write them yet more strongly. I was asked why I have given the names of the authors from whom I have taken all the abominable propositions I have cited. I answer, that if I lived in a city where there were a dozen fountains, and I certainly knew that there was one which was poisoned, I should be obliged to advertise all the world to draw no water from that fountain ; and as they might think that it was a pure imagination on my part, I should be obliged to name him who had poisoned it, rather than expose all the city to the danger of being poisoned by it. I was asked why I employed a pleasant, jocose, and diverting style. I reply, that if I had written in a

* Any one of them would have said :

“ Non ego mendosos ausim defendere mores.”

dogmatical style, it would have been only the learned who would have read, and they would have had no necessity to do it, being at least as well acquainted with the subject as myself. Thus I thought it a duty to write, so as to be comprehended by women and men of the world, that they might know the danger of those maxims and propositions which were then universally propagated, and of which they permitted themselves to be so easily persuaded. I was asked, lastly, if I had myself read all the books I have cited. I answer, No; for in that case it would have been necessary to have passed my life in reading very bad books; but I had read through the whole of Escobar twice, and for the others, I caused them to be read by my friends. But I have never used a single passage without having myself read it in the book cited, or without having examined the subject on which it is adduced, or without having read both what precedes, and what follows it, in order that I might not run the risk of quoting what was, in fact, an objection for a reply to it—which would have been censurable and unjust."

In all this exposure, do we see any thing in Pascal which has the appearance of vindictiveness over a vanquished foe? No! if there be resentment, it is at the error, rather than at the person; if there be at times an indignation rising to the tone of awful majesty, there is mingled with it a philanthropy most tender and heart-felt; he would take the men to his bosom and reform them, while he consigns their impious doctrines to destruction. What he says to the unsuspecting monk, when taking leave of him, is the expression of his benevolent soul to all the Jesuits—"Open your eyes, at length, my dear father, and if the other errors of your casuists have made no impression on you, let these last, by their very extravagance, compel you to abandon them. This is what I desire from the very bottom of my heart, for your sake, and for the sake of your doctors; and my prayer to God is, that he would vouchsafe to convince them how false the light must be that has guided them to such precipices—my fervent prayer is, that he would fill their hearts with that love of himself from which they have dared to give man a dispensation."—What he uttered on his deathbed was the motive which prompted him in

all his controversies—"As one about to give to God an account of all his actions, I declare that my conscience gives me no trouble on the score of my Provincial Letters; in the composition of that work, I was influenced by no bad motive, but solely by regard to the glory of God, and the vindication of truth, and not in the least by any passion, or personal feeling against the Jesuits."

In the eleventh letter, Pascal throws off his disguise, and addresses himself directly to the whole order of the Jesuits, and to their Provincial, whom he names; abandons himself to the impetuosity of his nature, and pours out his soul in a torrent of declamation. He had prepared us for it by his previous letters. He had pursued the enemies of truth into their lurking-places; he had drawn them out to the light of day; he had exposed their frightful mass of corruption; he had laid open their doctrines of "probability" and "mental reservation;" he had proved, in the clearest manner, that they justified malice, revenge, extortion, simony, uncharitableness, duelling, murder, and almost every other crime. And now, like an orator who has measured his forces, and who perceives that his auditory has become docile under his reasoning, and waits only to be agitated by passion, he pours out his impassioned feelings, applies himself directly to the enemies of truth, shows them the face of a judge, inexorable and terrible; accuses, condemns, overwhelms them. Wrath and indignation breathe in his words—they are the words of Pericles that sting—they are the invectives of Cicero, or rather of Demosthenes, in his Philippiques. We are agitated and carried along with him; we are roused to resentment, and enkindled with detestation, while we see him throwing his whole soul against doctrines which exempt us from all love to God, and all love to man. We forget Port Royal and the Jansenists; we view him only as the friend and defender of man—the advocate of Christianity and morals.

On the subject of homicide, he shows how far the casuists had departed from Scripture and reason; and inspires us with perfect horror of their opinions.—"Everybody knows that, according to the laws of the land, no private individual has a right to demand the death of another individual; and that

though a man should have ruined us, maimed our body, burnt our house, murdered our father, and was prepared to destroy our character and even to assassinate us, yet our private demand for the death of that person would not be listened to in a court of justice. Public officers have been appointed for that purpose, who make the demand in the name of the king, or rather, I should say, in the name of God. But according to your modern system of legislation, there is but one judge, and that is no other than the offended party; he is, at once, the judge, the party, and the executioner. He himself demands from himself the death of his enemy; he condemns him, he executes him on the spot; and without the least respect either for the soul or the body of his brother, he murders and damns him, ‘for whom Christ died;’ and all this for the sake of avoiding a blow on the cheek, or a slander, or an offensive word; or some other offence of a like nature, for which, if a magistrate, in the exercise of legitimate authority, were to condemn any to die, he would himself be impeached; for in such cases the laws are very far indeed from condemning any to death. In a word, to crown the whole of this extravagance, the person who kills his neighbour in this manner, without authority, and in the face of all law, contracts no sin and commits no disorder. Where are we, fathers? Are these really in the sacred office—even priests, who talk in this manner? Are they Christians? are they Turks? are they men? or are they demons? Are these ‘the mysteries revealed by the Lamb to his society?’ or are they not rather abominations suggested by the ‘Dragon’ to those who take part with him. To come to the point with you, fathers, whom do you wish to be taken for? for the children of the gospel, or for its enemies? You must be ranged either on the one side or on the other. ‘He that is not with me,’ saith the Saviour, ‘is against me.’ These two classes are in the world, and into these all mankind are divided. There is the class of the children of God, who form one body, of whom Jesus Christ is the king and head; and there is another class, at enmity with God, of whom the devil is the king and the head. Jesus Christ has imposed upon the Church, which is his empire, such laws as he, in his wisdom, was pleased to ordain; and the devil has imposed on

the world, which is his kingdom, such laws as he chose to establish. Jesus Christ has associated honour with suffering; the devil, with not suffering. Jesus Christ has told those who are smitten on the one cheek to turn the other also; the devil has told those who are threatened with a buffet to kill the man that would do them such an injury. Jesus Christ pronounces those happy who share in his reproach; and the devil declares those to be unhappy who lie under ignominy. Jesus Christ says, ‘Woe unto you when all men speak well of you;’ and the devil says, Woe unto those of whom the world does not speak with esteem. Judge then, fathers, to which of these kingdoms you belong. You have heard the language of the city of peace, the mystical Jerusalem; and you have heard the language of the city of confusion, which Scripture terms the spiritual Sodom. Which of these two languages do you understand? which of them do you speak? Those who are on the side of Jesus Christ have, as St. Paul teaches us, ‘the same mind which was in him;’ and those who are the children of the devil, who has been a ‘murderer from the beginning,’ follow the maxims of the devil. Let us hear then the language of your school. ‘I put this question to your doctors—When a person has given me a blow on the cheek, ought I rather to submit to the injury than kill the offender? or may I not kill the man in order to escape the affront? ‘Kill him, by all means,’ they say, ‘it is quite right.’ Is that the language of Jesus Christ? One question more—Would I lose my honour by tolerating a box on the ear, without killing the person who gave it? ‘Can there be a doubt of it,’ cries Escobar, ‘that so long as a man suffers another to live, who has given him a buffet, that man remains without honour?’ Yes, fathers, without that honour which the devil transfuses, from his own proud spirit, into that of his own proud children. This is the honour which has ever been the idol of worldly-minded men. For the preservation of this false glory, of which ‘the god of this world’ is the appropriate dispenser, they sacrifice their lives by yielding to the madness of duelling; their honour, by exposing themselves to ignominious punishments; and their salvation, by involving themselves in the peril of damnation—a peril which, according to the canons of the Church, deprives

them even of Christian burial. To impress your minds with a still deeper horror at homicide, remember that the first crime of fallen man was a murder committed on the person of a holy man; that the greatest crime committed on earth, was a murder, perpetrated on the person of the King of saints; and that of all crimes, murder is the only one which involves, in a common destruction, the Church and the State, nature and religion. Much more apparent must the contrast of your principles be with ecclesiastical laws, which are incomparably more holy than civil laws, since it is the Church alone that knows and possesses true holiness. Accordingly, this chaste spouse of the Son of God, who, in imitation of her heavenly Husband, can shed her own blood for others, but never the blood of others for herself, entertains a horror at the crime of murder, altogether singular, and proportioned to the peculiar light which God has vouchsafed to bestow upon her. She views man not simply as man, but as the image of the God whom she adores. She feels for every one of the race a holy respect, which imparts to him, in her eyes, a reasonable character, as redeemed by an infinite price, to be made the temple of the living God. And, therefore, she considers the death of a man, slain without the authority of his Maker, not a murder only, but as a sacrilege, by which she is deprived of one of her members: for whether he be a believer or an unbeliever, she uniformly looks upon him, if not as one, at least as capable of becoming one, of her own children."

In the same impassioned manner, he speaks on another subject—after showing that men are released from love to God, by the principles of the Jesuits, he says indignantly—"The license which they have assumed amounts to a total subversion of the law of God. They violate 'the great commandment, on which hang all the law and the prophets;' they strike at the very heart of piety; they rob it of the spirit that giveth life; they hold that to love God is not necessary to salvation; and go so far as to maintain that this 'dispensation from loving God is the privilege which Jesus Christ has introduced into the world.' This is the very climax of impiety. The price of the blood of Jesus Christ paid to obtain for us a dispensation from loving him! Before the incarnation, it seems men were obliged

to love God ; but since ‘God has so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son,’ the world, redeemed by him, is released from loving him ! Strange divinity of our days—to dare to take off the ‘anathema’ which Paul denounces on those who ‘love not the Lord Jesus Christ’—to dare to cancel the sentence of St. John; ‘he that loveth not, abideth in death’—to dare to nullify the declaration of Christ himself; ‘he that loveth me not keepeth not my sayings !’—and thus to render those worthy of enjoying God through eternity, who never loved him during their life ! Behold ‘the mystery of iniquity’ fulfilled !”

Equally eloquent is he on the subject of their calumny and slander.—“Too long, by far, have you been permitted to deceive the world, and to abuse the confidence which men were ready to place in your calumnious accusations. It is high time to redeem the reputation of the multitudes whom you have defamed. For what innocence can be so generally known, as not to suffer some injury from the daring aspersions of a body of men scattered over the face of the earth, and who, under religious habits, conceal minds so utterly irreligious, that they perpetrate crimes like calumny, not in opposition to, but in strict accordance with their moral maxims ? I cannot, therefore, be blamed for destroying the credit which might have been awarded you ; seeing it must be allowed to be a much greater act of justice to restore to the victims of your calumny the character which they did not deserve to lose, than to leave you in the possession of a reputation for sincerity which you do not deserve to enjoy. And as the one could not be done without the other, how important is it to show you to the world as you really are !—Your Society is so thoroughly depraved as to invent excuses for the grossest of crimes, such as calumny, that it may enjoy the greater freedom in committing them. There can be no doubt that you would be capable of producing abundance of mischief in this way, had God not permitted you to furnish, with your own hands, the means of preventing the evil, and of rendering your slanders perfectly innocuous ; for, to deprive you of all credibility, it was quite enough to publish the strange maxim, that it is no crime to calumniate. Calumny is nothing, if not associated with a high reputation for honesty.

The defamer can make no impression, unless he has the character of one that abhors defamation, as a crime of which he is incapable. And thus, fathers, you are betrayed by your own principle. You established the doctrine to secure yourselves a safe conscience, that you might slander without risk of damnation, and be ranked with those ‘pious and holy calumniators,’ of whom St. Athanasius speaks. To save yourselves from hell, you have embraced a maxim which promises you this security on the faith of your doctors; but this same maxim, while it guarantees you, according to their idea, against the evils you dread in the future world, deprives you of all the advantages you may have endeavoured to reap from it in the present state; so that in attempting to escape the guilt, you have lost the benefit of calumny. Such is the self-contrariety of evil, and so completely does it confound and destroy itself by its own intrinsic malignity. You might have slandered, therefore, much more advantageously for yourselves, had you professed to hold with St. Paul, that no revilers nor slanderers shall inherit the kingdom of God; for in this case, though you would indeed have been condemning yourselves, yet your slanders would at least have stood a better chance of being believed. But by maintaining, as you have done, that calumny against your enemies is no crime, your slanders will be discredited, and in addition, you yourselves damned. For two things are certain, fathers—first, that it will never be in the power of your grave doctors to annihilate the justice of God; and secondly, that you could not give more certain evidence that you are not of the truth, than by resorting to falsehood. If the truth were on your side, she would fight for you—she would conquer for you; and whatever enemies you might have to encounter, ‘the truth would make you free’ from them, according to her promise. But you have had recourse to falsehood, for no other design than to support the errors with which you flatter the children of this world, and to bolster up the calumnies with which you persecute every man of piety who sets his face against these delusions. The truth being directly opposed to your ends, it became you, to use the language of the prophet, to ‘put your confidence in lies.’ You have said—‘the scourges which afflict men shall not come nigh to us; for

we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves.' But what says the prophet, in reply to such—‘Forasmuch as ye have put your trust in calumny and tumult, this iniquity and your ruin shall be like that of a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly—in an instant. And he shall break it, as the breaking of the potter's vessel, that is shivered in pieces’—with such violence that ‘there shall not be found, in the bursting of it, a shred to take fire from the hearth, or to take water withal out of the pit.’—‘Because,’ as another prophet says, ‘ye have made the heart of the righteous sad, whom I have not made sad; and ye have flattered, and strengthened the malice of the wicked; I will therefore deliver my people out of your hands; and ye shall know that I am their Lord, and yours.’—Yes, fathers, it is to be hoped that if you do not repent, God will ‘deliver out of your hands’ those whom you have so long deluded, either by flattering them in their evil courses with your licentious maxims, or by poisoning their minds with your slanders. He will convince the former that the false rules of your casuists will not screen them from his indignation; and he will impress on the minds of the latter the just dread of losing their souls by listening and giving credit to your slanders, as you lose yours by producing these slanders and disseminating them through the world. ‘Be not deceived—God is not mocked.’”

What burning indignation does he pour forth, united with the tenderest sympathy, when defending Port Royal—the spot so dear to him—where dwelt his best friends, his loved sister and niece—the retreat of prayer, the nursery of science, the refuge of religious liberty. As yet the Jesuits had only impugned it with rancorous calumny and slander. How would Pascal have written, could he have foreseen their future conduct to the venerable institution! But he was “taken from the evil to come,” and removed to the world “where the wicked cease from troubling,” two years before their bloody decrees were executed. After referring to the slander, as one of the basest that ever issued from their Society, he says—“Here is a calumny worthy of yourselves—here is a crime which God alone is capable of punishing; which you alone are capable of committing. To endure it with patience would

require a humility as great as that of those calumniated females; to give it credit would demand a degree of wickedness, equal to that of their wretched defamers. I propose not, therefore, to vindicate them; they are beyond suspicion. Had they stood in need of defence, they might have commanded an abler advocate than I am. My object in what I say here is to show, not their innocence, but your malignity. I merely intend to make you ashamed of yourselves, and to let the world understand that, after this, there is nothing of which you are not capable. You will not fail, I am certain, notwithstanding all this, to say that I belong to Port Royal; for this is the first thing you say to every one who combats your errors: as if it were only there, that persons could be found possessed of sufficient zeal to defend, against your attacks, the purity of Christian morality. I know, fathers, the work of the pious recluses who have retired to that monastery, and how much the Church is indebted to their truly solid and edifying labours. I know the excellency of their piety, and learning; I know some of them personally, and honour the virtue of them all. But God has not confined within the precincts of that Society all whom he means to raise up in opposition to your corruptions. I hope, with his assistance, fathers, to make you feel this; and if he vouchsafe to sustain me in the design he has led me to form, of employing in his service all the resources I have received from him, I shall speak to you in such a strain as will, perhaps, give you reason to regret that you have *not* had to do with a man of Port Royal. To convince you of this, fathers, I must tell you, that while those whom you have abused by this notorious slander content themselves with lifting up their groans to Heaven, to obtain your forgiveness for the outrage, I feel myself obliged, not being in the least affected by your slander, to make you blush in the face of the whole Church, and so bring you to that wholesome shame of which the Scripture speaks, and which is almost the only remedy for a hardness of heart like yours—‘Fill their faces, O Lord, with shame, that they may seek thy name.’ Nothing less will satisfy your rage than to accuse the Port Royalists of having renounced Jesus Christ, and their baptism. This is no air-built fable, like those of your invention; it is a

fact, and denotes a delirious frenzy. Such a notorious falsehood as this your Society has openly adopted; you have maintained that Port Royal has, for the space of thirty-five years, been forming a secret plot, ‘to ruin the mystery of the incarnation—to make the gospel pass for an apocryphal fable—to exterminate the Christian religion, and to erect Deism upon the ruins of Christianity.’ But whom do you expect to convince, upon your simple asseveration, without the slightest shadow of proof, that ministers who preach nothing but the grace of Jesus Christ, the purity of the gospel, and the obligations of baptism, have renounced at once their baptism, the gospel, and Jesus Christ? Who will believe it? Wretched beings as you are, do you believe it yourselves? What a sad predicament is yours, when you must either prove that they do not believe in Jesus Christ, or must pass for the most abandoned calumniators. Cruel, cowardly persecutors! Must the most retired cloisters afford no retreat from your calumnies? While these consecrated virgins are employed night and day, according to their institution, in adoring Jesus Christ in the sacrament, you cease not, night nor day, to publish abroad that they do not believe that he is either there, or even at the right hand of the Father; and you are publicly excommunicating them from the Church, at the very time when they are interceding for the whole Church, and offering up their prayers for you! You blacken with your slanders those who have neither ears to hear, nor mouths to answer you! But Jesus Christ, in whom they are now hidden, who will one day appear publicly as their friend, hears you, and answers for them. At the moment I am now writing, that holy and terrible voice is heard, which confounds nature and consoles the Church. And I fear, fathers, that those who now harden their hearts, and refuse, with obstinacy, to hear him, while he speaks in the character of God, shall one day be compelled to hear him with terror, when he speaks to them, in the character of a Judge.”

In this manner, bold, fearless, declamatory, with strength, and fire, and elevation, he inveighs against the corrupt principles and iniquitous conduct of the Jesuits. And they feel it—they who had made kings tremble, tremble themselves before the majesty of Pascal. They know not who he is, or whence

he comes; they feel the thunders, but perceive not who discharges them. As he says—“ You feel yourselves smitten by an invisible hand, but a hand that shall make your crimes visible to all: and in vain will you attempt to strike at me in the dark, through the sides of those with whom you suppose me to be associated. I fear you not, either on my own account, or on that of any other; being bound by no tie, either to a community or an individual. All the influence which you possess can be of no avail in my case. From this world I have nothing to hope, nothing to dread, nothing to desire. Through the goodness of God, I have no need of any one’s money, or any one’s patronage. Thus I elude all your attempts to lay hold of me. You may touch Port Royal if you choose, but you shall not touch me. You may turn people out of the Sorbonne, but that will not turn me out of my domicile. You may contrive plots against priests and doctors, but not against me, for I am neither the one nor the other. You perhaps never had to do with a person so completely beyond your reach, and, therefore, so admirably qualified for dealing with your errors—one perfectly free—one without engagement, entanglement, relationship, or business of any kind—one, too, who is pretty well versed in your maxims, and determined, as God shall give him light, to discuss them, without permitting any earthly consideration to arrest or slacken his endeavours.”

If we judge of eloquence by its effects, then the Provincial Letters were truly eloquent. They were “the handwriting on the wall” against the Jesuits; and the people interpreted it, “thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting.” When published separately, each letter was read with attention and effect; but when collected into a volume, and published by the Elzevirs, they produced a mighty impression; they were eagerly read by men, women, and children; they opened their eyes to see with surprise this monstrous combination of permitted crimes with the most wicked policy. They were speedily translated into the Latin, the Spanish, and the Italian languages, and widely spread through all the nations of Europe. All the efforts made to suppress them served only to promote their popularity; though they were censured at Rome, and burned by the executioner at Paris, yet they acquired such

credit and authority among the people, and took such deep root in their minds, as to bid defiance to all power, civil and ecclesiastical.

From that moment the Society degenerated, the necessary consequence of a full discovery of its principles. It hastened to its dissolution; and if the Provincial Letters were not the means of its extinction, they certainly accelerated its doom. Busenbaum, Bauny, and other “moralists” of the Society, tended to cover them with suspicion and scorn; the finger of shame was raised with impunity and pointed against them; the appellation of Jesuitism was a synonyme for chicane and deception; the name of the principal casuist introduced into the French language a word, *escobarder*, which means to *prevaricate* or *shuffle*.* It is hard to contend against ridicule and ignominy, when they are widely spread and justly deserved. Under this weight, the Jesuits sunk; they became obnoxious to the principal powers of Europe, and gradually fell. They were expelled from Portugal in 1759; from France in 1764; from Spain in 1767; and on the 21st of July, 1773, they were suppressed by the Papal bull.

Was this act on the part of the nations of Europe just? All history declares that it was; that they had by their own conduct unwittingly prepared themselves for destruction; that the various nations which expelled them acted only in self defence; that their arrogance and presumption were such that they would not be good subjects; that their principles now revealed, and their rules of order now made known, tended to overthrow religion and morals, society and government. It was clearly ascertained, that in more than one instance, they aimed to establish an independent empire; that they urged the entire supremacy of ecclesiastics over civil magistrates; that they contended that the chiefs of the clergy should be not only at the head of the Church, but also at the head of the State. It was found that they had taken part in almost every intrigue and revolution; that they had exerted the influence obtained

* “Le nom de ce Jésuite fournit même à notre langue, un verbe familier, *esco-barder*, qui n'est pas plus honorable pour l'auteur qui l'a fait naître, que le mot de Machiavélisme n'est flatteur pour la mémoire de Machiavel.”—Neufchâteau—Du style de Pascal.

in different courts only for evil; that in almost all the great events that occurred, they were responsible for the pernicious consequences that ensued. It was found that they had been propagating a system of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodates itself to the luxury of the age and the passions of men, which destroys the distinction between virtue and vice, which justifies flagrant crimes, which authorizes every act which the most crafty politician would desire to perpetrate. It was no longer doubtful that the books of their casuists tolerate and even recommend the horrible crime of regicide—to be effected, according to some, by the steel; according to others, by poison; according to others, through the confessional. It was a Jesuit that assassinated Henry III., King of France; and a distinguished casuist of that order, Mariana, eulogized the murderer—"lately has been accomplished in France a great and magnificent exploit, and Clement, in killing the king, has made for himself a great name." Ravaillac, the infamous murderer of Henry IV., acknowledged that he was instigated to the bloody deed by "the seditious discourses and writings of the Jesuits." They were the Jesuits who denied the right of Elizabeth to the throne of England, promoted insurrections against her, and attempted so often to take away her life. They were the Jesuits who prepared and were ready to execute the gunpowder plot for the destruction of the English king and parliament. They were the Jesuits who assassinated William, Prince of Orange. They were the Jesuits who forced Louis XIV. to revoke the edict of Nantz; who could never prevail with him, while in health, to injure his Protestant subjects, but who took advantage of his diseased body and agonized conscience, to constrain him to do an act which it was intimated was necessary for his salvation—an act with which he was never satisfied, the responsibility of which he threw upon them, on his death-bed—"if indeed you have misled and deceived me, you are deeply guilty; for in truth, I acted in good faith; I sincerely sought the peace of the church."—They were the Jesuits, who directed and planned that awful tragedy in France, the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and which the professors of their college in Paris openly applauded. They were the Jesuits who incited the families of Tavora and

D'Aveiro to assassinate Joseph I., King of Portugal; three of their doctors deciding, that "to kill a king is not a mortal sin." They were the Jesuits who carried into Oriental Asia a false and perverted gospel; who bore a "right-intentioned" imposture, and scattered the seed of deception, that was to fructify to the salvation of souls; who imitated the Brahmans in many of their Pagan rites; who, in preaching Jesus Christ, concealed his humiliation; who, in a land of pearls and precious stones, of pomp and show, presented him surrounded by the offerings of the Magi, working mighty miracles, transfigured upon the mount, ascending triumphantly into glory; but who refused to exhibit him born in poverty, "despised and rejected of men," scourged at Gabbatha, crucified on Calvary; who esteemed it "expedient," in order to induce the heathen to embrace religion, to represent Christianity without a cross, and its Author without suffering. They were the Jesuits, who, in their church of St. Ignatius at Rome, had painted on the walls subjects drawn from the Old Testament, which they presumptuously perverted, illustrative of their corrupt principles and murderous propensities,—Jael, impelled by a Divine spirit, driving a nail into the head of Sisera—Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes—Samson massacreing the Philistines, by order of the Almighty—and David slaying Goliath—above these, their saint, darting forth flames on the four corners of the world, with these words of the New Testament—"I came to set fire to the world; and what would I but that it be kindled."

With such acts as these, and with such maxims as would make any crime safe to the conscience, it is not wonderful that they should have brought upon them universal hatred and opprobrium; that their oppressive yoke should have been indignantly thrown off; that they should have been expelled from more than thirty countries and places during their career.

But still they were not disbanded; they elected one Grouber as their general, and went on as usual. Obtaining an asylum in Silesia, through Frederick, King of Prussia; and an establishment in Russia, through the Empress, Catharine II., they struggled on, the ghosts of their departed

greatness—in reduced numbers—with diminished resources, and an exhausted credit; yet stimulated by the hope of future achievement. Through toils and sufferings, amid individual and national opprobrium, with the thunders of the Vatican directed against them, they persisted with wonderful energy of mind and body, full of the expectation of success. For forty years they thus persevered; and at length, by the order of the Pope, they were restored, in 1814, to their former privileges—thus showing that the emblem of the Phœnix, rising from its ashes, had not been chosen by them in vain.

It is an important question, Is the system of the Jesuits the same now as it once was? *are their doctrines those that are exposed in the “Provincial Letters?”* These letters have been subject to a sifting process of the closest examination; and it has never been proved that the extracts were garbled, or falsified; on the contrary, there is the fullest testimony of strict fidelity in all the quotations. Have the Jesuits, at any time, rejected these writers, and opposed Escobar, Hurtado, Salas, Busenbaum, and others? Have they forbidden them, as standard works, in the cases of casuistry and conscience? Are their young confessors warned against them, and prohibited from receiving them for their instruction and guidance? No! with obstinate tenacity they still cling to them, and publicly avow and defend them; not a single principle, however wicked; not the smallest claim, however destructive; not a single regulation, however nefarious in malignity, corruption, and despotism, has ever been denied. Thus viewed, the Provincial Letters are eminently useful to *us*. Though written two hundred years ago; though there is now no Arnauld to vindicate, or Port Royal to defend; though the party of the author has been scattered and ruined; though his discoveries in science are forgotten, because of new progress that has been made; yet this work deeply concerns *us*, as containing a faithful exposure of an atrocious system of morals which existed in his day, and which is essentially the same now. The overwhelming ridicule, managed with so much propriety and taste, and connected with such acute reasoning and powerful eloquence, has rendered it, as the far-sighted Nicole predicted, an “immortal”

work, always to be read—never to be forgotten.* What obligations then are we under to Pascal for the bold and fearless exposure of this system—and what an important service has he rendered to the general interests of humanity!

There was a time, however, when it seems this book was but little read. Dugald Stewart refers to it in his “Dissertation on the Progress of Philosophy.” After speaking highly of the work, he adds—“I cannot help, however, suspecting that *it is now more praised than read*, in Great Britain; so completely have those disputes, to which it owed its first celebrity, lost their interest.” That time, however, has passed away; the Jesuitical controversy has not “lost its interest;” what Pascal has written on this subject is now examined with attention and read with delight; in his own country, new and improved editions are published, to which attention is directed by Michelet, and Quinet, no friends of the Jesuits; in Great Britain new translations have been made; and in our own country, edition after edition has issued from the press; showing that, at this interesting crisis, it is *not* “more praised than read.” While there is such excitement on the subject of Jesuitism, the people, anxious to know its principles, will delight to view the lively and faithful picture here given, and will be amused and astonished, and yet pained, by the extravagances and errors which it maintains.

To this conclusion, that Jesuitism is the same now as it was in the days of Pascal, we have been slowly brought. In reading what its ablest advocates have said against the Provincial Letters; in consulting some of its works of casuistry; in examining the “Spiritual Exercises,” and the “Constitutions of the Order,” left by their founder, and containing their rules and regulations, we are convinced that there has been no essential change; that their opinions of “intention” and “probability,” of “expediency” and “mental reservation” are the same; that they may still act upon the principle that “the end sanctifies the means;” that they may now say, in truth, what they

* “Lorsque tout cela ne sera plus, la censure tombera, et peut-être que la mémoire n'en sera conservée que dans les écrits de Montalte qui ne périront jamais.”

Note sur la première lettre des Provinciales.

avowed some years ago—"thanks to the Divine bounty, the mind which animated the first Jesuits belongs also to us, and through the same assistance, we hope never to lose it ; nor is it a slight testimony in our favour, that no one of us has varied or gone back ; our consistency will always remain."*

We must not, however, confound Romanism with Jesuitism, and suppose that the advocates of the former approve, and act upon the principles of the latter—we must not forget that Catholics themselves first revealed the chicanery and pious fraud of these pretended reformers, and that, following in the footsteps of Pascal, others, of the same faith, have pursued the subject, added still more testimony, and brought fully to light this once hidden "mystery of iniquity." It is neither honourable nor Christian, to charge upon *all* the ecclesiastics and members of the Romish Church, the abominations of Jesuitism. Though it must be granted that the Romish Church must bear the odium of the restoration and patronage of this nefarious Society.

Another question—Will the Jesuits, now in active operation, ever attain the power, influence, and glory which they once possessed? They, no doubt, will pursue the same system of ethics, and scruple at no means to advance their end; they will exhibit the same features of intolerance and ambition, and aim at supreme ascendancy; they will intermeddle with the affairs of civil government, in whatever country they may be; they will manifest the same industry, and indomitable perseverance; but will they ever attain the success which they did in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Will they ever again be the confessors of the greater part of kings and monarchs; ever again be the spiritual guides of so many persons of rank and power; ever again become possessed of the highest confidence in courts? Will they ever again obtain the chief direction of the education of youth, form their minds while they are young, and retain an ascendancy over them

* We do not refer to the "*Monita Secreta, or Secret Instructions for the Company of Jesus*"—for its authenticity has been denied by them. They maintain that it was written by an expelled Jesuit, Zarowski, who published it, to cover his disgrace and gratify his revenge. It was condemned by the Roman Index, in 1616, in a congregation, held in the palace of Cardinal Bellarmine. Many however believe that it was written by Aquaviva, one of the generals of the order.

when in years? We think not.—The novelty which once existed has passed away, and will no longer influence multitudes to enlist under the banner that is spread—*ad majorem Dei gloriam*—to the greater glory of God. The secrecy which once characterized this order has been taken away. For two centuries, Europe felt the fatal effects of its ambitious power; but it could not discern the cause. It was a fundamental maxim with the Jesuits, from their first institution, not to publish the rules of their order; these they kept concealed as an impenetrable mystery; these they never communicated to strangers, nor even to the greater part of their own members; these they refused to produce in courts of justice. But in the last century, during the prosecutions against them in France, Portugal, and other countries, they were so inconsiderate, so wanting in their ordinary policy, as to produce these mysterious volumes. By such authentic records, the principles of their government may be known; and while their past acts are remembered, the sources from which they flowed can be ascertained with certainty and precision. This is no slight impediment to their future success. Besides, the very constitution and genius of their society is a spirit of intrigue and deception—it is known to be such—and if it be true that “honesty is the best policy,” the maxim will apply to ecclesiastical orders as well as to individuals. They may flourish for a time and do much mischief, but they must ultimately fail; they may for a time interfere in the concerns of those countries where they are, but they will never, we think, again convert or rule nations; because they are dishonest, they must sooner or later, effect their own destruction.

It is impossible for us to state precisely the number of Jesuits now in the world—probably not less than eight or ten thousand, and though they may possess the craft of their forefathers; yet they are evidently far inferior to them as men of science, authors, and teachers. Driven out from several other countries, they seem to be concentrating their force, at this moment, in Great Britain, and in our country, engaged in their secret schemes and machinations. We know not what number there are among us, nor where they are located—it is a part of their policy to conceal such facts; but we know that

they are in our land, possessing a system of morals, and pursuing a policy, similar to what was professed and prosecuted in the time of Pascal.

They seem to be peculiarly fitted for this "age of action," and for this country of "energy and enterprise." The object of this monastic order is different from that of all the other orders of the Romish church. The latter are called to work out their salvation by extraordinary acts of mortification, seclusion from the world, and secret piety and prayers. The Jesuits, on the contrary, were created for "action;" they are "chosen soldiers," bound to exert themselves in the service of the Papacy; they appear in no processions; practice no rigorous austerities; consume no time in repetition of tedious formularies; but are required to attend to the transactions of the world, on account of the influence which these may exert upon religion; to study the dispositions of persons in high rank, and gain their favour and friendship; and to pay special attention to the education of the young. Their form of government is such, that all the members must necessarily be "working men"—they have a spirit of industry and perseverance, an invincible effort in prosecuting their plans, a continued struggling, stimulated, not only by the hope, but by the resolution, of achievement. This has characterized them in every age; and upon this principle we can account for their having been, in one respect, generally irreproachable in their morals. Their system required continued exertion; they were so incessantly engaged in bodily and mental work, that they were freed, in a degree, from those propensities which idleness produces.

Such are the men who are in the midst of us; who are as active agents as they were from their origin; who, though they may not be seen, are labouring as indefatigably as did their fathers. Varying their policy, to suit our free institutions, they will strive here as they have done in other countries, to gain popularity, by their accommodating code of morals, especially among the influential and powerful; to take advantage of political excitement; to divide the Protestant denominations, and array them against each other; to ingratiate themselves with the poor, and secure the contributions of the rich; to pursue a system of espionage peculiar to them-

selves; to establish schools and seminaries, with "gratuitous instruction;" to monopolize seats of learning; and to glide with noiseless steps, into offices of influence and importance. While we do not fear them, we should be ever on our guard against such men; men who are hostile to all who condemn their religious errors, or oppose their political pretensions; men who always work in the dark, and scruple not to make use of any means to accomplish their ends; who, as Pascal says, "cannot move a step, without stratagem and intrigue." We should feel what another of his Church, De Pradt, has said—"Human society is fearfully menaced by the atrocious revival of the order of the Jesuits, and by the introduction of their principles, which engender and promote every private and public collision, disorder, and crime. *Away with the Jesuits!*"

ART. IV.—*The Conflict of Ages; or, The Great Debate on the Moral Relations of God and Man.* By Edward Beecher, D. D. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1853. pp. 552.

THE opinion expressed in our last number concerning this work, founded on a very slight inspection, has been abundantly confirmed by a careful perusal. It is characterized by great ability, by an earnest spirit, by frankness, candour, and courtesy. It is the result of long continued thought and research. It presents with clearness the various conflicting theories by which men have tried to explain the great problem of sin. And although, from the plan of the work, the author is obliged to travel more than once over the same ground, his book is, in the main, condensed and logically ordered. With all these recommendations, it cannot fail to command and to repay attention.

It has a special interest for us. We hail it as an ally. The author shuts his readers up to the choice between orthodoxy and the doctrine of pre-existence. He admits that Scripture, Christian experience, and facts, are all on our side. He acknowledges that the Church has the Bible and its own con-

sciousness in support of the doctrine that all sin does not consist in voluntary action; that it is in one form inherent, innate, lying back of consciousness and the will, and of course beyond the reach of the will. He admits that men are born in a state of condemnation, that they do not stand and fall each for himself after birth. He acknowledges that they come into the world with a nature depraved, *i. e.* sinful. He reviews and rejects the doctrine that men are born with a nature uninjured—the doctrine that their nature though degraded is not sinful; the doctrine that the corruption of the soul is due to its union with the body, or to the law of development, or to its unfavourable circumstances, or to the divine efficiency. In short, he concedes that the Old-school doctrine as to the nature of sin, and the natural state of man, is the doctrine of the Church, of the Bible, and of Christian experience. This is much. These admissions, coming from such a source, cannot fail to produce a strong impression. These are the doctrines which have been the special objects of execration and contempt. It is on account of these doctrines that Old-school men have been held up, by the friends and associates of our author, to hatred or to ridicule. Professor Park must be tempted to exclaim, *Et tu, Brute!* We do not regard the truth as needing any man's patronage, or as honoured by any man's concessions. But the prejudices of men, and especially of young men, are such, that statements which would be rejected without a hearing from one source, are respectfully considered when coming from another. There are many minds, we hope, over which Dr. Beecher's influence may be sufficient, to counteract the effect produced by the plausible and confident declamation which has so long been directed against the doctrines above referred to. This is the reason why we anticipate good from the publication of the work before us. We do not dread its strong protest and fervid argument against the doctrine of the fall of man in Adam, or in favour of the doctrine of pre-existence. These will pass by unheeded, while the arguments for the truth will have an abiding force. This is the difference between truth and error. The former can stand all forms of opposition, but the latter soon perishes, when those long regarded as its friends turn against it. We have no doubt that our author's

arguments against all the forms of New-school doctrine, will be tenfold more effective than any other portion of his work.

The great conflict which Dr. Beecher undertakes to portray and to reconcile, is the conflict between the undeniable truth of the innate and entire depravity of our nature on the one hand, and those principles of "honour and right," as he calls them, which forbid the introduction of creatures into existence in such a state of sin. On the one hand, the Bible, consciousness, and experience, teach concerning the ruined condition of man, "1. His innate depravity as an individual. 2. His subjection to the power of depraved social organization, called, taken collectively, the world. 3. His subjection to the power of unseen malignant spirits, who are centralized and controlled by Satan, their leader and head." p. 62.

On the first of these points, our author quotes Calvin's definition of original sin, as "a hereditary depravity and corruption of our nature, diffused through all parts of the soul, which, in the first place, exposes us to the wrath of God, and then produces in us those works which the Scriptures call works of the flesh." Of infants, he adds, Calvin says: "They bring their condemnation with them from their mother's womb, being liable to punishment, not for the sin of another, but for their own. For, although they have not as yet produced the fruits of their iniquity, yet they have the seeds enclosed in themselves; nay, their whole nature is, as it were, a seed of sin; therefore it cannot but be odious and abominable to God. Whence it follows that it is properly considered sin before God, because there could not be liability to punishment without sin."

These explicit statements of Calvin are sustained by quotations from the symbols of the leading Protestant churches. For example, he quotes the language of the Synod of Dort: "All men are conceived in sin, and born children of wrath, disqualified for all saving good, propense to evil, dead in sins, and the slaves of sin; and, without the grace of the regenerating Holy Spirit, they neither are willing nor able to return to God, to correct their depraved nature, or to dispose themselves to the correction of it." In the later Helvetic Confession, this language is used: "We take sin to be that natural corrup-

tion of man derived or spread from those our parents unto us all; through which we, being drowned in evil concupiscences, and clean turned away from God, but prone to all evil, full of all wickedness, distrust, contempt, and hatred of God, can do no good of ourselves—no, not so much as think of any.” Passages to the same effect are quoted from the Bohemian Confession, the Gallican Confession, the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, the Augsburg Confession, from that of the Moravians, and of the Westminster divines. The language of these confessions, says our author, does not “convey an idea at all too strong of the fearful power of the actual developments of human depravity in the history of the world, even as stated by Unitarians, or of the great truth, that there must be in man some adequate cause, before action, of a course of action, so universal, so powerful, so contrary to right, to the natural laws of all created minds, and to his own highest interests.” p. 71. On a subsequent page, he admits the correctness of the statement, that “there is not a creed of any Christian church in which the doctrine that inherent corruption, as existing prior to voluntary action, is of the nature of sin, is not distinctly asserted.” p. 96. “The great doctrine that men enter this world under a forfeiture, and with innate depravity, which is the real element of strength in the system of Augustine, and which has given it all its power, is,” he says, “neither impossible nor absurd.” p. 305.

As the gospel purports to be a means of deliverance from sin, it is indispensable to its appreciation and acceptance, that there should be a due sense of the evil from which it proposes to redeem us. All history teaches that the strength and power of the religious life in all its manifestations, is in proportion to the depth of the sense of sin. If the views taken of sin are superficial, everything else connected with the divine life must partake of the same character. This our author fully admits. “No one,” he says, “can fail to see that the religious depth that has ever been found in the Western Church, and among the Reformers and Puritans, and their followers, as compared with the superficiality of the Eastern Church, under the auspices of John of Damascus, and the Greek fathers, is owing to the more profound views of human depravity which

were introduced by Augustine, and which gave a deep and vital character to its theology, but which never penetrated and vitalized the Eastern Church. No one, we think, in view of facts on the great scale, can deny that this system has exerted a deeper and more powerful influence on the world than any other." p. 97.

This, then, is one of the great moving powers, to use Dr. Beecher's language, of Christianity. The denial of this radical corruption of human nature, is the rejection of one of those elements to which the gospel owes its efficiency. On the other hand, however, there are certain principles of "honour and right," indelibly impressed on the human mind, which are in apparent, and, according to the commonly received theory, in real conflict with the Augustinian doctrine concerning the natural state of man. These principles our author regards as a divine revelation, and of primary authority, as lying at the foundation of all knowledge and of all faith. They are the intuitive judgments of the mind, which constrain assent by the constitution of our nature. To this class of intuitive truths, he refers the following principles.

1. "God has made us intuitively to perceive and feel, and therefore, he also perceives and feels, that increase of powers to any degree of magnitude produces, not a decrease, but an increase of obligation to feel and act benevolently towards inferiors—that is, with an honourable regard to their true and highest interests."

2. "No man, unless compelled by some supposed necessity, would ever think of denying that the principles of honour and right call upon God not to hold his creatures responsible or punishable for any thing in them of which they are not the authors, but of which he is, either directly or indirectly, the Creator, and which exists in them anterior to, and independent of any knowledge, desire, choice, or action of their own."

3. "The principles of honour and right demand of God, inasmuch as he demands of his creatures that they do what is right, and inasmuch as this demand is founded in the nature of things, that he should not himself confound the distinction between right and wrong, by dealing with the righteous as with the wicked."

4. "The principles of honour and right demand of God not so to charge the wrong conduct of one being to others, as to punish one person for the conduct of another, in which he did not consent, and in which he had no part."

5. "Since the creatures of God do not exist of their own will, and since they exist for eternity, and since nothing more vitally affects their prospects for eternity than the constitutional powers and propensities with which they begin their existence, the dictates of honour and right demand that God shall confer on them such original constitutions as shall, in their natural and proper tendencies, favourably affect their prospects for eternity, and place a reasonable power of right conduct and of securing eternal life in the possession of all."

6. "Not only do the demands of honour and right forbid the Creator thus to injure his creature in his original constitution, but they equally forbid him to place him in circumstances needlessly unfavourable to right conduct, and a proper development of his powers."

Here, then, is a real conflict. The Bible, consciousness, and experience, teach what, according to the above principles, cannot be true, or, at least, cannot be reconciled with the character of God. This conflict is not composed by the rejection of the Bible, for the Scriptures teach nothing more than experience does. The conflict is between undeniable facts and undeniable principles. We are shut up to the choice between the doctrine of pre-existence and atheism. This is the only alternative. The whole drift of the book is to bring the matter to this issue. All other methods of solving the difficulty are tried and rejected.

First, we have the church doctrine which teaches that human depravity is innate and universal, and attempts to reconcile that doctrine with the character of God by teaching that men "have forfeited their rights as new created beings, and have fallen under the just displeasure of God; and that the existence in them of a depraved nature, and of inability to do right, is a punishment inflicted on them by God, in accordance with their just deserts. It is conceded by the Reformers," says Dr. Beecher, "that God cannot be defended on any ground but this. With deep interest then we ask, When did all

men make their alleged forfeiture, and incur this inability? The reply is, Never in their own persons. Indeed, it was done before they existed, by the act of another, even Adam." p. 100. But this, which is conceded to be the church theory on this subject, is rejected as obviously inconsistent with the principles of "honour and right" already laid down. "Nor," says our author, "is any relief gained by regarding such sinful nature and inability to do good as coming on men, not as a penalty, but as a consequence of Adam's sin, according to an ordinance of God as an absolute sovereign. Indeed, this is conceded and insisted on, as we shall see more fully hereafter, by all the leading divines of the Reformation, and by those who in modern days profess to walk most exactly in their steps. The sovereignty of God, as they have most clearly seen and declared, implies no superiority to the laws of equity and honour. If their rights as new created beings have not been forfeited, God has no right to disregard them." p. 101.*

The fact of innate depravity and inability cannot, therefore, be accounted for by assuming that the race had a fair probation in Adam, and forfeited their rights as new created beings by his apostasy.

Secondly, the author gives the Unitarian or Pelagian solution of this great problem. He gives the advocates of that system the credit of being influenced by a sincere regard for the principles of "honour and right." As they could not reconcile the assumption that man is born in a state of sin, with the character of God, they were led to deny the fact of innate depravity. "Man," says Dr. Ware, "is by nature—by which is to be understood as he is born into this world, as he comes from the hands of the Creator—innocent and pure; he is no more inclined to vice than to virtue, and is equally capable, in the ordinary use of his faculties, and of the common assistance afforded him, of either." But this is objected to, as denying incontestable facts; as doing away with the necessity of redemption, and consequently ignoring the doctrines of regeneration, atonement, and the Trinity; as degrading free agency, since, with equal facilities for good or evil,

* Book II., Chapters 3, 4, 5.

evil universally prevails; and as diminishing the guilt and evil of sin, and even approximating to the Hegelian doctrine, that sin, though an evil, is yet a necessary and useful means of moral development.*

A third experience is that which results from "holding unmodified, and with full faith, and deep sensibility, both the radical facts concerning human depravity, and the principles of honour and right. Upon a certain portion of such minds the power of the principles of honour and right is so great, that, although they cannot cease to believe the facts as to human depravity, yet they shrink from carrying out the system of Christianity to its full and scriptural results, and take refuge in the doctrine of universal salvation." This is illustrated at length from the writings of the eminent John Foster.†

The fourth attempt to solve the great problem, and to reconcile the doctrines of the Bible with the principles of "honour and right," is found in the philosophy of the New-school theology. It began, as our author thinks, in the inculcation of the principle that the inability which the Bible ascribes to the sinner is "not an absolute inability, caused by the want of natural powers, but solely a voluntary and inflexible aversion to duty."‡ The principle was "first developed by Edwards, and carried out and approved by Hopkins and others of kindred views. . . . Edwards inconsistently still held to a sinful nature, but Hopkins consistently developed these principles, and from the treatise of Edwards on the nature of true virtue, the doctrine that all sin and holiness consist in voluntary action, and that the essence of holiness is disinterested benevolence, and of sin is selfishness." Thus the foundation of New-school theology was laid. The fundamental peculiarities of the theologians of this school, our author says, are the follow-

* Book II., Chapters 6, 7, 8.

† Book II., Chapters 9, 10.

‡ There are many instances in the work before us of inaccurate theological statements, to which it is not our purpose to refer. The sentence quoted above is one of them. The old doctrine, *i. e.* the doctrine of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, is not that the inability of the sinner arises out of "the want of natural powers;" nor is moral inability "solely a voluntary and inflexible aversion to duty." The point of dispute between the Old and New-school on this subject, is not whether the sinner's inability is moral. The question is simply, whether it is subject to the control of the will.

ing: "They deny the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity—that is, they deny that God regards as their act that which was not their act, and that on this ground he inflicts on them the inconceivably severe penalty alleged by the Old-school divines. They also deny the existence in man of a nature in the strict sense sinful, and deserving of punishment, anterior to knowledge and voluntary action, and teach that all sin and holiness consist in voluntary action. As a natural result, they also deny the doctrine of the absolute and entire inability of the sinner to do the duties required of him by God. The inability asserted in the Scriptures they hold to be, according to the just laws of interpretation, merely a fixed unwillingness to comply with the will of God, which is not inconsistent with a real and proper ability to obey, but derives its character of inexcusable guilt from the existence of such ability." On this theory Dr. Beecher remarks, that "after rejecting the theory of imputation, and of a sinful nature, in the proper sense of the term, nothing seems to remain but an innocent nature so affected by the fall of Adam as always to lead to sin, or else a stated exercise of divine efficiency to procure sinful volitions in every human being from the beginning of his existence." The latter hypothesis the author dismisses, "on the ground that it would be unjust to reward or punish volitions so created; that it tends to destroy a sense of accountability, and that it is inconsistent with all just ideas of free agency and liberty of the will."

To the former he represents the Old-school divines as objecting, first, that it "denies what are the actual facts in all men, as stated in Scripture, and revealed by experience—that is, real depravity, and strong sinful propensities, anterior to action, and that hence it gives a defective and superficial view of the real nature and power of original sin, and total depravity." "History and observation," he adds, "seem to confirm these views." It was the conviction of the tendency of this system "to sweep away the true and deep doctrine of depravity and Satanic influence, and to leave only a nominal and superficial depravity, which will not finally differ much from the position of sober Unitarians," he tells us, which has aroused the Old-school divines to oppose the progress of this

system with so much earnestness and perseverance." He quotes largely from Dr. Nettleton and Dr. Woods, to show how strong was the conviction that the New-school doctrine of depravity undermined the whole plan of redemption, and endangered all evangelical religion. "Piety," says Dr. Nettleton, "never did and never will descend far in the line of such sentiments."

Secondly. The New-school doctrine of depravity, is not only, according to its opponents, thus contradicted by Scripture and Christian experience, but it aggravates the difficulty which it proposes to relieve. The fact of the ruin of the human race by the sin of one man, remains. The sin of Adam, according to the new doctrine, either so deteriorated the nature of man, or so altered his circumstances, or so influenced the purposes of God, that all men inevitably sin as soon as they become moral agents. Mankind never had a probation. They neither stood and fell in Adam as their representative, nor are they placed on trial each for himself, under circumstances admitting the moral possibility of a favourable issue. God, out of mere sovereignty, brings them into existence under circumstances which inevitably secure their perdition.

Thirdly. Our author himself objects to the New-school doctrine that, in some at least of its forms, it degrades our conceptions of free agency, by representing that "the moral constitutions of men are as good as the nature of free agency will allow." "This," he says, "is virtually a denial that there has been any fall of the race." The views of Dr. Bushnell, particularly, on this subject, have, according to Dr. Beecher, "an unpleasant similarity" to the Hegelian doctrine of the necessity of moral evil as a means of education.

On the whole, all the forms of New-school doctrine are declared by our author to be unsatisfactory. They leave the problem unsolved. "The deep depravity of man, even before action, seems," he says, "to find a response in facts of human consciousness, and in the word of God. In particular, a deep Christian experience will ever give power to the deepest views of depravity."*

* Book II., Chapters 11, 12.

The fifth experience is that which the author calls "the eclipse of the glory of God." It is that "in which the principles of honour and right, and also the facts concerning the depravity and ruin of man, are both retained, and yet without the perception of any satisfactory mode of modification and adjustment. In this case the mind comes, for a time, under the oppressive and overwhelming consciousness of existing, apparently, under a universal system which is incapable of defence, and under a God whom the principles of honour and of right forbid us to worship." This lamentable state of mind the author describes in a deeply affecting manner. It was once his own. "For a time," he says, "the system of this world rose before my mind in the same manner, as far as I can judge, as it did before the minds of Channing and Foster. . . . But I was entirely unable to find relief as they did. The depravity of man neither Christian experience, the Bible, nor history, would allow me to deny. Nor did reason or Scripture afford me any satisfactory grounds whatever for anticipating the restoration of the lost to holiness in a future state. Hence, for a time, all was dark as night. If any one would know the full worth of the privilege of living under, worshipping, loving, and adoring a God of honour, righteousness, and love, let him after years of joyful Christian experience, and soul-satisfying communion with God, at last come to a point where his lovely character, for a time, vanishes from his eyes, and nothing can be rationally seen but a God, selfish, dishonourable, and unfeeling. No person can ever believe that God is such; but he may be so situated as to be unable rationally to see him in any other light. . . Who can describe the gloom of him who looks on such a prospect! How dark to him appears the history of man! He looks with pity on the children that pass him in the street. The more violent manifestations of their depravity seem to be the unfoldings of a corrupt nature, given to them by God before any knowledge or consent of their own. Mercy now seems to be no more mercy, and he who delighted to speak of the love of Christ, is obliged to close his lips in silence, for the original wrong of giving man such a nature seems so great, that no subsequent acts can atone for the deed. In such a state of mind, he who once delighted to pray, kneels and rises

again, because he cannot sincerely worship the only God he sees."

This is indeed a sad experience. It is strange, however, that our author did not see that the holy men whose experience is recorded in the Bible endured similar trials. They, however, found relief, not through reason, but through faith; not by having the ways of God made patent to their understanding, but by the Holy Ghost producing in them the assurance, that though clouds and darkness are round about him, justice and judgment are the habitation of his throne. A God so intelligible as Dr. Beecher demands, in order to be able to worship him, is a finite God; and a religion without mystéries is mere rationalism.

Having thus shown that the great problem of human depravity cannot be solved by the assumption of a probation of the race in Adam, or of an innocent and uninjured nature, as Pelagius taught, or of a deteriorated constitution, or of a divine efficiency in the production of sin, our author comes, in his Third Book, to present his own solution of the difficulty. The grand source of the conflict between the facts of Scripture and experience, on the one hand, and the principles of honour and right on the other, is, he says, the simple and plausible assumption THAT MEN AS THEY COME INTO THIS WORLD ARE NEW-CREATED BEINGS. p. 211. If so, the character of God requires they should be holy, and placed under circumstances decidedly favourable to their salvation. "To make them either neutral or with constitutions tending to sin, would be utterly inconsistent with the honour and justice of God, and would involve him in the guilt and dishonour of sin." p. 214. But, "if in a previous state of existence, God created all men with such constitutions, and placed them in such circumstances as the laws of honour and right demanded—if then they revolted and corrupted themselves, and forfeited their rights, and were introduced into this world under a dispensation of sovereignty, disclosing both justice and mercy—then all conflict of the moving powers of Christianity can be at once and entirely removed." p. 221. Thus "we retain all the facts of the system, because we exhibit in full power the great and fundamental doctrine which leads to them—that all men are in

a fallen state, and have forfeited their original rights, and are under the just displeasure of God, and exposed to his righteous judgments. This, as all must concede, has ever been regarded by the orthodox as the fundamental basis of the Christian system, and out of it grows the whole economy of redemption. The whole Christian doctrine concerning God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, atonement, regeneration, the church, and eternal retributions, naturally grows out of it in undiminished, yea, rather in augmented fulness and glory." p. 228.

More particularly stated, the advantages of the theory of pre-existence, are, 1. "We thereby escape the constant and powerful tendency which exists under the old theory to give a superficial view of the great facts of man's depravity and ruin. . . . The old orthodox writers, in order to convey their ideas of a sinful state in man, preceding and causing actual transgression, often familiarly call it a sinful *habit*, just as they call a foundation for holy acts a holy habit of soul. But if men enter the world as new-created beings, there cannot, in reality, be in them anything to correspond to the words, 'sinful habit.' For they have not acted at all,* and a good God cannot create sinful habits. But, under the system as readjusted, these words describe the very thing which precedes wrong action, and causes a propensity to it. Men are born with deeply-rooted sinful habits and propensities." p. 229. 2. We escape the constant and powerful tendency "to degrade free agency itself, by supposing that such facts as occur in this world are the natural and necessary results of the best minds which God could make, in their normal state." This is our author's mode of saying his theory frees us from the necessity of being Pelagians. 3. "We do not ascribe to God any facts at all at war with the highest principles of honour." 4. "We arrive at a sphere of existence in which we can carry up to the highest point our conceptions of the rectitude of the original constitutions of all new-created beings, and of God's sincere good will towards them,

* Our author forgets that the Latin word *habitus* and the English word *habit*, do not, in theological usage, mean simply the subjective result of repeated action, but any abiding, inherent state of mind. Habit is synonymous, in theological language, with *disposition*.

and sympathetic and benevolent treatment of them." 5. "It presents the scriptural doctrine concerning a kingdom of fallen spirits in a light much more rational, intelligible, and impressive."

The Fourth Book presents an historical outline and estimate of the conflict, in which the author reviews the theological speculations before Augustine; Augustine's theory, and its various modifications, in Old and New-school systems; and the semi-Pelagian, Arminian and other methods of relief. The Fifth Book contains the formal argument in support of the doctrine of the pre-existence of men. The great defect of this work, so far as arrangement is concerned, as it seems to us, is that the Second and Fourth Books are identical. They contain the same matter under different forms, and the latter makes no progress beyond the former. So also the Third and Fifth Books are substantially the same—at least there is nothing in the Third, which is not more advantageously presented in the Fifth. There is also a great deal of unnecessary preliminary discussion attached to the several books, about "the method of procedure," "the point of vision," "the laws of thought," &c., &c., which wearies without rewarding the reader. As the work is likely to live, we would respectfully suggest, whether it would not be improved by a simplification of its method, and by discarding all unessential discussions.

The course of argument pursued in support of the doctrine of pre-existence is substantially as follows. It is conceded that it is nowhere asserted in express terms in the Scriptures. It is to be proved from the intuitive principles of our own minds, and from the facts of the system. This mode of reasoning is said to be analogous to that by which we prove the being of God, the authority of the Scriptures, or the truth of the Newtonian system. Texts of Scripture have no authority until we have first proved the existence of God and the inspiration of the Bible. A mode of proof, he says, sufficiently valid to be the original basis of all religion, must be valid enough to sustain the doctrine of pre-existence. It is not necessary, therefore, to have scriptural authority for the doctrine; it is enough that the Bible does not contradict it. If

this can be shown, then the way is clear to show that our "divinely implanted and moral intuitions" demand the doctrine, and that it affords the only adequate solution of the theory of the universe. Thus to clear the way, the author proceeds to the examination of Romans v. 12—21, which he considers the only passage generally relied upon to prove the fall of the race in Adam. This therefore is the key of his position. He admits that if he cannot prove that the true interpretation of that passage is consistent with the doctrine of pre-existence, his cause is lost. And as his theory is the only one on which the doctrines of the Bible, the facts of experience, and even the existence of a holy God, can be reconciled with our intuitive and authoritative judgments, it necessarily follows that the truth of Christianity, of the doctrine of Providence, and even of the being of God, depends on the correctness of that interpretation. Now as that interpretation is confessedly and professedly new, never having before occurred to any human mind, and is directly opposed to the judgment of the Church universal, every one must see "on what a slender thread hang everlasting things." No wonder, therefore, that our author lays out his strength on the passage in question, devoting to it nearly one hundred pages of the Fifth Book.

Dr. Beecher repudiates the Pelagian and New-school interpretations of this important passage. He admits that the apostle teaches that it was for, or on account of the sin of Adam, death passed upon all men; that his one offence was the ground of the condemnation of all men—just as the righteousness of Christ is the ground of the justification of all believers. As for the offence of one, many were condemned; so for the righteousness of one many are justified. So far Dr. Beecher agrees with the common orthodox interpretation. The two points of difference are, first, that the death here spoken of, is simply natural death; and second, that the causation which is said to exist between the sin of Adam and the death of his race, is apparent or typical, and not real.* As Adam's sin

* The former of these points is entirely unessential to the argument. For if the relation of the sin of Adam to the death of his race was that of apparent causation only, the nature of that death is matter of indifference. The illustra-

appeared to be the cause why men die, so Christ's righteousness is really the cause of life. The offence of Adam was the apparent cause of condemnation; Christ's righteousness is the real cause of justification. Thus the brazen serpent, the apparent cause of the healing of the Israelites, was a type of Christ as the real cause of the salvation of his people. In both cases the same language is used; the Israelite was said to be healed by looking to the serpent, and the sinner is said to be saved by looking to Christ. Apparent and real causation are expressed by the same words. Common sense and the laws of typical language forbid our understanding what is said of the serpent healing the people, of real causation. The intuitive principles "of honour and right" no less forbid our interpreting what is said of Adam's sin being the cause of the death of his race, as expressing any thing more than apparent causation. He admits that the language used is that of "actual causation." But, he says, "It is equally in accordance with the laws of language and the usages of Scripture to suppose that the sequence is merely one of apparent causation: so that the sin of Adam, in fact, exerted no influence whatever upon his race, but it and its sequences were merely ordered so as to stand in relation to each other, as to make, at the very introduction of the human race into this world, a striking type of the coming Messiah by whom the race was to be redeemed." "The truth of this view," he adds, "is the fundamental question of the whole discussion. It is also a

tion of the work of redemption would be the same in either case. As Adam was the apparent cause of death, (whether natural or spiritual,) so Christ is the real cause of life. That however, the death spoken of is not merely the dissolution of the body is plain. 1. Because such was not the meaning of the word in the original threatening. 2. Because it never has that meaning when spoken of as the penalty or wages of sin. 3. Because the whole argument of the apostle rests on the contrary assumption. His argument is valid only on the supposition that the death of which he speaks includes the loss of the divine favour and Spirit. Temporal death could be accounted for from our original constitution or innate depravity, without making it the direct effect of Adam's sin. 4. If the death derived from Adam is merely natural death, then the life derived is nothing more than natural life. Consistent interpreters, therefore, who make death here to mean the dissolution of the body, explain the life spoken of to mean the restoration of the body. It is only therefore, by doing violence to the constant usage of Scripture, to the context, and to the plainest rules of interpretation, that Dr Beecher's view as to this point can be sustained.

question, the importance of which cannot be overrated. It is also a question, so far as known, never thus raised or discussed before. . . . No one seems to have thought that any law of language, or any usage of Scripture, gave us our choice between real and apparent causation." p. 377. In illustration of his idea, he refers to passages in which the rod of Moses is said to have divided the sea, the mantle of Elijah the Jordan; salt to have healed the waters of Jericho—the apostles to have wrought miracles, sacrifices to make atonement for sin. In all these and many other cases, the language of real causation is used to express nothing more than apparent causation. It is, therefore, not from the language used, but from other sources, we are to determine which of the two is really intended. This is the principle, which in its application to Rom. v. 12—21, solves the great conflict of ages. Nothing can exceed the confidence of the author in the correctness of his interpretation. He says it is impossible to overthrow his position, p. 416, and winds up by saying, "I cannot but feel that I have adduced sufficient reasons to induce all Christian men, who love the honour of God and the good of man more than any or all other interests, to reject the common interpretations of this passage, and to adopt that which I have proposed." p. 444.

Now we hold it to be morally impossible that Dr. Beecher should, in this matter, be right. That a simple didactic assertion, a few plain words, should for all ages and by all parts of the Church, have been entirely misapprehended, and their true meaning be now for the first time brought to light, is little short of an absolute impossibility. It is altogether without a parallel in history. The case of the words of Christ, in the institution of the Lord's Supper, "this is my body," is no parallel. For the true meaning of those words has been seen and acknowledged by a large majority of the readers of the Scriptures. Nothing but absolute despair could lead a man to catch at such a straw; or drive him to place himself in conscious and avowed opposition to the whole people of God. To stand alone, as Luther did, against the Romish hierarchy, is one thing; to stand alone against God's elect, is infinitely another. The one is heroism, the other, infatuation. The dread-

ful language which Dr. Beecher allows himself to use, as to what God is and must be, unless the doctrine of pre-existence be true, shows that he is not free to judge rationally of the meaning of Scripture. He must make it accord with his theory, or be an atheist. When a man is reduced to such an extremity, he can persuade himself that light is darkness. His posture of mind, therefore, deprives his interpretation of even the ordinary authority due to the judgment of an able man.

Besides this, the principle itself is a nonentity. It is a mere phrase. There is no such thing as "apparent causation," in the sense in which he uses the expression. There are different kinds of causation; efficient, occasional, instrumental, and logical or rational. If a man stumbles while carrying coals of fire in the midst of gunpowder, and an explosion follows, we may say his carelessness was the cause of the explosion, or his stumbling was the cause, or the contact of the fire and powder was the cause, or the chemical properties of the powder, or the divine will establishing the laws of nature, was the cause. In every one of these cases the causation is real, though of a very different nature. In all we have an antecedent standing in the relation of a *sine qua non* to the effect. Thus, too, we may say that the Galatians were converted by Paul, that they were converted by the truth, and that they were converted by the Spirit of God. These are examples of efficient and instrumental, not of real and apparent causation. They are alike real. In like manner the brazen serpent was the cause of the healing of the people. It was the real, not the apparent cause; the instrumental, though not the efficient cause of the effect. The healing would not have taken place without it. The Mosaic sacrifices were also the cause of the pardon of sin, *i. e.*, of the remission of the penalties which they were intended to remove. They were even the cause of the remission of sin in the sight of God, the instrumental, not the meritorious cause.

What is the nature of the relation, in any given case, between a cause and its effect, is to be determined by the nature of the thing spoken of it, the context in which the statement occurs, or the authority of Scripture. But in every case of causation, there is a real connection between the antecedent

and consequent, the former being the *sine qua non* of the latter. Dr. Beecher admits the apostle asserts that the sin of Adam stands in a causal relation to the condemnation of his race. Now, it is one thing to inquire into the nature of this causal relation, and another thing to deny it. The former is to explain Scripture, the latter is to contradict it. To say that the causation is merely apparent, that the sin of Adam "exerted no influence whatever on his race," as Dr. Beecher does, is no exposition, but a flat contradiction of the apostle's assertion. To say that it was merely the occasional cause, as the Pelagians teach; or merely the instrumental cause, (by the forbidden fruit acting as a poison, and thus giving the animal principles of our nature an undue ascendancy, or by deteriorating his physical constitution, as phrenologists say, or by the transmission of an impaired moral constitution, according to the Semi-Pelagian doctrine,) are instances of erroneous exposition, and admit of debate. But simply to deny what Paul affirms, does not rise to the dignity of interpretation, in whatever ingenuity of phrase that denial may be couched. That Adam's sin does stand in causal relation to the condemnation of his race, is distinctly asserted: whether it was the occasional, the instrumental, or meritorious cause, is, as we have said, a fair subject of discussion. What Paul means by the assertion is to be determined by the context, and by the analogy of Scripture. The assertion that the sin of Adam was the cause of death passing upon all men, is contained in the 12th verse of the passage in question. The explanation of the nature of this causal connection is given in the following verses. It is said to be that which exists between an offence and a sentence of condemnation. When a man is said to be condemned for an offence, it is not meant that the offence was the occasion of his condemnation, nor that it was its instrumental cause, but that it is the ground, or reason, *i. e.*, the meritorious or judicial cause of his being condemned. Accordingly the Church, that is, ninety-nine hundredths of the people of God, have understood the apostle as teaching that the sin of Adam was the judicial or meritorious cause of the death of his race. In like manner, the Scriptures distinctly assert that the righteousness of Christ is the cause of life. To say that it is

only the apparent cause, would be to deny what the Bible asserts. To make it merely the occasional cause, as is done by Socinians; or simply the instrumental cause, in that in some way we derive spiritual life from him, as is done by other errorists, is to misinterpret the Bible. It is, as the Church has ever taught, the meritorious cause of our justification before God. In asserting that there is a causal relation between the sin of Adam and the condemnation of his race, the apostle asserts that if the one event had not happened, neither would the other. This is precisely what the theory of apparent causation is intended to deny. This is not exposition, but contradiction. But to admit the causation while we differ as to its nature, is not to contradict, but to differ in exposition.

With all our respect, therefore, for Dr. Beecher's talents and sincerity, we cannot regard his interpretation of Rom. v. 12—21, as anything more than an ingenious act of desperation. There was for him an absolute necessity of getting that passage out of his way. He must deny what it affirms. He admits the affirmation, but denies that it was intended. He is greatly mistaken, however, in supposing that the doctrine of the fall of the race in Adam rests solely on that passage. It rests on the record of the creation of man, of the trial in Eden, of the apostasy, of the subsequent history of the world, on the whole scheme of redemption, on what the Scriptures teach of original righteousness, and original sin, of the restoration of the image of God. It is, in short, inwoven with the whole texture of Scripture, as well as with the faith of the Church. Man, according to the Bible, was created upright. Adam was pronounced good; good as a man, good physically, intellectually, and morally. He was made in the image of God, and that image, according to Scripture, includes knowledge, righteousness, and holiness. He was without sin, and enjoyed communion with his Maker, until he ate the forbidden fruit. That act was his first sin, and for that sin he incurred the threatened penalty of death. From that time all men have been sinners, and under the curse of the law. Christ is called the second Adam, because he came to restore the ruin caused by the first. As in Adam, *i. e.*, in virtue of their union with Adam, all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive. These are

among the first principles of the religion of the Bible; and we should as little expect to hear them called in question by a Christian, as that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, was dead and buried, and rose again on the third day. The age of our globe, and the Copernican theory of the universe, to which our author refers, as illustrating the long continued and generally prevailing misconception of the Bible, are altogether of a different character. The Scriptures were not designed to teach natural science, and are not responsible for the fact that men interpreted them according to the received principles of that science. The Scriptures are consistent with either theory of the material universe, for it didactically affirms neither. To find a parallel case, the author should produce some instance of a moral or religious truth as to which the Church has from the beginning, and universally, mistaken the plain meaning of the Bible. None such can be produced; its existence is an impossibility. We hold, therefore, that it is just as certain as anything of the kind can be, that the Bible does teach the fall of our race in Adam, and consequently that the doctrine of the pre-existence of men is not only without scriptural warrant, but in open conflict with the word of God.

The further course of our author's argument is this. He first endeavours to show that so far as the Scriptures are concerned, he needs only their silence. It is enough that they do not contradict his theory. Secondly, that the intuitive principles of "honour and right," and the facts of the case, demand the doctrine of pre-existence. Thirdly, that that doctrine does effectually solve all the difficulties connected with the existence of sin, and throws a flood of light on the plan of the universe.

As to the first of these points, he says, after having shown that the Scriptures do not contradict his doctrine, "Thank God, we are free! The wide field of truth is before us, with none to molest or to make us afraid; let us arise at once, and, by the aid of the Divine Spirit, enter and possess it. The way is now prepared to resume the inquiry, Shall the theory of a previous existence be received as true?" p. 449. In answer to the objection that there is no scriptural authority

for the doctrine, he says, that "there are modes of proof besides express verbal revelation, and that these are the most powerful and trustworthy by which the mind of man can be influenced. Otherwise God would not have left the whole system to rest on them." The being of God and the authority of Scripture rest on evidence independent of the Bible. Until these truths are established, the words of the sacred writers "have no binding power over us." As, therefore, we receive the being of God and inspiration of Scripture on other grounds than "express verbal revelation," so we may receive the doctrine of pre-existence. On this it is obvious to remark that the cases are as dissimilar as possible. The being of God is affirmed ten thousand times and in a thousand ways in his word. It might as well be said we must prove the existence of a man whose voice is sounding in our ears, before we can tell whether his words have any meaning. We may not see a preacher, and yet his discourse, fraught with high thoughts and holy sentiments, may reveal to us not only his existence but his character. So God is revealed in his word, a thousand-fold more clearly than in the heavens, or in the darkened vaults of our own nature. So too, from the beginning to the end of Scripture, the inspiration of the sacred writers is affirmed, and if it were not thus affirmed it never could be proved. Is this true of the pre-existence of man? Does that underlie the Scriptures, and gleam through every pore? Is it affirmed, assumed, defended, argued from, and in every way implicated in the texture of the Bible, as is the being of God, so that to believe the one without the other is an impossibility? Is it not, to say the least, just as much ignored in the sacred volume as La Place's nebular hypothesis? If so, it can no more be made a matter of religious faith than that hypothesis. It is the doctrine of the whole Christian world, Romish and Protestant, that all matters of faith must rest on the testimony of God as revealed in his word. The difference between Romanists and Protestants is not as to that point, but simply as to whether the Bible contains the whole word of God as revealed to the prophets and apostles. Romanists maintain that a certain part of that revelation is not recorded in the Scriptures, but has been handed down by tradition.

Both agree, however, that supernatural revelation is the only ground of faith. The simple concession, therefore, of Dr. Beecher, that his doctrine of pre-existence is not revealed in Scripture, (and of course not through tradition,) of necessity excludes it from the objects of faith. It can never be more than a matter of opinion. This is a distinction which Dr. Beecher seems to have lost sight of. He has been so long accustomed to see systems of theology spun out of theories of virtue, or principles of moral agency or of liberty of the will, which the Scriptures are only required not to contradict, that he seems to think the testimony of God is not necessary as the foundation of faith. He speaks of the belief of the existence of a personal God derived from intuitive principles. What would that belief amount to without the Bible? What hold had it on the Greek or Roman mind? How far is it now received among Pagans—who have the same nature, the same intuitions that we have? In the moments of extremest excitement, he does not venture to claim for his doctrine higher evidence than that which exists for the being of God independently of the Bible. And yet that evidence, as all history proves, is utterly inadequate to produce any abiding and operative faith. The world by wisdom knows not God. The heathen, Paul says, were atheists. We deny the sufficiency of reason to establish any doctrine so as to give it authority and power over the minds of men. The state of the world, were the sun blotted out, and a man set with a single candle to give light to the nations, would afford but a faint image of our condition without the Bible. If without the Scriptures not even the existence of God can be effectively established, although when supernaturally revealed, it necessitates belief, what can be said of the doctrine of pre-existence, without scriptural warrant—a doctrine which probably not ten men in Christendom believe, and which is beset with unanswerable objections? If the Scriptures do not teach the doctrine of pre-existence, no Christian can consistently believe it, because it is a religious doctrine, modifying and controlling the whole system of redemption and scheme of the universe. The man who steps off of the Bible, steps upon a fog-bank, and soon disappears.

The second step in the argument is to show that the intui-

tive principles of honour and right, taken in connection with the facts of human depravity, demand the assumption of the pre-existence of man. To prove this is not so much the design of this portion of the Fifth Book, as of the whole work. The author has all along endeavoured to show that the intuitive principles of justice are irreconcilable with the statements of the Bible, and with the facts of experience, on the assumption that men come into this world as new-created beings. These principles are fundamental laws of belief, inwoven in our constitution, of divine authority, and irresistible in their controlling power. We must, therefore, admit the doctrine of pre-existence, or reject, not merely the authority of the Bible, but faith in the providence and being of a holy God. This is the argument in the validity of which the author has the utmost confidence. "The argument for the being of a God," he says, "has no superior force. The proof that the Bible is the word of God is no more conclusive. The proof of the truth of the Newtonian theory is not more powerful, although that is regarded as established beyond any reasonable doubt." p. 453.

We readily admit the paramount authority of the intuitive principles of truth and justice. All knowledge, all faith, all religion, rest on the assumption of the veracity of our own consciousness, and the validity of the laws of our mental and moral constitution. To suppose the contrary is to suppose that God has made it necessary for us to believe a lie. It is as much impossible for us to free ourselves from the laws of belief implanted in our constitution, as it is to free ourselves from the laws of nature. This is a matter of consciousness. No man can disbelieve the well-authenticated testimony of his senses, or the axioms of geometry, or the intuitions of reason, or the primary principles of morals, any more than he can disbelieve his own existence. To believe is to affirm to be true. But to affirm that to be true which we see to be false, or that to be false which we see to be true, is a contradiction. The Scriptures everywhere take for granted the trustworthiness and authority of these laws of our nature, as impressed upon it by the hand of God himself. Nothing, therefore, can exceed the strength of the conviction with which men believe

that God cannot sin, that virtue is obligatory, that we are responsible for our moral character, and other truths of like kind. To say that any revelation of God can contradict these intuitive principles, is to say that God can contradict himself. As to this point, Dr. Beecher stands on ground universally conceded.

There are, however, two things to be carefully observed in reference to this subject. The first relates to the principles themselves; the other, to their application. As to the former, the important question arises, What principles are to be recognized as axioms? This is a point as to which men differ. What is intuitively true to one mind, is either not seen at all to be true by another, or else only as a conclusion from much simpler principles. The propositions of Euclid must be demonstrated in order to be apprehended by most men. By higher intelligences they are intuitively discerned. Besides this, in many cases we cannot, by our own consciousness, discriminate between our intuitions and our strong convictions. Hence, we constantly see men urging as intuitive truths the erroneous conclusions of their understandings, and even their prejudices, or perverted moral judgments. The only principles which we are authorized to assume as intuitive, are universal and necessary truths; that is, truths which are universally admitted, and which necessitate belief as soon as presented. If we go beyond these narrow limits, we enter on debatable and fallible ground, and others have as much right to deny as we have to affirm. Tried by the criterion just referred to, there is hardly one of the six principles represented by Dr. Beecher as intuitively true, and already quoted in the former part of this article, which must not be either entirely discarded, or essentially modified. So far from having been universally believed, several of them have been almost universally disbelieved; and so far from necessitating faith, they cannot in any way gain it. Our limits, already unduly encroached upon, forbid an examination of these principles in detail. We select the third and fourth as the most important, and as having the most direct bearing on the object of the book. According to the former, it is said, God cannot justly hold his creatures responsible for any thing which "existed in them anterior to and independent

of any knowledge, desire, choice, or action of their own." p. 34. This, of course, means that nothing can be of the nature of sin but voluntary, personal action, or what is the result of such action. By parity of reason, nothing can be of the nature of virtue, but personal acts, and their subjective results. These two things are inseparable. They are only different statements of the more general principle that moral character is the result of personal conduct.

This principle, so far from being intuitively true, is contrary to Scripture, to the faith of the universal Church, and the common judgment of mankind. It assumes a mechanical theory of the moral government of God, as though rewards and punishments were always something positive and accessory, instead of being involved in the nature of good and evil. According to Scripture, to be spiritually minded is life; and to be carnally minded is death. To be holy is to be blessed and glorious. To be sinful is to be degraded and miserable. It matters not how a man becomes holy; whether he was so born, whether he made himself holy, or was new created by the power of the Holy Ghost. In like manner, whether a man inherits a sinful nature, principles, or habits, (these are only different expressions for the same thing,) or whether he renders himself corrupt, or is made so by the influence of Satan, does not alter the fact that he is sinful. Pride and malignity do not cease to be hateful and sinful, whatever may be their origin. A holy being is and ought to be an object of love and approbation; and an unholy being is and ought to be an object of dislike and disapprobation—simply because the one is holy and the other unholy. In other words, it is the doctrine of the Bible, the faith of the Church, and the instinctive judgment of men, that moral principles derive their character from their nature, and not from their origin. The Church has held universally that innate depravity is of the nature of sin, though inherited from Adam; and that inherent grace is of the nature of holiness, though infused into the soul by the power of God. Men regard the cannibals of New Zealand as degraded and vicious, without waiting to determine how much of their character is due to inheritance, how much to their circumstances, and how much to the will. Character, in all cases, is deter-

mined by a multitude of causes, of which voluntary agency is but one, and that not always the most important. To deny this, is to deny what all men in their moral judgments affirm. The Arab, the Hindu, the African, are what they are mainly in virtue of influences over which they have no control; and yet this does not alter their moral nature. The question how rational creatures became sinful, has its own difficulties; but those difficulties do not touch the matter now in hand. Sin is sin, and holiness is holiness, wherever found and however originated, just as much as light is light, from whatever source it comes. Adam was holy as he came from the hands of God, though his character was not self-originated. We hold, therefore, that Dr. Beecher's third principle, on which his whole theory rests, is much nearer being intuitively false than intuitively true.

The fourth principle is that the sin of one man can never be justly so laid to the account of another, as to be a legitimate ground of punishment. If there is any force in this principle, it must include the general proposition that one man cannot be justly made to suffer on account of the sin of another; for the injustice does not consist in the motive for the infliction, but in the infliction itself. It is as unjust to inflict suffering on one person on account of the sin of another, for the good of society, as for the satisfaction of justice—for the support of justice is essential to the good of society. There is, therefore, no force added to the principle above stated, by the introduction of the idea of punishment, for punishment has no relation either to the kind or degree of suffering, but only to the motive or design of its infliction. Provided the end to be attained by the infliction be itself good, it matters not what that end is—whether it be the promotion of virtue, the prevention of crime, or the satisfaction of justice. Whatever injustice there is in the case, consists in the sufferer being made to bear a burden incurred by no act of his own, and over which he had no control. There is not a semblance of an objection to the doctrine that we suffer the punishment of Adam's sin, which does not bear against the doctrine that we suffer the consequences of his sin. The principle advanced by Dr. Beecher as intuitively true, and which is made the corner-stone of his whole theory,

bears just as much against the one mode of statement as the other. And this he seems to admit. Now, so far from this principle being intuitively true, we venture to say there is scarcely a principle more thoroughly interwoven with the texture of Scripture, with the faith of the Church, the history of the world, and the constitution of society, than this decried principle of imputation. The Greek Church incorporated it in their doctrine that the natural death of men is the penalty of Adam's sin ; the Latin Church adopts it in making original sin or spiritual death a penal evil ; so do the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. These are the great divisions of the Christian world, and as to this point they are all agreed. They are all agreed, also, in incorporating the same principle in their doctrine of vicarious atonement.

In the Bible the threatening made to Adam in case of transgression, from its nature was made against his posterity, and was in fact inflicted upon them. God, in the solemn declaration of his character to Moses, said he was "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty ; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and upon the children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation." The prophet Jeremiah exclaims, "Thou shovest loving-kindness unto thousands, and recompensest the iniquities of the fathers into the bosom of their children after them. The Great, the Mighty God, the Lord of Hosts, is his name." On this principle God has acted from the beginning. The curse pronounced on Canaan rests on his posterity to this day. Esau's selling his birthright shut out his descendants from the covenant of promise. The fate of the posterity of the several sons of Jacob as predicted by the dying patriarch, was in several instances determined by the conduct of their parents. The children of Moab and Ammon were excluded from the congregation of the Lord for ever, because their ancestors opposed the Israelites when they came out of Egypt. "Their wives, their sons, and their little children" perished with Dathan and Abiram. So it was with the sons and daughters of Achan. God said of the unfaithful Eli,

that "the iniquity of his house should not be purged with sacrifice and offering for ever." To David it was said, "The sword shall not depart from thy house for ever; because thou hast despised me, and hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be thy wife." Elisha said to the disobedient Gehazi, "The leprosy therefore of Naaman shall cleave unto thee and unto thy seed for ever." The sin of Jeroboam and of the men of his generation determined the destiny of the ten tribes for ever. The awful imprecation of the Jews, when they demanded the crucifixion of Christ, "Let his blood be on us and on our children," is still fulfilled. The whole Bible from beginning to end is full of the doctrine of imputation—full not only of illustrations of the declaration of God, that he will visit the iniquities of the fathers upon their children, but of the doctrine of vicarious punishment. This is the basis of the whole sacrificial ritual of the old economy, and of the doctrine of redemption. The principle in question pervades history as thoroughly as it does the Scriptures. The sins of parents are in fact visited on their children. There is not a nation on the face of the earth whose present condition is not determined by the conduct of their ancestors. Jews, Spaniards, Italians, Poles, Austrians, Englishmen, &c. of the present age all bear the iniquities of their fathers. The family of every criminal shares his punishment. The condemnation of men for the sin of Adam is but one illustration of a principle which pervades all Scripture and the very constitution of society. Men may spin out their intuitive principles endlessly; they can no more thereby arrest the working of God's plan, than they can hold back the planets with cobwebs. We have before remarked that no relief is obtained by saying that the sufferings which come on one man, or on one generation, for the sins of another, are not of the nature of punishment, but simply undesigned consequences which incidentally flow from the operation of a general law; for, in the first place, in the divine government nothing is undesigned; in the second place, the Scriptures expressly declare that these sufferings are not undesigned consequences, but judicial inflictions, threatened and foretold and executed as such; and in the third place, it makes no difference whether they are regarded as of the specific nature of

punishment or not. If a king orders all the children of a rebel to be put to death, it makes no difference, so far as the justice of the act is concerned, whether the motive assigned for it be the general good or the satisfaction of justice. In like manner, if God in his providence causes the intemperance of a father to ruin his family, or the sins of one generation to involve coming generations in misery, it matters not whether this be called with the Bible, "visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children," or not. It is the same thing, by whatever name it is called. The doctrine of imputation, therefore, or that one man suffers the penalty of another's sin, is not got rid of by denying the fall of the race in Adam, or by denying the Bible, or even by denying God—for it is the working principle of the universe, the plan on which the world is actually carried forward. Every man should lay to heart that he is not an isolated individual, that others are implicated in his acts; that his iniquities will be visited on his children and his children's children. This is not merely a doctrine, but a fact, which can no more be altered than the law of gravitation. Nothing, therefore, can be more superficial and erroneous than these pretended axioms, by which Dr. Beecher would subvert the Scriptures and the moral government of God.

If, however, it is necessary that we should be careful what principles we admit into the class of intuitive truths, we should be no less careful in their application. It is intuitively certain that God cannot do wrong, and this is really the only sound principle included in Dr. Beecher's list of moral axioms. Every thing, however, depends on the application of the principle. If applied, as it is to a great extent by our author, on the assumption that every thing would be wrong in God that is wrong in us, or in a human sovereign, it would destroy all faith in Scripture and in providence. What would be thought of a king who should exterminate a nation, small and great, for the offences of its adult population, as God destroyed the world by the deluge, or as he rained down fire on Sodom and Gomorrah, or swept away the inhabitants of Canaan? Who would be justified in slaying all the first-born children in a land for the sin of its sovereign, as God did in Egypt? Who would confine the knowledge of the means of salvation for four thousand

years to one of the smallest of the nations of the earth? Who would permit, if he could prevent it, the great majority of men to remain until this day ignorant of the gospel? Who would allow so large a portion of the Christian Church to sink into heresy and superstition? Who would permit millions of souls to perish for ever? The Pelagian may say, God cannot prevent these evils in a moral system. This only introduces new difficulties, without alleviating the old ones. Could not God prevent the deluge, or the destruction of the infants of Sodom, or the little ones of the land of Canaan? Nay, did he not command those little ones to be slain? The infidel may say these are all scriptural facts, and only prove the Bible to be untrue. But even infidelity brings no relief. Does not the earthquake, famine, war, pestilence, overwhelm the innocent and guilty, the young and old, in indiscriminate ruin? Any man who has looked upon the agonies of a dying infant, has stood in the presence of as awful a mystery as the universe contains. We must have confidence in God. We must be willing that his judgments should be unsearchable, and his ways past finding out. To apply even sound principles to the Bible, as Dr. Beecher does, would make any man an infidel; and so to apply them to history, would make him an atheist. Unless we are willing to act on the principle that as God cannot do wrong, therefore, whatever he does must be admitted to be right, whether we can see it or not, we may as well give up all religion at once. Religion without faith is impossible, and faith that will not go beyond sight ceases to be faith. If we can explain the ways of God, and show them to be consistent with truth and righteousness, very well; we should be grateful for his condescending to give us this light. But to deny God's declarations or doings because we cannot understand or reconcile them, is sheer infidelity, and the certain road to outer darkness.

The unbelieving spirit which underlies and pervades this book, is its most painful feature. Its grand design seems to be to bring down God's nature and dispensations to the level of human comprehension. It sets up the standard of human judgment as the rule by which God is to be judged, and refuses to believe unless every thing can be made perfectly intelligible.

What would be thought of a child who should totter to the knee of a great monarch, and say, "Father, I cannot reconcile your administration of your kingdom with my intuitions. I cannot see how jails and gibbets are consistent with benevolence, or how this and that law comports with justice?" Would not his father say to him, "You poor little sceptic, it is well for you, you do not see; faith, and not sight, is the proper element of your being. You are no child of mine, unless you believe, though you see not." No man can be a child of God —no man can believe in God, on the principle of understanding all God does, or of banishing mystery from Scripture or from providence.

We come now to the last stage of the argument. Does the theory of pre-existence solve the great problem of sin, and dissipate the clouds which have heretofore gathered round the throne of God? Does it accord with the obvious facts of Scripture and experience? The theory is that men, or rather certain spirits, were created holy, or with constitutions and under circumstances favourable to holiness. In that original state they freely sinned. God, purposing their redemption, determined to adopt a remedial system, by which these fallen spirits should be brought under the means of recovery in another world or state of existence. They appear, therefore, here on earth, clothed in human bodies, and through the work of Christ, and the power of the Holy Ghost, multitudes of them are restored to holiness and God. Men, consequently, are born into this world in a state of condemnation, and corrupted by sinful habits and propensities, formed by their own voluntary agency in a previous state of existence, and for which they are responsible. p. 467. This accounts for original sin, or innate and total depravity, in a manner consistent with the character of God and the responsibility of men. It furnishes the solution of the mysteries which hang over the moral and providential government of God. It exhibits the true design and nature of the Church, consisting of these redeemed spirits, as the great centre of the universe, illustrating the character of God, and furnishing the moral power for securely training to holiness the endless coming generations of new-created minds.

We have already shown, as we think conclusively, in the

first place, that this doctrine, being confessedly extra-scriptural, forming no part of the revelation contained in the word of God, must on that account, if for no other, be rejected. No doctrine destitute of scriptural authority, can, consistently with Christian principle, be allowed to enter into our faith, or to control our views of religious truth. In the second place, it was shown that the theory of pre-existence is not only extra-scriptural, but directly opposed to the express assertions and widely extended implications of the sacred volume. We shall now endeavour to show, very briefly, that the doctrine breaks down as a theory, that it does not answer its intended purpose, and is inconsistent with the plainest facts of Scripture and observation. In the first place, it is not consistent with the nature of man, as that nature is revealed in Scripture, consciousness, and experience. According to the Bible, God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. . . . So God created man in his own image, after the image of God created he him, male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it." Again, "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul." We have here an account of a new order of beings, composed of a material element derived from the earth, and of a spiritual element derived from the inspiration of the Almighty. Of this nature thus constituted, all men by inheritance partake. With this scriptural account, the doctrine that Adam was a fiend from a higher state of being, inclosed in a human body, and that every new-born infant is a fresh instance of the incarnation of a fallen spirit, is in direct contradiction.

It is not less at variance with our own consciousness. We are not to ourselves adult spirits from another world. We have no knowledge derived from a previous state. We have no recollections or associations connected with such a state. If it is said, the same is true with regard to our existence in "our mother's womb," the answer is obvious. The latter is an existence of undeveloped consciousness; the former one of intelligence and responsibility. This negative argument is of itself decisive. Our nature reveals itself in consciousness,

and as there is no subjective evidence that we are spirits from another world, it is plain that such is not our nature. Everything revealed in Scripture concerning the nature of man, finds a response in consciousness. The Bible teaches that we are composed of two distinct elements, a material and a spiritual. Every one has the evidence within him that such is a true account of his constitution. The Bible teaches that we are free agents, that we are sinful, that we are responsible. All this is abundantly confirmed by our own consciousness. The Bible teaches the unity of the human race, and we instinctively recognize all men as our fellow-creatures. The Bible teaches the immortality of the soul, and the soul hears the annunciation as a revelation of its true nature. Thus the Scripture and consciousness harmonize as different parts of a piece of music. The one answers to the other without a discordant note. But the doctrine that we are spirits fallen from a pre-existent state finds no responsive string in the human breast. It affirms us to be what every man instinctively knows he is not.

Again, this theory of our nature is not only contrary to Scripture and consciousness, but also to notorious facts. We know things only by their phenomena. To affirm that the glimmering intellect of a new born infant is an adult spirit, capable of rebellion against God, and of the formation of moral character, is contrary to apparent facts. There is scarcely a distinctive attribute of the one which belongs to the other. The one has self-consciousness, thought, knowledge, conscience, self-determination. The other has no one of these prerogatives except potentially. We might, therefore, as reasonably assert that a mouse is an elephant, as that the soul of an infant is a spirit which has already rebelled against God, and formed its moral character in a previous state of being. Dr. Beecher's theory, therefore, must be false, because it does not accord with the true nature of man as revealed in Scripture, consciousness, and experience.

A second objection is that the theory fails to give a satisfactory account of the fact, that men are born in a state of sin and condemnation. This is indeed the purpose for which it is proposed. But here is the precise point where it specially

fails. Admitting the fact of pre-existence, there is such a solution of the continuity of our being in passing from one state to the other, as effectually to destroy our moral identity and responsibility. Experience indeed teaches that the metaphysical sameness of the soul may be preserved in the change from infancy to manhood, and from manhood to the fatuity of disease, or old age. But metaphysical sameness is far from satisfying the conditions of moral responsibility. An idiot is irresponsible, not only for acts performed during idiocy, but for all prior acts, so long as he continues irrational. And to make him a proper subject of punishment for acts committed before the loss of intelligence, you must not only restore his intellect, but the consciousness of his identity. You must so reconnect the present with the past as to awaken the sentiment of guilt. In other words, the indispensable conditions of punishment for *personal transgression* are present rationality and possible consciousness of sin. We limit the application of the principle to the case of personal transgression, for two reasons. First, because that is the case in hand. Dr. Beecher teaches that new-born infants are punished for personal sins committed in a previous state of existence. Secondly, because the principle is not applicable to any other case. The Bible and experience abundantly teach that infants, though not in the exercise of reason, nor conscious of guilt, are "children of wrath"—that a condemnatory sentence has passed upon them for that one offence on account of which death has passed on all men, and that they bear the iniquities of their fathers. We see the blood shed by one generation often exacted at the hands of another. The Bible also teaches that inherent corruption in infants is of the nature of sin, because it is in its own nature evil, precisely as those habits or dispositions which result from a repetition of sinful acts, though neither one nor the other, (*i. e.*, neither innate nor acquired habits,) are matters of consciousness, and also because innate corruption in infants is the result and penalty of voluntary transgression in Adam, of whose nature they partake. All this being admitted, the principle still holds good, that present rationality and consciousness of guilt, (or, at least, the possibility of it,) are the indispensable conditions of punishment for personal transgression.

To punish a man in a state of idiocy for crimes committed in a state of sanity, is impossible. We might as well talk of the exhumation and gibbeting the remains of Cromwell as a punishment for his part in the death of Charles. The outrage offered to the lifeless body of that great man did not rise to the dignity of punishment. It was mere brutality. Neither can the sufferings and death of infants be a punishment for personal transgressions of which it is impossible they should have any knowledge or consciousness of guilt. If men were born into this world in full maturity of intellect, with the knowledge of sins committed in a previous state of being, or with a continued or restored consciousness of personal identity, then we admit that innate corruption and the various calamities of this life would find in that fact a solution; just as the miseries of a future state find their solution in the consciousness of sins committed in the body. But that an idiot or infant can be held responsible, on the ground of personal guilt, for sins committed in a previous state, of which state it can have no memory or consciousness, is revolting to every sentiment of right and justice. If the impenitent in the next world become idiots, forgetful of this life, without the consciousness of their identity, or knowledge of the sins committed in the body, a future state of punishment would lose all its dignity and power. Its whole significance would be destroyed, and it would present a revolting spectacle of unmeaning and unmerited suffering.

Such then is the theory which, without Scripture and against Scripture, we are called upon to adopt as a rational solution of mysteries! How often is the Bible doctrine, that those who will not submit their intellect to God are given up to delusion, illustrated in experience! Those who refused to believe the true God, came, the apostle says, to make brutes their gods. The only security against the degradation of reason, is the subjection of the finite reason of man to the infinite reason of God.

A third objection to the theory of pre-existence is that it affords no relief from the difficulties attending the moral and providential government of God. The general prevalence of sin and misery, the unequal distribution of good and evil, the

restriction of the knowledge of redemption, of the means of grace and of the gifts of the Spirit, the destiny of millions being made so often to turn on the action of an individual, the sins of one generation being visited upon another; these and similar mysteries remain in all their darkness. The fact that men sinned in a previous state of existence affords no relief. First: Because the sins of that state are never, so far as Scripture is concerned, specified as the ground of these dispensations. The deluge, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, of the Canaanites, of the Egyptians, when thousands perished who knew not their right hand from their left, were not inflicted for the sins of pre-existence, but for the sins of this life. Secondly: The sins of a previous state, according to the principle already stated, cannot justly be punished in this world. No man can be made to feel guilty of the sins of pre-existence; and therefore suffering inflicted for such sins can never be to him of the nature of punishment. The relation which he bears to those sins is the same as that of an idiot to the sins of which he is incapable of forming a conception. The chasm which separates the present from our assumed previous state, by breaking the continuity of consciousness, effectually destroys all moral responsibility for the sins of that state, and forbids their being made the ground of punishment in this world. The theory of pre-existence, therefore, furnishes no solution of the mysteries of God's moral and providential dealings with men.

Finally, the theory leaves the great difficulty of the origin of evil, precisely where it was. For six thousand years the human mind has laboured at the solution of this great problem in vain. It remains in all its original darkness. The sublime, the satisfactory and the sanctifying answer to the question, why God permits sin, is to be found in the words of our Lord: "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight." Here we must ultimately rest, and here only can rest be found. It is by faith and not by sight, we know that the existence of sin is consistent with the character of God. And those who refuse to believe without sight, soon come into a state of mind in which they can neither see nor believe.

All the solutions of the origin of evil end either in denying

sin or denying God. One class of these solutions make sin necessary as having its source in nature, or as the transition point to good, or as a mere metaphysical limitation of being, or as having no existence in the sight of God, or as the necessary means of the greatest good. All these views more or less directly destroy the nature of sin as a moral evil. The other class deny the perfection of the Supreme Being. They either reject entirely the doctrine of a personal God, or they make him the author of sin, or they deny his power to prevent sin, in a moral system, or in some other way reduce the Almighty into bondage to the creature.

It is obvious that the question where sin originates, whether in this, or in a previous state, does not affect the difficulty of reconciling its existence with the perfection of God. Dr. Beecher, therefore, might have left the question alone—content to leave that difficulty as common to both doctrines. But that would be inconsistent with his whole status. An unresolved mystery is for him an eclipse of the glory of God, which renders it impossible to worship him. What would it avail for a mind in such a state, though man's innate corruption were satisfactorily explained, if his becoming corrupt under the government of God is left unaccounted for? The author is compelled, therefore, in consistency to bring his theory to bear on the great problem of the origin of evil. His doctrine is that the fall and redemption of a certain part of the spiritual world, was necessary in order to give God moral power to govern the universe successfully, and especially to educate in holiness the new created minds which age after age are to come into being. The only difference between this and the old Pelagian theory, which has been instinctively rejected by the common consciousness of the Church, is that the limitation of the power of God is not made to result from the very nature of free agency, and therefore, perpetual so long as free agents exist. It supposes the limitation to be temporary and confined to the early period of creation, and to arise not out of the nature of free agency, but from the deficiency of motives by which to influence created minds for good. When God has had time to develope his character in

the view of his creatures, he acquires sufficient power over them to secure their obedience to holiness. In either case, however, the limitation is the same. God cannot secure his creatures in holiness; in other words, he cannot prevent sin in a moral system. "Either," says Dr. Beecher, "the limitation of divine power in the earlier stages of creation, which I advocate, exists, or it does not. If it does not exist, then no man can defend God from the charge of malevolence. If it does exist, then there is, as I have shown, a simple and natural solution of the origin of evil." p. 486. Of course, if God cannot prevent sin, the question is answered, why he does not prevent it. But then we have lost our God. A being limited, conditioned, controlled by any thing out of himself, is not absolute, independent, infinite—he is not God. This is not a question which admits of argument. If the conception of God presented in Scripture, as a Being infinite, eternal and unchangeable—without limitation or control by any thing out of himself, and who does, and can do whatever he wills, does not commend itself at once as true, it can be of as little use to prove it, as to prove that the firmament of stars is beautiful. This conception of God is the controlling principle of religion and morality. It lies at the foundation of all piety, it is so inwrought in the religious experience of men that it is denied only by theorists; just as the existence of matter is denied. Why should there ever have been a question about the existence of evil, had not men known that God could prevent it? If they had conceived of God as a limited, that is, a finite being, there would be no difficulty in the case; and this conflict of ages had never occurred. It is simply because the idea of freedom from limitation enters into the scriptural, and even into the rational conception of God, that men have been in all ages in such straits to reconcile the existence of evil with the divine holiness. What thanks, then, to any man who pretends to solve the problem by simply denying one of its elements? The problem to be solved is not the existence of sin and the holiness of a finite being who cannot prevent it—any child can master that question—but the existence of sin, and the holiness of an infinite Being. That is the question.

We prefer ten thousand times to leave that question unanswered, or to wait till God sees fit to answer it, rather than to give up faith in God as uncontrolled and infinite.

A lower conception of God pervades this book than almost any other from a good man we ever read. Dr. Beecher constantly speaks of the Supreme Being as being subject to law, as bound by the principles of "honour and right," just as though he were a creature.* This mode of thought and expression is not only highly irreverent, but incompatible with the true idea of God. God cannot be bound; he cannot be under obligations, or subject to responsibilities. All these modes of expression suppose subordination and subjection to authority. Wherever there is law, there is a lawgiver; and therefore if God is under the law, he is under a moral ruler. On this principle one of the strongest arguments for the being of God is founded. Moral obligation implies subjection to a moral ruler; therefore, as we are conscious of moral obligation, there must be a moral ruler to whom we are responsible. This argument is sound, and is so regarded by all theists. But if this mode of reasoning is correct, then it follows, that if God is bound by the moral law, he too is responsible to a superior. It is, however, a false and anti-theistic idea that moral excellence supposes moral obligation. It is the favourite argument of pantheists, that God cannot possess any moral attributes, because moral attributes suppose subjection to a moral law, a voluntary conformity to that standard of duty, and a possibility of non-conformity to it. But all this is inconsistent with the idea of an absolute Being, and therefore, they say, moral excellence cannot be predicated of God. Dr. Beecher adopts the same principle, though he draws from it a different conclusion. His conclusion is, that God is not independent,

* His first intuitive principle, stated on p. 31, is, that "increase of power to any degree of magnitude produces, not a decrease, but an increase of *obligation* to feel and act benevolently towards inferiors." This is applied to God. "If God gives existence to inferior and dependent minds, is he under any other or different obligations?" In another place, he says, "God is bound to give every new-created being a sound and healthy moral constitution," &c. p. 353. The strife between God and his rebellious creatures, he says, is one "which imposes the highest responsibilities on him whose power, knowledge, and other advantages, are greatest." p. 480. Such modes of expression are of frequent occurrence, and the idea of God from whence they spring pervades the book.

absolute, and infinite. He is bound by the moral law as much, and even infinitely more than his creatures. This whole mode of thought is anti-scriptural, and anti-theistic. We might as well speak of reason being bound to be wise, or benevolence being bound to be kind, as of God, who is the infinite Reason and Love, being bound to act wisely or mercifully. It is a solecism to speak of unwise reason, or unkind benevolence. No less incongruous are the ideas of evil and God. They cannot be brought together. To say that God is bound to be wise and good, is an absurdity. He is infinite wisdom and goodness, and he can no more be otherwise, than light can be darkness, or wisdom folly. This is the charm, the mystery, the glory of the idea of God, personal, self-conscious reason and goodness, and power—and as such, perfectly incapable of being in subjection, or being bound by anything but his own nature. God is above all law; he has the right to do what he wills; whatever he wills is right, and is right because he wills it. This is not the old scholastic doctrine of absolute power, agreeably to which God can make right to be wrong, and wrong to be right; vice to be virtue, and virtue vice. This, in the first place, is an absurdity. Contradictions are not the objects of power. Right can no more be wrong, than pleasure can be pain, or heat can be cold, or something nothing, existence nonexistence. Secondly, there is great difference between making the will of God the ultimate ground of moral distinctions, and making God's nature that ground. His will is for the creature the ultimate rule of right and wrong, but his will is determined by his nature, and is subject to no other law. Therefore it is that God has a right to do what he wills, and that whatever he wills is right, because he wills it, and because his will is the expression of his nature. What higher reason can be given that anything is wise, than that it is an act of infinite wisdom; or that it is right, than that it is the act of infinite holiness? The infinite reason is the ground and treasury of all truth; infinite goodness is the ground and rule of all right. But to subject God to law, to make him responsible, is to make him a creature.

As Dr. Beecher's fundamental conception is that of a finite God, he finds no difficulty in representing him as unable to

prevent sin, and as gradually gaining power to carry out his plans. For the same reason he can bring himself, without trembling, to speak of God's being unhappy. He says, "the entrance of evil has involved a period of long continued suffering to God;" that the glorious results to which he is "conducting the universal system have been purchased at the expense of his own long-continued and patiently endured sufferings," p. 487, and that God develops, "through trial and suffering," his character in view of his creatures. Now, when a man gets so low as this in his idea of God, we do not see why he should trouble himself with any thing. If the world is badly governed, if sin and misery overrun the kingdom of God, He cannot prevent it. He can do no better. If the hurricane break loose from the hands of this feeble God, and sweep innocent children and hoary sinners to a common destruction, he is only to be pitied. How can he help it? If hell should burst its gates and invade heaven, God can only stand aghast. If this has happened once, despite his protest and his tears, it may happen again. The universe is under the government of a well meaning but impotent Being, who can control created minds only by "moral power;" who can bind Satan and restrain fiends only by telling them it is wrong to be wicked—whose blessedness and whose dominions are at the mercy of his creatures, and who holds his throne only by sufferance. If God is a finite Being, if his power is limited, if he governs his rational creatures only by the ascendancy he gradually acquires over them by the exhibition of his character; if he has failed, despite all his resources, to prevent millions of millions of his creatures becoming and remaining sinful; if he endures great and continued suffering on account of the disobedience of his inferiors, which he cannot prevent, then Dr. Beecher has a right to place himself over against this God, as in nature his equal, to summon him to an account, to tell him, as he does throughout this book, he is bound to do this, and bound to avoid that, and that he will forfeit all respect unless he not only acts right, but makes it apparent to all Lilliput that he does so.—No! ten thousand times no! This is not our God. This is not the Lord Jehovah, who does his will among the armies of heaven, and the inhabitants of the earth; who works

all things after the counsel of his own will; who turns the hearts of men as the rivers of water are turned; of whom, through whom, and to whom are all things; in whose sight all nations are as the dust of the balance; whose judgments are unsearchable, and whose ways past finding out, and who gives no account of his doings.

The first and most indispensable condition of piety is submission—blind, absolute, entire submission of the intellect, the conscience, the life, to God. This is blind, but not irrational. It is the submission of a sightless child to an all-seeing Father; of a feeble, beclouded, intelligence to the Infinite Intelligence. It is not only reasonable, but indispensable, both as a safeguard from scepticism, and for the rational exercise of piety. As we must end here, we may as well begin here. First or last we must come to say, It is Jehovah, let him do what seems good in his sight. Jehovah can do no wrong. The Lord reigns, let the earth rejoice. If then, Adam sinned, and all men are thereby brought under sin; if we are born children of wrath; if sin and misery reign over the earth; if children bear the iniquities of their fathers; if our present condition is the result of the conduct of those who go before us; if the storm and pestilence respect neither age nor character; if clouds and darkness are round about the throne of God, we must still hold fast our confidence in God, for if we let go our hold, we fall into the bottomless abyss of darkness and despair.

We lay down this volume with very mingled feelings. It records the struggle of a strong and devout mind with the great problems of life, under the guidance of a false principle. Raised by the teachings of Scripture and his own religious experience, above the superficial views of the nature of sin and of the depravity of man which prevail around him, instead of submitting to the plain assertions of the Bible and obvious facts of providence, our author has attempted to understand the Almighty unto perfection, and of course has failed. The issue to which the book brings the reader, is, an infinite God and mystery, or a finite God and a satisfied understanding. This is only the old alternative, God or man; one or the other must rule. This is the real Conflict of Ages, and the result cannot be doubtful. Happy are they who are on the Lord's side!

ART. V.—“*Lectures on Pastoral Theology.* By the Rev. James Spencer Cannon, D. D., late Professor of Pastoral Theology and Ecclesiastical History and Government, in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Dutch Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey.” New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau street, pp. 617.

THEOLOGY is the doctrine of God. The name indicates that God is its author and its subject. It is the doctrine concerning God—that which exhibits his attributes. It is also taught by him. We have no knowledge of the Most High, except as he reveals his perfections to us; and we know him only, as we know other beings, by his attributes. For the communication of this knowledge, he has spread before us two books; the book of nature, *i. e.*, creation and providence; and the Bible, or language addressed to us above and beyond the revelations of the former book. These two are parallel lines of unequal length, and can never cut one another. Or we may conceive the latter as superimposed upon the former and coincident throughout their mutual length—the former finite, the latter infinite *a parte post*. This is usually denominated the book of revelation; that, the book of nature: which distinction gives rise to the classification of theology into Natural and Revealed. We may be considered hypercritical; yet, at this risk, we venture the remark that this usual denomination is prejudicial to clearness of comprehension. It implies that the book of nature is not a revelation from God—that his works do not reveal their Author in his perfections: whereas the two books are analogous, revealing God in his attributes, not in his essence.

The science of theology, of course, is the knowledge of God’s attributes, qualities, perfections, arranged into a system; in other words, the doctrines which God has taught concerning himself as the Creator and Governor of all things, and as the Saviour of lost men—these adjusted according to their proper relations. In the process of this adjustment, it is proper to bear in mind the position of theology relatively to the other sciences. It stands at the head—it is the science of sciences, to which

all others are subordinate, and ought to be subservient. Every science, which is built up and systematized under the auspices of sound logic—*i. e.*, every real and true science, ultimates in theology. All right reasonings lead to truth, and all truth has its origin in reason, and the subject matters about which it is employed; and all right reasonings must, therefore, lead to their own source: God is truth. The idea of science conflicting with theology is the preposterous absurdity of a part contradicting the whole—of two truths opposing each other. From the want of true science, indeed—from defect of knowledge, its advocates and friends are often found opposing each other; but as soon as sound reason reaches its results, and presents to their minds true science, accurate knowledge, they agree. Thus reason—not indeed the reasonings of men, (which are often the antipodes of reason,) but sound reason works its way up through nature unto nature's God; and it is graphically true, that all the discoveries of science are manifestations of God—revelations of the wisdom and attributes of the Creator. Hence, no science lies outside of theology; and all the sciences in all their parts may be profitable to the theologian.

But the feebleness of human powers renders it impossible for man to comprehend all science, or to excel in many departments of investigation at the same time; it has been found necessary to analyze and to limit the sphere of each man's intellectual researches, within some one, or a few, of the results of such analysis. Accordingly theology is divided, (as just stated,) into Natural and Revealed—meaning, by the former, the revelations of divine attributes made by nature; and by the latter, the revelations of divine attributes made by immediate suggestion to the minds of the prophets, by visions, dreams, or language; and by them recorded for the permanent instruction of men. But inasmuch as these two books cover in part the same ground, the division is impracticable. It is never, in fact, regarded with such caution as to restrain each within its own proper limits; on the contrary, each perpetually transgresses the bounds of the other.

Other divisions are made on a different principle. The analysis into natural and revealed regards the source of our

information; we are learners. The divisions into didactic or dogmatic, polemic, pastoral, regard the modes of transmission to others; we are teachers. The first of these methods—for they are only methods of teaching—of edifying the body of Christ in theology—is the simple presentation of the doctrines or truths in the premises to the minds of men, without rendering a reason. The professor of didactic theology is a simple dogmatist, and addresses simply the faith of his pupil, and the intellect only so far as is necessary for comprehending the meaning of his propositions. He does not present reasons and arguments in defence. But faith in man might be the result of this method, and so God would be dishonoured, and the soul lost; for the doctrines are divine, and as such are to be recognized by the intellect, and relied on by faith. Hence the didactic must be preceded and accompanied by the exegetical. Such explanations of God's books must be given, as will lead the learner to perceive and to believe the doctrines taught to be God's—to be divine: he teaches divinity. Or, to express the idea in Latin, he is a *doctor divinitatis*. Nor is this peculiar to professors in seminaries. This is the principal business of every minister of the gospel—to teach divinity, and the terms by which the idea is expressed are much more appropriate to the minister than is the Latin word *Reverend*. This latter expresses a degree of respect, veneration, and awe, not always experienced upon the sight of a clergyman.

Such is the abstract theory of the dogmatic: the concrete, however, differs from it. No ordinary man can endure to dogmatize purely, to men who have reasonable and reasoning minds. But every modest teacher feels bound to go beyond his own *ipse dixit*, and state reasons and arguments in support of his propositions. The didactic and the polemic chairs occasionally jostle each other: the latter, however, has abundant scope in formal controversy. The polemic divine looks outward mainly. He stands on the watch-tower, and looks inward only for shot to direct upon the advancing foe. Argument is his field of action.

Pastoral theology ought to comprehend only those divine doctrines which refer directly to the duties of a pastor, as contradistinguished from a teacher and polemic. So it would be,

if the offices were in fact separate; but as the Church does not carry the principle of division of labour out as far as the New Testament does—as the same person is teacher, defender, ruler and pastor, the phrase must be taken in a much more extended sense. Our venerable author thus defines it in the very first sentence of his work: “Pastoral theology is that branch of the science of Christian theology which treats of the qualifications, duties, trials, encouragements and consolations of the evangelical pastor.”

This definition is also his general division of the whole subject; and in this order he proceeds at once with the discussion. He, however, premises a few remarks, which go to show the comprehensive sense in which the term *pastor* is taken, as covering the duties of teaching and defending the doctrines, and administering government and ordinances; and he contradistinguishes this office from those of priests, prophets and apostles, as well as from patriarchs, Levites and all extra officers.

With the first topic—pastoral qualifications—more than one-third of the volume is occupied, and we incline to think the want of a distinct division of the matter here as consequent upon a complete analysis, is the greatest defect in this most excellent work. The reader feels at a loss for an adjustment of qualifications into classes: *e. g.* the first item is the “special call of God.” 2d. “Intellectual endowments.” 3d. “Development of the graces of the divine life.” 4th. “Aptness to teach.” These fill up the chief part of Lecture I. and all of Lecture II. and III. But under the first are treated the call by the Church, examinations, the power and art of ordination; under the second, his talents and learning, &c. It would have given more clear and distinct views, we humbly suggest, to have inquired for personal qualifications first—piety, natural talents, personal acquisitions, *i. e.*, learning, natural temperament—aptness to teach: then, external relations—has he the means of support whilst preparing for the work?—do his social relations admit of it?—can he cut himself loose?—has he a call from the people of God? Then his gifts—or those peculiar features of character which lie between him and the people.

Perhaps, however, all this is mere matter of taste. These

topics are all treated, and with great minuteness and force. Under the denomination of gifts, we have an excellent discussion of prayer, in which he expounds the nature and importance of prayer, discusses the question of set forms, and refutes the pleas put in their defence, and exposes the folly of one generation, not perhaps the most gifted in this way, prescribing how distant generations shall express their desires to God; vindicates the necessity of extemporeaneous prayer to meet the exigencies of a people—insists cogently on the pastor so furnishing himself as to be adequate to the service. In Lecture V. he treats the matter, order and manner, in which last he administers merited reproof to an impudent flippancy of manner, and to the lazy habit of sitting in prayer: a custom utterly unwarranted by either reason or scriptural authority. We have Bible examples of lying prostrate, viz: in secret devotions, under distressing circumstances, and also of kneeling, and of standing—the last in public worship. But no example or precept for the disrespectful attitude of sitting.

Under the head of gifts, our author treats of preaching the word. This, and the lecture on preaching, as a duty, are perhaps the most interesting and profitable parts of the book. The gift may be improved, and excellent rules are laid down for the young preacher. General directions are given for the selection of subjects, adapted to the people before him, and not to a people absent—for the composition and delivery of sermons. In regard to composition, after treating the subject pretty fully and very clearly, he touches the question of writing; and here we let the author sum up for himself.

“The careful composition, in writing, of sermons for the exercise of public worship on the Sabbath, is to be strongly recommended to pastors, and is almost indispensable to the future usefulness of those who are young in the ministry.

“Writing sermons is a practice which operates directly to promote the progress of the young preacher in intellectual strength. Composition requires much reading and reflection, to be easily and well executed; and writing, which puts down and records the results of such labour, tends to fix in the mind whatever acquisitions it has made in the school of knowledge. The careful writer, like the labourer in the field, invariably

finds his own strength increased, in proportion to the vigorous exercise of his powers.

"Writing secures the preacher from a hasty and superficial view of the subject which he proposes to discuss. If he rely on what he can at the moment of speaking collect, in relation to a subject of thought, he will not be able, without extraordinary vigour of mind, to search deeply, and to separate the precious ore from the dross. But when he writes, the subject must pass again and again through his thoughts; he must read over what he has written; and the eye will aid the judgment in discovering defects and errors in the composition. Most certainly, writing a discourse is favourable to order in the arrangement of the matter, while it enables the composer to give to his style a proper variety of words on the same subject.

"When thoughts are not written, the memory will so fail one in speaking, that the speaker will leave out or displace important facts; but admitting that one who does not write, preserves order, still his phraseology on the same subject will not be sufficiently varied. The last words used in discussing a subject will be those which, from habits of association, will most readily occur to the memory when that subject again employs the thoughts. Hence, extempore preachers have been complained of as repeating the same ideas often in the same words.

"To which let me add, that writing will preserve the preacher from a hesitating and stammering manner in the pulpit, and from adopting careless and unsound expressions. Rich must that invention be, which can supply a speaker with plenty of words, and those words such as are adapted to express his meaning correctly and forcibly. Errors may be detected in the off-hand speeches of men of the finest talents. But if in the senate or at the bar, good speakers use at the moment incorrect words and expressions, they are at liberty to recall and amend them; but this is a privilege which cannot be enjoyed by the preacher, without producing pain in the minds of his hearers. The pulpit is not the place where one is allowed to correct his own errors in speech, to stop, alter, and

improve what happens to be faulty and inelegant in his phraseology.

"It is true, that the talent for correct speaking, without writing, may in process of time be so improved by practice and with the increase of knowledge, as to supersede the necessity of writing every word and sentence. With a view to this fact, let the preacher, when he becomes accustomed to the exercise of public speaking, and finds his knowledge more comprehensive, gradually cultivate the talent of extemporizing, by bringing it more and more into action, by preaching from an analysis, in catechetical and evening lectures. Much may be done in this way, if the young preacher be not too early in attempting the work. Let him discipline his mind to think continuously on a subject, and put his thoughts into the best language, and into regular sentences. He will at least be partially successful, and the power, if acquired, will be a most valuable acquisition to him. It will enable him to save time and labour for study, to extend his reading, and to be more occupied in parochial visitations. It will give him more confidence and animation in speaking, and will qualify him to serve his Master better, in conversation with individuals, and in church courts, and when he is called unexpectedly to preach at funerals and on other occasions. Little can be done in a missionary tour by a minister who depends upon his written sermons; on the other hand, little advance in knowledge will be made by one who thinks he can preach well at any time, without preparation by writing, by reflection, and industry in collecting facts."

We beg leave to add a single remark, viz., that extemporeaneous composition is as entirely practicable in writing out in full, as in speaking out in full; and it is exceedingly probable that it actually occurs more frequently. If the thinking be thoroughly done, the intellectual labour is completed; so that the thoughts, ideas, sentiments, doctrines, be fully in the mind's possession, and arranged in their natural order, according to the laws of suggestion which regulate the mental movements, it is surely matter of small consequence whether the pen or the tongue gives notation to the ideas. We are of opinion they will flow warmer from the tongue, as a general

thing, without writing, than with. Assuredly, if a preacher have but a short time to prepare, he will act wisely by spending it in thinking, rather than in writing. We hope, notwithstanding, that all young preachers will take our author's counsel, and write out in full, and memorize perfectly, for some years, until they acquire perfect command of language: then, and after that, we must think composing sermons in full with the pen a useless waste of time.

Lecture X., on the delivery of sermons, contains a manly and vigorous discussion of the question of reading as distinguished from preaching; in the conclusion of which, after giving the arguments for and against reading, he delivers his opinion in favour of preaching without notes, whenever the proper talent for it exists; but where a man has not the talent for preaching, but can read well, let him read.

We pass over Lecture XI. and XII. of Part II., on pastoral duties, in which prayer and preaching are again treated, but under the special aspect of duties—all very good, and full of conservative doctrine.

From Lecture XIII. to XXX., inclusive, the sacraments are treated. The discussion, covering 250 pages, the reader will expect to be full and minute, and he will not be disappointed. It is didactic in part, but chiefly polemic.

The sacraments he finds to be four, viz., "circumcision, the passover, baptism, and the Lord's supper." The word is defined, by its substitution in the writings of the Latin fathers, for *μυστήριον* of the Greeks; which latter was borrowed from the pagans, with a little accommodation, to signify the signs and seals of the new covenant. Both the classical and ecclesiastical usage of the word translated *sacrament*, is much wider than our author seems to recognize.

The author urges with force the substantial unity of circumcision and baptism, of the passover and the Lord's supper. We have refutations of the errors of the Menonists, Immerseionists, Anti-pedobaptists, Socinians, Unitarians, Romanists, Puseyites, Quakers, Campbellites, &c., and the true doctrines of the visible Church, and of her two signs and seals, vindicated against them all. In this part of the work there is dis-

played, as is most needful, a very considerable amount of learning, of critical acumen, and of logical force.

We must notice with special regard the eminently prudent course recommended with respect to revivals, revivalist preachers, and the rules for admission of adults to sealing ordinances. These Bible rules are well adapted to bind up the broken heart, to fan into a flame the smoking flax, to strengthen the bruised reed; and yet to guard the visible Church against unholy communion, and the individual against eating and drinking damnation to himself. A little detail here would be very grateful to our feelings, and might be profitable to others, but time and space will not allow. Let those who want light place themselves in the sunbeams.

In Lecture XXXI. we have a lucid exposition of the important service of catechetical instruction, its character, its indispensableness, its history, its obligations, and its rules.

In Lectures XXXII., XXXIII., XXXIV., the important duty of pastoral visitation is explained and enforced with such great variety of detail, as none but an old pastor could possibly accomplish. The preceding lecture, with these, would comprehend nearly all pastoral duties, under the restricted and proper view of the term; and there is no part of the book which we would press with so much importunity upon the attention of young ministers; and for this very reason we will not attempt a condensed or abridged statement of their substance. Using, as our author does, the term pastor as including teacher, he very properly places the study and its counterpart, the pulpit, above every thing else—above the Session, and Presbytery, and Synod—above the social circle, the private prayer-meeting, above the catechetical meeting, and the sick room even, and the funeral procession. But he does not allow young ministers, under pretence of study, to neglect any of these. The more pressing demands of the sick chamber, and the sick in mind, the broken in spirit, can generally be met without any sacrifice of the prime duties of pulpit preparation.

Lecture XXXV. is occupied with revivals, and pastoral duties in regard to them. From a hasty perusal, without regard to the season and state of the churches at the time this was prepared, the reader might infer hostility to revivals. This would

be unfair. Doubtless there is an eye all along to the fanaticism which too often causes periods of excitement to be followed by a low state of religion, and an ejection of the minister from his charge; and not unfrequently, a shutting up of the church—a temporary abandonment of public worship. This kept in mind, the reader will not suppose there is here any hostile feeling towards the special influences of God's Spirit, in a general awakening of attention to the concerns of the soul: but he will find many useful hints towards guiding young ministers during these gracious seasons, and securing the benefits without the frequent incidental evils.

The last lecture treats of the pastor's power and duty of instructing by his example. Here, too, we have an immense detail, the result of a long and laborious experience. The young pastor will do well to read the lecture over once a month, for the first two or three years of his ministry.

Such is the hasty and very imperfect sketch which we are able to present of this very interesting and valuable work. The publisher is entitled to credit for the handsome manner in which the volume has issued from the press. The biographical notice, which serves as an introduction, is well written and satisfactory. On the whole, we regard this work as highly creditable to its venerable author, and well adapted for a textbook on the subject of which it treats.

ART. VI.—*History of the Apostolic Church*; with a General Introduction to Church History. By Philip Schaff, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. Translated by Edward D. Yeomans. New York: Charles Scribner, 165 Nassau street. 1853. pp. 684.

THIS work of Dr. Schaff having been reviewed in its original form in our Journal, we do not propose to enter upon any extended examination of its merits in its English dress. We may say, in a single sentence, that the Rev. Mr. Yeomans has executed his office of translator with great fidelity and success. It cannot be expected that any version should possess the freshness and idiomatic vigour of an original; but Mr. Yeo-

mans has certainly succeeded in producing a very satisfactory and trustworthy exhibition of his author. This we consider great praise, for it is an excellence not often attained.

The work of Dr. Schaff has already excited a great deal of attention, both in this country and Europe. This is *prima facie* evidence of its merit. It has also received the highest commendations from competent judges of every ecclesiastical and theological status. Its highest praise comes from its severest critics, whose censures assume the form of lamentation. The judgment, therefore, which we expressed upon the work on its first appearance, has been fully sustained by the general verdict. No one can deny that it is characterized by a thorough mastery of the subjects of which it treats; by clearness, order, precision, and conciseness of exhibition; by vivacity and eminent powers of discrimination and portraiture, and by a Christian spirit. Notwithstanding all these grounds of recommendation, it is regarded by many of our best and soundest men with a good deal of misgiving. It is suspected of containing insidious principles of error, only the more dangerous from the plausible and inoffensive manner in which they are presented, and from their association with so much that is true and important. These suspicions have taken the form of an apprehension of a Romanizing, or, at least, of anti-Protestant leaven, pervading the book. We are not surprised that such suspicions should exist. We think there is good ground for them both external and internal; that is, both in the status and antecedents of the author, and in the character of the book itself. We, however, no less believe that these suspicions are in many cases exaggerated, and that they rest, in some measure, on misapprehension both of Dr. Schaff's position and opinions. It is our object, in the few remarks which we propose to make, to state our own view of the case, and to show how far we think there is just ground of want of confidence in Dr. Schaff as a theologian. This is at once a difficult and a delicate task. It is delicate, because there is a very serious responsibility assumed in the public expression of an opinion adapted to weaken confidence in the soundness of such a man, and one for whom we feel personally an affectionate respect. It is a difficult task, because it is almost always

hard to understand and appreciate a mode of thought and statement foreign to our own. Dr. Schaff greatly misunderstood the American mind when he first came among us, and this misapprehension led him into serious mistakes. In like manner, we are unable properly to understand and appreciate the German mind. We cannot make due allowance for the influence which the peculiar philosophy and modes of thought and expression must exert over the manner in which the same doctrine is presented by minds subject from birth to different training. It is a small part of what is within him that any man can reveal by his words. A thought may lie in his mind, in manifold relations and associations, essentially determining its character, very different from those which its most appropriate expression may awaken in the minds of others. This is one fruitful source of misapprehension. There is another, much of the same kind. The reigning philosophy of any age or nation not only impresses itself upon the minds of those who consciously adopt its principles, but to a certain extent modifies the language and modes of thought of the public generally, and even of its opponents. The consequence is, that foreigners who study such philosophy, attach a meaning to phrases and modes of statement, wherever found, which belong to them in the system to which they owe their origin or prevalence. Thus the terminology of the pantheistic philosophy of Germany, to a good degree, affects the whole literature and theology of that country. We are very liable, on this account, to set down as pantheists men who have no affinity whatever with that specious form of atheism. Thus it has happened to the holy and humble Neander to be placed in the same category with the self-deifying Hegel; though it is probable neither Europe nor America contained a man who more thoroughly execrated Hegel's doctrine. Dr. Schaff has doubtless suffered from the same cause of misapprehension. His whole philosophical and theological training has been foreign to our own. His modes of thought and expression are German rather than English. His language, as interpreted strictly according to the system from which it is borrowed, often conveys a meaning inconsistent with his clearly expressed opinions, but on that account not the less adapted to be misap-

prehended. When to all this is added the imperfect knowledge of German philosophy and theology generally possessed by the readers of this book, it is not at all wonderful that he should have been in many cases unfairly condemned, or that the proper understanding of his position is a matter of no small difficulty.

Of the external circumstances which have tended to produce a suspicion of a Romanizing tendency on the part of Dr. Schaff, the most important is his association with Dr. Nevin. The latter gentleman has justly, as we think, forfeited entirely the confidence of the Protestant community. Under the disingenuous designation of "ultra-protestantism," he has, in his later writings especially, impugned and contemptuously rejected almost every principle which constituted the Protestantism of the Reformers themselves. This is done, too, with a degree of acrimony and contempt which shows his heart is thoroughly turned against every thing that deserves the name of Protestantism, and that his position in the Protestant Church is just as anomalous as was that of Dr. Newman when he published his famous Tract No. 90. To be associated with one who has publicly assailed Protestantism in its most essential principles, as Dr. Schaff has been with Dr. Nevin, justifies and even necessitates grave suspicions as to his own soundness. We fully believe that he differs essentially from Dr. Nevin, that he seriously disapproves of many of his principles and measures, and that he deeply laments the position in which his friend and colleague has placed himself and his associates. We believe also that he is withheld only by feelings of personal regard and affection, highly honourable to him as a man, from avowing publicly what he regards as a radical difference between Dr. Nevin and himself. The fact, however, that he voluntarily consents to be misapprehended, rather than appear to desert a friend or turn against a brother, does not render such misapprehension the less certain or injurious. So long as he not only fails publicly to avow his dissent from Dr. Nevin, but continues, as he does even in this his latest publication, to speak of him in terms of such high commendation, he has no right to expect that Protestants can regard him with confidence.

The relation in which these two gentlemen stand to each other seems indeed to be very generally mistaken. Dr. Schaff has been frequently represented in the public prints, as the master spirit, and Dr. Nevin as his neophyte. Everything German or Romish which emanates from the latter, has been attributed to the instigation and influence of the former. This we believe is an entire mistake. In the first place, Dr. Schaff is much the younger man of the two. When he came to this country, fresh from the university, he found Dr. Nevin a man in mature life, of established reputation and extended influence. He looked up to him, therefore, as a parent, or at least as an elder brother, and has always stood in this relation to him. In the second place, Dr. Nevin is much the stronger man. We do not say the abler, the more learned, or the superior man—but simply the stronger; stronger in will, in conviction and in feeling. In saying this, we no more intend to put the one above the other, than if we had said that Dr. Nevin were the taller of the two. The strength we speak of is a matter very much of constitution, but it gives power. It determines who shall lead and who follow. In the third place, every one who knows anything of Dr. Nevin's mental history, knows that he was thoroughly imbued with the principles which have at length brought forth their legitimate fruit, long before Dr. Schaff came to this country. The roads which lead to Rome are very numerous. Some men go there by the path of inward experience. Sensible of guilt, unable to save themselves, ignorant of the gospel or averse to it, they gladly submit themselves to a Church which promises to save all who acknowledge her authority and submit to her prescriptions. Others, as the Puseyites, take the road of history. Conceiving of the Church to which the promises belong, as a visible organized body, it is a mere matter of fact, what organization of professing Christians has the best claim to uninterrupted succession, to external unity, and to catholicity, or wide diffusion. Every one can see that these attributes are found pre-eminently in the Romish Church, and therefore, by all the force of logic, they are constrained to bow the knee to Rome. Another road, less frequented and less obvious, but not less dangerous, is the philosophical. There is a strong affinity between the

speculative system of development, according to which every thing that is, is true and rational, and the Romish idea of a self-evolving infallible Church. As God is the principle which unfolds itself in history, so the Spirit dwells in this external Church as its principle of life, and expands it outwardly and inwardly in all its forms of doctrine, discipline and worship. No one can read the exhibitions of the Church and of theology written even by Protestants under the influence of the speculative philosophy, without seeing that little more than a change of terminology is required to turn such philosophy into Romanism. Many distinguished men have already in Germany passed, by this bridge, from philosophical scepticism to the Romish Church. A distinct class of the Romanizing portion of the Church of England belongs to this philosophical category. Dr. Nevin had entered this path long before Dr. Schaff came from Germany to point it out to him. It is, therefore, a great injustice, as we conceive, to Dr. Schaff, to make him responsible for the opinions and measures of Dr. Nevin. They do not stand to each other in the relation of deluder and dupe, of manager and tool, of master and pupil. Dr. Nevin has doubtless thought and acted for himself, and, it is probable, would have made more rapid progress Rome-ward than he has actually done, had his German friend and colleague never come to America. Though we do not regard Dr. Schaff as being at the bottom of Dr. Nevin's Romanism, we nevertheless think that the intimate association between them, and the silence of the former as to the anti-protestantism of the latter, and his continued laudation of him as a historian and theologian, justly expose him to the suspicions of the Protestant community.

Another external circumstance which gives just ground for these suspicions is the relation in which Dr. Schaff has placed himself to the "Mercersburgh Theology." That system, as developed in the writings of Dr. Nevin, and in the Mercersburgh Review, is anti-protestant in its theory of Christianity or the nature of religion; in its idea of the Church, of the relative authority of Scripture and tradition, of justification, of the sacraments, and of the ministry. Dr. Schaff would not be responsible for the teachings of his associates on any of these

points, had he not volunteered, as he has frequently done, to make common cause with them, and to endorse that system as a whole. We do not know how he reconciles this course to his own mind; because it is certain that his own teachings, on some of the most important of the points just enumerated, are directly opposed to the Mercersburgh system. Still, if the Mercersburgh theology is anti-protestant, those who endorse it must be content to share its opprobrium.

There is, however, a deeper ground for the prevalent misgivings respecting Dr. Schaff, than either of those we have mentioned. That ground is to be found in his own distinctly presented and frequently avowed principles. Though he differs from Dr. Nevin in some important points, and is, as we conceive, a far sounder man, yet he agrees with him in others, where both are antagonistic to the true Protestant doctrine.

The two most important points in which Dr. Schaff differs from Dr. Nevin, are justification, and the authority of Scripture as the only infallible rule of faith. On both of these points he assumed, in his earliest publication in this country, ("The Principles of Protestantism," printed in 1845,) orthodox ground. To this he still adheres, for in his farewell address to the readers of his monthly magazine, the *Kirchenfreund*, November and December, 1853, p. 472, he says, his position in reference to the great question between Romanism and Protestantism, is now substantially what it was then. In that work he defines justification to be "a judicial, declarative act on the part of God, by which he first pronounces the sin-crushed, contrite sinner free from guilt as it regards the past, for the sake of his only begotten Son, and then (freely, Rom. iii. 24, without the deeds of the law, v. 28, by grace, through faith, and not of himself, Eph. ii. 8,) makes over to him, in boundless mercy, the full righteousness of the same, to be counted, and to be in fact his own. It is in this way, 1. Negatively, *remissio peccatorum*, and 2. Positively, *imputatio justitiae* and *adoptio in filios Dei.*" p. 61. In a note he quotes the Confessions of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and says especially of the answer to the 60th question of the Heidelberg Catechism, that it is "a most clear, complete, and valuable definition." That question and answer

are: *Quomodo justus es coram Deo?* Sola fide in Jesum Christum, adeo ut licet mea me conscientia accuset, quod adversus omnia mandata Dei graviter peccaverim, nec ullum eorum servaverim, ad hæc etiamnum ad omne malum propensus sim, nihilominus tamen, (modo hæc beneficia vera animi fiducia amplectar,) sine ullo meo merito, ex mera Dei misericordia, mihi perfecta satisfactio, justitia et sanctitas Christi, imputetur ac donetur; perinde ac si nec ullum ipse peccatum admisissem, nec ulla mihi labes inhæreret: imo vero quasi eam obedientiam, quam pro me Christus præstítit, ipse perfecte præstissem.— This doctrine, thus stated, he calls, and justly calls, “the life principle,” the *principium essendi*, of the Reformation. Would that all the impugners of Dr. Schaff would adopt *ex animo* such language!

As to the second point, viz., the authority of the Scriptures as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, we understand Dr. Schaff to stand on Protestant ground. “The *formal*, or *knowledge-principle* of the Reformation,” he says, “consists in this, that the word of God, as it has been handed down to us in the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, is the pure and proper source, and the only certain measure, of all saving truth.” p. 87. In the Theses at the end of his work on Protestantism, this principle is stated thus: “The formal or knowledge-principle of Protestantism is the sufficiency and unerring certainty of the Holy Scriptures, as the only norm of all saving knowledge.” p. 182. After showing how one general council of the Church often contradicted another, he adds, “If there be then any unerring fountain of truth, needed to satisfy religious want, it can be found only in the word of God, who is himself truth; and this becomes thus consequently the highest norm and rule, by which to measure all human truth, all ecclesiastical tradition, and all synodical decrees. *Artic. Smalc.* I. 2, 15: Ex patrum verbis et factis non sunt exstruendi articuli fidei. . . . Regulam autem aliam habemus, ut videlicet verbum Dei condat articulos fidei, et præterea nemo, ne angelus quidem.”

Following the older theologians, he teaches concerning the Scriptures, 1. Their normal authority. 2. “Their sufficiency or perfection; of course not in an absolute sense, as containing

all that can be possibly known of God and divine things, but relatively, as reaching to all things necessary to salvation, as distinctly expressed in the symbolical books, (*continet omnia, quæ ad salutem consequendam sunt necessaria.*) All traditions, accordingly, unless they be mere consequences drawn from the Bible, are either positively false, or contain only subordinate or unessential truths. . . . A merely oral tradition, in the nature of the case, must be subject to change and distortion, making it impossible at last to distinguish truth from falsehood. . . . 3. Their *perspicuity*; not absolutely, again, as excluding all mystery, but so as that all things indispensably necessary to salvation may be known from the Scriptures, without the aid of tradition or councils, if only the proper conditions are at hand for the purpose.” Those conditions are, “the general command of intellect and knowledge” necessary to understand any book, and the guidance of the Spirit. The Holy Ghost alone can properly interpret the Scriptures, and the Spirit as a divine teacher does not dwell exclusively in the officers of the church, but, “where the word is read and preached, there the Spirit lives and moves and creates light; that is, in other words, the Scriptures interpret themselves.” In case of controversies, he admits, in common with other Protestants and our own Confession, the ministerial and subordinate authority of synods, but “no such ecclesiastical authority is permitted to draw its decisions from tradition, but always again from the Bible itself only; and thus the principle of its self-interpretation in the Holy Ghost remains unimpaired.” p. 81.*

It cannot, with any show of reason, be denied that a man who holds fast these two great fundamental principles of Pro-

* On the ministerial authority of the Church in matters of faith, Dr. Schaff quotes Calvin, Instit. iv. 9. 13: “*Nos certe libenter concedimus, si quo de dogmate incidat disceptatio, nullum esse nec melius nec certius remedium, quam si verorum episcoporum Synodus conveniat, ubi controversum dogma excutiatur. Multo enim plus ponderis habebit ejusmodi definitio, in quam communiter ecclesiarum pastores, invocato Christi spiritu, consenserint, quam si quisque seorsum domi conceptam populo traderet, vel pauci homines privatim eam conficerent.*” “He then,” adds Dr. Schaff, goes on to establish this view, in part exegetically, (from 1 Cor. xiv. 29,) in part historically; adding in the end, however, that the Holy Ghost may forsake an entire synod, so that the decisions of such a body are not necessarily free from error, as history shows. *Hoc autem perpetuum esse nego, ut vera sit et certa scripturarum interpretatio, quæ concilii suffragiis fuerit recepta.*

testantism, justification by faith, and the supremacy and sufficiency of Scripture as a rule of faith, and judge of controversies, is still a Protestant. While, therefore, we admit that the relation in which Dr. Schaff stands to Dr. Nevin and to the Mercersburgh theology, as well as some of his own avowed principles, (as we shall presently show,) justly expose him to suspicion, yet we cannot but regard him as standing on very different ground from that occupied by many of his associates.

The anti-protestant principles of Dr. Schaff, as it appears to us, are either included in his theory of development, or are its legitimate consequences. That theory he and Dr. Nevin for a time held in common. But it contains antagonistic principles. When carried out, the one must eliminate the other. And the precise difference between Dr. Nevin and Dr. Schaff, as we conceive, is that the former has given himself up to that element of the system which necessitates a return to Rome; while Dr. Schaff has remained true to that feature of the theory, which enables him to look on Rome as a station long since past, in the onward progress of the Church, to which she can no more return than a man can become a boy. In order, however, to understand this subject, it will be necessary to ascertain what is meant by "development of the Church." In Dr. Schaff's exhibition of his doctrine there is much that is true, much that is common presented in new form, and much that is new, anti-scriptural, and anti-protestant. The plausibility of the theory arises, in a great degree, from this large admixture of what every one is ready to admit, with subtle principles which spoil and pervert the whole.

There is a form of the doctrine of development, or of the constant advance of the Church, which we presume all Protestants admit. Their view on this subject we understand to be substantially as follows: 1. Christianity is a system of doctrines supernaturally revealed and now recorded in the Bible. Of that system there can be no development. No new doctrines can be added to those contained in the word of God. No doctrine can ever be unfolded or expanded beyond what is there revealed. The whole revelation is there, and is there as distinctly, as fully, and as clearly as it can ever be made, without a new supernatral revelation. Every question, therefore, as

to what is, or what is not Christian doctrine, is simply a question as to what the Bible teaches. There is no analogy, consequently, between theology and other sciences. The materials of theology do not admit of increase. They are all in the Bible. The materials of human science are constantly accumulating, as new facts are brought to light and old assumptions corrected. Theology, therefore, as it existed in the mind of Paul, and is recorded in his writings, is precisely what will be the theology of the last saint who is to live on the earth. Whereas the astronomy of Pythagoras is as different from that of La Place, as the men are widely separated in time.

2. While Christianity, considered as a system of doctrine, is thus complete and unchangeable, the knowledge of that system as it lies in the mind of the individual Christian, or in the Church collectively, is susceptible of progress, and does in fact advance. Every believer, when he first receives the truth, receives it partially, and necessarily mingles it with the previous contents of his mind, which to a greater or less degree perverts and corrupts it. As he grows in grace, he grows in knowledge. The more the Spirit of God leads him into conformity with the truth, the more correct do his apprehensions become, the more is the dross of error removed, and the more fully does he coincide in all his conceptions of divine things with the infallible standard of the word of God. With this increase of knowledge there is connected a corresponding increase of holiness, and of power to influence those around him for good. This is matter of daily experience and observation, and is in accordance with everything taught in the Bible, on the progress of the life of God in the soul. This progress is neither uniform nor constant. In some days, or even hours, the Christian may grow more than in years of ordinary experience. Sometimes his course is backward; he loses ground in knowledge, in faith, in love, in zeal and obedience. From these backslidings he is recalled only by the power of the Holy Ghost. This restoration is commonly effected only through a deeper conviction of sin, and a clearer apprehension and more cordial reception of the truth than he had before experienced. He becomes thus a better man and a more advanced Christian than he was before. It was thus with Peter; and it is thus

that the Christian is led from strength to strength until he appears before God. No part of a believer's life is isolated. As the present is conditioned more or less by the past, so in its turn it conditions the future.

There is undoubtedly something analogous to this in the history of the Church. The Jews, when converted to Christianity, brought with them a large measure of their former opinions and feelings. It was a long process, continued for generations, to free the minds of Christians of Jewish origin and training, from this incongruous element. The gentiles, on the other hand, brought with them much of their heathen philosophy. The history of the Church for the first four centuries is, in a great degree, the history of the struggle against this corrupting element in its various forms. From the one or the other of these great sources, Judaism or heathenism, errors were constantly arising, and the great object of the Church was to discover, and distinctly to state the doctrines of the Scriptures as they stood opposed to those errors. In this way there was constant progress, an increase in knowledge of the word of God, and of a distinct and consistent view of its various doctrines. This progress had reference, in a remarkable manner, in different ages, to some one or more great truths of revelation, which were the subjects of perpetual conflict, until the mind of the Church was brought to a clear and comprehensive view of what was revealed concerning them. There the struggle rested, never to be revived. Progress in that time became impossible, because all that the Bible made known of any essential importance had been searched out and combined. The decisions of the first six general councils concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and of the person of Christ, remain fixed to the present time. The Church has not departed from or advanced beyond them in any respect. So also in the Augustinian period the great questions concerning sin and grace were discussed, and finally settled. Since then there has been neither retrocession nor advance. There is not a principle as to the nature of sin, the natural state of man, his inability, the necessity and nature of divine grace, included in the statements on these subjects in the symbolical books of the Reformation, which had not received the sanction of the

Church in ~~or~~ time of Augustin. The Synod of Dort and the Westminster Assembly do but repeat the same statements. When at the time of the Reformation the doctrine of justification was the main subject which agitated the Church, the decisions arrived at by the Protestant communions have never since been called into question by any body of orthodox believers. It is not intended that with regard to any of these great subjects much diversity of opinion and of representation has not prevailed among individuals and classes, but simply that the results arrived at have remained settled, and have never lost their normal authority. That authority rests not on the Church, but on the Scriptures. It was simply because it was seen and acknowledged that the decisions of the early councils satisfactorily combined the teachings of the Bible concerning the Trinity and the person of Christ, that they have ever since been acquiesced in. For the same reason the decisions of the Church regarding Pelagianism were sanctioned at the Reformation, at Dort, and Westminster.

It is impossible to deny that there has in this sense been progress in the knowledge of the Scriptures on the part of the Church. The contrast between the indistinctness, inconsistency, and diversity of statement regarding the nature of God and Christ during the ante-Nicene period, with the uniformity and clearness which have characterized all ecclesiastical teachings on those subjects ever since the Synod of Constantinople, is undeniable and undenied. The same remark applies to the other great subjects above referred to. It is a matter of familiar experience, that our views, prior to any special examination, of some particular doctrine, are vague and undefined, but after we have been led to a special and careful study of the word of God respecting it, our knowledge becomes distinct, and our convictions settled. As this is true of Christians individually, it is no less true of Christians collectively, or of the Church. When from the rise of error or from other providential circumstances, the Church has been led to make some particular doctrine the special subject of investigation and controversy, for years or even centuries, it would be strange indeed, even on natural principles, and without regard to the promise of Christ to guide his people into the knowledge of the truth, if

clearer knowledge and firmer convictions were not the result. Such results, as already remarked, become the permanent possession of the Church, and are never lost. They are held as part of the faith of the true Church, no matter how corrupt or heterodox the outward church, or body of professing Christians, may become.

Besides the progress above described, effected, as it were, by distinct stages, there is also in the course of ages a general advance in the knowledge and purity of the Church. The evangelical churches of the present day are more enlightened, freer from superstitious observances, from the dregs of Judaism and heathenism, than at any previous period of history. The churches founded by the apostles were filled with Judaizers. The Christians of Jerusalem were so zealous for the law of Moses, that Paul was hardly safe among them, and he feared they would not even receive at his hands the contributions of their gentile brethren for the relief of their poor. Even Peter was afraid at Antioch so much as to eat with the gentiles. The epistles of the New Testament afford abundant evidence how much false doctrine and superstition the early Christians brought with them into the Church.

Again, if we compare the writings of the apostolic fathers, Clemens, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Papias, with those of the Reformers, the difference is as great as between the story-books for children and the highest productions of learning and talent. It is an undeniable fact, that the fifteen centuries preceding the Reformation produced no work which admits of comparison for correctness, clearness, and comprehension in the exhibition of scriptural truth, with the Augsburg or Helvetic Confessions, the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Heidelberg or Westminster Catechism. To deny the advance of the churches of the Reformation beyond those of the early centuries, would be as unreasonable as to deny the superiority of our present modes of travelling to those in use a hundred years ago. It is not less certain that the evangelical churches of the present day are in advance of the churches of the Reformation. The wonder is, not that the Reformers brought out with them so much of the superstitions and errors of Popery, but that they brought out so little. The subjects to be com-

pared are not the nominal Christians of our day with the real Christians of that day; but the true people of God of the one period with his true people of the other. If we compare the Rationalists of Germany with the early Lutherans, the advantage is immeasurably in favour of the latter. But if we compare our purest churches of this period with the purest of that, the advantage is all the other way. It would shock any genuine Protestant of our age to enter one of the old Lutheran churches, with their images, crucifixes, and altars. It would be impossible for Luther now to refuse the name of Christians to his reformed brethren, because they denied the doctrine of consubstantiation. Nor would any of the reformed now venture or desire to teach what Calvin, Beza, and Turrettin taught of the union of the Church and State, and of the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. The progress of the Church, as above stated, we do not understand any of the most strenuous of the opposers of the theory of development, to deny. It is a historical fact which does not admit of denial.

3. In perfect consistency with this view of the progress of the Church, it is the common doctrine of Protestants that a later age may in every respect be inferior to a previous one. As in the individual Christian's life, there are often periods of backsliding, during which he is in a far worse condition spiritually than he was before, so in the Church there are periods of decline and decay, and even, so far as the external Church is concerned, of apostasy. The tenth century was far behind the second, and the state of the Romish Church before the Reformation tenfold worse than what it was in the days of Clemens Romanus. In like manner, the present state of Germany is immeasurably below its religious condition in the time of Luther. In all these cases we must make a distinction between the true and nominal Church, between sincere and professing Christians. The former may retain their integrity in the midst of the degeneracy and apostasy of the latter. In maintaining the progress of the Church in knowledge and purity, Protestants do not understand by the Church the body of professing Christians, but the true body of Christ. The true Church may attain its highest state of spiritual excellence,

in the midst of the general defection of the external body. This will probably be realized in a remarkable manner when Christ comes to judgment. He may hardly find faith on the earth, as it was hard to find during the tenth century, but believers, who shall then be looking for the coming of the Lord, may be standing at an elevation which the Church has never yet reached.

4. The Church is always equally near to Christ and to the holy Scriptures as the source of life. It does not derive its resources mediately through those who have gone before, but directly from the Lord. The illustration of a stream constantly receding from its source and increasing in volume, is essentially fallacious. No less so is the illustration drawn from a tree, as that figure is applied by the advocates of the new theory of development. According to their view, the present race of Christians have no connection with Christ but through the Church extending back eighteen centuries, just as the water of a river at its mouth is connected with its source only by the intervening stream. In like manner, the topmost leaves of a tree are connected with the root, only through the branches and the trunk. To dissever the leaf from its branch, is to dissever it from the root. Thus an individual Christian comes into connection with Christ only through the Church, and separation from the Church is of necessity separation from Christ. In opposition to this we maintain that Christ is present to the Church in all ages and places, as the soul is present in the body, equally and entirely in every part. The individual believer gets his life by immediate union with Christ, and not through the Church. We are not separated from Christ as we are from Adam, and partakers of the nature of the former as we are of the latter, only through a long chain of intervening links, which fails if one be gone. This topic we shall have occasion to refer to again. We advert to it now only to bring into view an important feature of the Protestant doctrine on this subject. Instead of the Church of one age being dependent for its life upon those which precede it, and obliged to gain access to Christ and the truth through them, we all have direct access to Christ and his word. We go to him for life, and to his word for knowledge. Should the Bible be left on a

populous island, and its inhabitants be brought by the Spirit of God to a saving knowledge of its truths, their union with the Redeemer would be as real and as vital as ours. We are, indeed, not separated from the past in our religious, any more than we are in our social and civil life. The political state of a nation in one age is in a great measure determined by its previous history. And so, too, the condition of the Church in one age is largely influenced by ages which have gone before. But this is not inconsistent with what has just been said. Spiritual life is not made over to the individual from his spiritual predecessors, with all its intellectual contents, just as human nature is made over to him from his ancestors with all its modifications as peculiar to his family, age or nation. This again is consistent with the admission that every age and denomination has its peculiar form of religious life, which is in fact transmitted. This only proves that spiritual life as derived from Christ is modified by the peculiar training to which the recipient is subjected, so that the piety of a Moravian, a Jansenist, or a Seceder, has its characteristic type. This is a fact which may not attract the attention of those who have been conversant with Christians of only one class. But those who have seen much of Christians of different countries and of different Churches, cannot fail to have been struck with two things: first, the remarkable agreement between them in all essential matters of doctrine and experience; and secondly, with the strongly marked peculiarity due to their denominational training. This is an interesting and important subject, and admits of manifold illustration and confirmation. But it cannot be here pursued.

The true doctrine of Church progress, then, as it is held by the great body of enlightened Protestants, we understand to be, 1. That Christianity, as a system of doctrine, is contained in the Bible in all its completeness, and is utterly incapable of any development. 2. But as the converts to Christianity bring with them many of their former opinions and prejudices, the elimination of these foreign elements is a work of time, and progressive. And as the doctrines of the Bible are to be gathered by a comparison and combination of all the scattered teachings of the Scripture concerning them, it has only been

by protracted examination and controversy that the mind of the Church has been brought to a comprehensive knowledge and settled conviction relating to them. The knowledge thus obtained remains a secure and unalterable possession. Thus it is historically true that the Church, in the first six centuries, arrived at a full and satisfactory statement of what the Scriptures teach concerning the Trinity and the person of Christ, which has never since been altered. Then, by a like process, the teachings of Scripture concerning sin and grace, were definitely settled; and then concerning justification. The truth on all these subjects was indeed always in the mind of the Church, and was stated with more or less distinctness by individuals. But this was in the midst of great diversity, vagueness and contradiction, very different from the clearness and comprehensiveness ultimately arrived at. Thus it is that the Church at the time of the Reformation was far in advance, as to knowledge and purity, of the Church of the early centuries.

3. While the true Church is thus, on the whole, advancing in knowledge and purity, the outward Church may be, and often has been, in a state of great corruption, both as to doctrine and manners, so as to sink far below its condition in previous ages.

4. The Church of the present does not derive its life by way of transmission from the Church of the past, but immediately from Christ by his word and Spirit, so that while inheriting the results and attainments of former ages to aid her in understanding the Scriptures, her faith always rests immediately on the word of God.

There is another form of the doctrine of development which it is necessary to distinguish from that of Dr. Schaff. It supposes that of the truths of Christianity some are revealed expressly in the Scriptures, some are there only implicitly, or in embryo, and some are not contained in the Bible at all. It is the office of the Church to teach what the Scriptures expressly reveal; to unfold gradually the germs of truth to their full compass, and to add new articles of faith by giving to matters of opinion the sanction of divine authority. This is the theory of some Romanists and of many Anglicans. Thus, from the simple religion of the New Testament, has the vast system of the Romish theology and hierarchy been gradually evolved, by

a natural process of divinely guided development. Out of the simple direction to anoint the sick with oil, has grown the sacrament of extreme unction. Out of the directions of the New Testament about receiving and excluding members from church communion, have grown the sacrament of penance, the doctrine of satisfactions, of indulgences, and purgatory, of prayers and masses for the dead. Out of the prominence of Peter has been developed the supremacy of the Pope. Thus what was once a twig is now an oak, or rather, an upas tree. As the New Testament is a development of the Old, so the present church system is a development of the New. The doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation, the sacrifice of Christ, the resurrection, and eternal life, lie only potentially, it may be said, in the Old Testament; they are clearly unfolded in the New. The whole Bible is the record of the gradual development of the original promise, "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head." From the beginning to the close of the New Testament period, this process of development was carried on by a succession of inspired men, raised up, from time to time, to reveal new truths, or to unfold old ones. Since that time it has been carried on by an inspired, and therefore, an infallible church. It is freely admitted by the advocates of this theory, that many things now essential are not revealed in Scripture at all, or at most, only in the way of hints or intimations. Among these things they have the candour to include the three orders of the ministry, the government of the Church by bishops, the doctrine of apostolic succession, &c. We mention this theory, not for the purpose of discussion, but simply to distinguish it from that of Dr. Schaff, with which it seems in some cases to be confounded.

In endeavouring to present a view of Dr. Schaff's theory of historical development, we shall not confine ourselves to what he says in the book under review, but refer also to his earlier work written expressly on this subject, and to his *Principles of Protestantism*.

1. The first remark we have to make respecting it is, that it is new. It is confessedly a departure from the orthodox Protestant view of the subject. According to the orthodox Protestant historians, he says, "The Church continued to be some-

thing complete in its nature from the beginning, not needing nor admitting any proper development. All activity in the sphere of doctrine, was apprehended only under the form either of a vindication or denial of truth, as orthodoxy or heresy. The orthodox was always stable, always agreeing with itself; the heretical appeared as the subject of perpetual change; so that the history of doctrine resolved itself at last into a mere history of heresy. . . . The entire Protestant system was supposed to be found immediately and literally in the Bible, even in the Old Testament itself, and in the practice and life of the first period of the Church; so that the whole intermediate history was made to sink in fact into an unmeaning episode.”* This view of history our author rejects. He distinguishes the “stand-point of organic development” as the modern view of the subject. “The orthodox treatment of history, as well as the rationalistic, came to a dissolution by the irresistible process of their own development, under the one sided tendency which belonged to each.”† There is, therefore, a conscious departure on the part of Dr. Schaff from the Protestant method of regarding history, and especially the history of the Church; and this, as he himself is aware, involves of necessity departure from the Protestant view of the nature of Christianity, and consequently of the Church.

2. A second remark on this theory is, that it rests on a pantheistic basis. It owes its origin to the modern pantheistic school of philosophy, and has been introduced into general currency in Germany by the more or less devoted adherents of that school. It is not intended by this remark to intimate that all the advocates of this theory of development are pantheists. Dr. Schaff says there is “a pantheistic feature which runs through the whole system” of Popery,‡ without intending to represent all papists as pantheists. In like manner we say there is an element of pantheism which underlies this whole theory, and gives it its distinctive character. This may become more apparent in what follows. It is enough now to refer to

* What is Church History? A Vindication of the Idea of Historical Development, p. 50.

† Ibid. p. 81.

‡ Principles of Protestantism, p. 73.

the fact that our author himself refers to Schelling, Hegel, and Schleiermacher, as the great authors of this theory; of whom the two former are admitted pantheists, and with regard to the last, it was ever a matter of doubt on which side of the line he really stood. Having spoken of Herder as preparing the way for modern historiography by his "apprehension of it as a living spirit, a process of organic development," he says, the turn taken at that time in philosophy "served to bring to clear consciousness, and systematic order, the ideas irregularly thrown out by Herder and his spiritual allies. Schelling overcame the stand-point of critical reflexion as established by Kant, and the subjective idealism of Fichte;*" planted himself on the ground of realism and the objective reason, and applied himself, with the fond partiality of his younger years, to the speculative study of nature, under the view of a self-unfolding organic process. His disciple and successor, Hegel, carried the principle of a dialectic development, with the most amazing energy of thought, into every sphere of the philosophy of spirit. We wish not to endorse Hegel's theology (theory?) of development without qualification, but whatever may be thought of it, one thing is certain. It has left an impression on German science that can never be effaced; and has contributed more than any other influence, to diffuse a clear conception of the interior organism of history, as a richer evolution continually of the idea of humanity, as well as a proper respect for its universal and objective authority, in opposition to the self-sufficient and arrogant individualism of the rationalistic school. . . . According to the whole stand-point of this philosophy, history is a self-evolution of the absolute spirit, and hence absolutely rational throughout;"† the massacre of St. Bartholomew's and the French revolution included! From this, of course, Dr. Schaff shrinks. He does "not endorse Hegel's theory of development without qualification." He admits that this philosophy "makes the individual the blind organ of the world-spirit; evil is held to be the necessary medium for reach-

* A very mild term for a system according to which, self is the sole existence in the universe, and all things else, nature, God, are only as we think them into being.

† Historical Development, p. 75.

ing good, and thus the idea of guilt and moral accountability is necessarily lost." Still, he says, "It has led the way for many to a historical and churchly spirit, and proved an admirable help towards the overthrow of common rationalism, and a thorough speculative understanding and defence of orthodoxy." In his work on the Principles of Protestantism, Dr. Schaff says: "Speak as men may against German transcendentalism, as the word passes here in a wholesale way, this at least no one acquainted with the subject can deny; that at the very time when the most celebrated theologians cast away the cardinal evangelical doctrines of the incarnation and atonement, as antiquated superstitions, Schelling and Hegel stood forth in their defence, and claimed for them the character of the highest reason; and that while the reigning view saw in history only an aggregate of arbitrary opinions, a chaos of selfish passions, they taught the world to recognize in it the ever opening sense of eternal thoughts, an always advancing development of the idea of humanity and its relations to God. Such views must gradually overthrow the abrupt, revolutionary, and negative spirit which characterized the last century, restoring respect for the Church and its history, and making room for the genuine power of the positive."* This is a remarkable passage when it is considered that the incarnation of which these philosophers speak is simply the revelation of the absolute spirit in man. What the Bible teaches of the Son of God, they say is true of the race. Mankind are God manifest in the flesh. But the important point, for our present purpose, is the sanction it gives to the Hegelian idea of history, in the form in which it is here presented, as "an ever opening sense of eternal thoughts; an always advancing development of the idea of humanity."

In tracing the origin of his theory of development, Dr. Schaff proceeds: "Of much more account than the philosophy of Schelling and Hegel, for the formation of German theology, has been the influence of Schleiermacher, the greatest theological genius, we may say, since the Reformation. . . . There is not to be found now a single theologian of importance, in

* *Principles of Protestantism*, p. 150.

whom the influence of his great mind is not more or less to be traced. History, to be sure, was not his sphere. . . . Still, however, by his profound doctrinal and moral views, he has influenced indirectly the treatment of historical theology also, to a most important extent. The productive, strictly evangelical element in his system, is found in this, that he placed the person of Christ, as the Redeemer and author of a new life, in the centre of theology; put emphasis on the idea of communion in religion; and in this manner opened the way at last for a churchly tendency. He forms a supplementary counterpoise over against the Hegelian thus far, that he fastens his eye sharply upon the original and specific in Christianity, and instead of starting from the idea, makes religious experience rather the fountain of dogmatic knowledge.* We hope and believe that Schleiermacher became a theist and a Christian before his death, but the thoroughly pantheistic ground of his philosophy and theology is acknowledged even by such men as Dorner. In what Dr. Schaff calls his "masterly Discourses on Religion,"† the name of God, we believe, does not once occur. The whole book is a hymn of praise to the "Holy Universe," and the author sacrifices clouds of incense to the manes of Spinoza. The principles of the reigning philosophy in Germany, in passing through the hands of Schleiermacher into the sphere of theology, did not lose their pantheistic character. Certain primary principles, modes of thought and expression, having their origin in that philosophy, have passed over to a whole class of writers, especially of the school of Schleiermacher, which give a distinctive character to their theology. You may pass from reading Twesten or Ullmann to the writings of Nevin and Schaff,‡ without a jar. You find the same thoughts, the same modes of statement, and the same forms of expression. The essay from Ullmann, printed as an introduction to Dr. Nevin's "Mystical Presence," might have been written at Mercersburgh, and the "Mystical Presence"

* Historical Development, p. 77.

† Principles of Protestantism, p. 147.

‡ We refer here to Dr. Nevin's earlier works, such as his *Mystical Presence*, and also to Dr. Schaff's earlier American publications.

itself might have emanated from Heidelberg, without exciting the least surprise.

The pantheistic genesis of the theory of organic development is historically certain, and is in fact distinctly traced by our author himself. The internal evidence of its origin is, however, no less clear. The pantheistic idea of history, as the self-evolution of the absolute spirit, is transferred to the Church, which is the organic development of the theanthropic life of Christ. It is impossible to understand the writings of Drs. Nevin and Schaff on this whole subject without a knowledge of the pantheistic philosophy; neither can it be adopted, without adopting many of its principles.* It is perfectly intelligible, therefore, how the Hegelian philosophy led the way, as Dr. Schaff says, to "a churchly spirit," as it led men to look on the Church as the development of Christ, very much as that philosophy regards the universe as the development of God.

3. A third remark on Dr. Schaff's theory is, that it involves a false view of the nature of Christianity, which is the source of far-reaching consequences. Christianity, it is said, is not a doctrine, it is not a rule of conduct, it is not a feeling, but a life. It is a new creation, a new principle, or law introduced into the centre of humanity, to be as leaven, gradually diffused through the whole mass. Christianity is not, therefore, a system of truth divinely revealed, recorded in the Scripture in a definite and complete form for all ages, but it is an inward living principle, an entirely new form of life. This life is something supernatural. It is the human life of Christ, or, as in him the human and divine are one life, it is the theanthropic life of the Redeemer. This is Christianity objectively considered; as it passes over, in the way of historical development, to men and exists in them, it is subjective Christianity.

* We repeat here what was said before in the text, that we do not intend to represent the gentlemen above mentioned as pantheists. There is a great difference between holding principles of pantheistic origin and tendency, and embracing the whole system. Dr. Nevin is abundant and malignant in his denunciation of the rationalistic and infidel principles of those whom he calls Puritans, but even he has not as yet ventured to pronounce all Puritans infidels. We regard Dr. Schaff with great respect as a Christian man, though we cannot but think that he has brought with him into theology many of the elements of anti-christian and anti-theistic philosophy.

The doctrine is, that as we are partakers of the nature of Adam, so we are partakers of the nature or life of Christ. Our nature as depraved in Adam, Christ assumed into union with the divine, so as to form one life, truly human, though raised to a divine power. He has thereby healed and redeemed that nature, and by participation thereof alone are we made partakers of his salvation. Christianity is, therefore, human nature healed, elevated, and rendered divine, by union with the divine nature; objective and perfect in the person of Christ, subjective and gradually developed as it exists in his people. This is the idea of the nature of Christianity presented in the Essay translated from Ullmann, prefixed to Dr. Nevin's "Mystical Presence;" it is unfolded at length, and "scientifically," in that work itself; it is distinctly avowed in Dr. Schaff's *Principles of Protestantism*, in his "Historical Development," and also, so far as the occasion called for it, in the work before us. The "Preliminary Essay" just referred to, is a discourse on the distinctive character of Christianity. Its object is to prove that "the life of Christ *is* Christianity." "Its complete sense and full objective value are marked, only when all is referred to the person of Christ, in which God appears united with humanity, and which by its very constitution accordingly carries in it a reconciling, redeeming, quickening, and enlightening efficacy. Thus apprehended, Christianity is in its fullest sense organic in its nature. It reveals itself as a peculiar order of life in Christ, [as humanity and deity united in one life,] and from him as a personal centre, it reaches forth towards man as a whole, in the form of true historical self-evolution, seeking to form the entire race into a glorious kingdom of God." p. 43.*

The distinction between individual and generic life, is much insisted on by these writers. "The distinction between an individual and a general life in the person of Christ," they

* On another page the Essay says, "The epoch formed by the theology of Schleiermacher has at least carried us irrevocably beyond the conception of Christianity, as being either merely doctrinal or merely ethical. . . . Christianity is a divine life, the principle of a new creation, which unfolds itself continually with free inward necessity, by its own force, and according to its own law." p. 26. "It is regarded as the absolutely perfect religion, because it *unites the divine and human fully as one life.*"

say, "is just as necessary as the same distinction in the person of Adam; and the analogy is at all events sufficient to show, that there may be a real communication of Christ's life to his people, without the idea of any local mixture with his 'person.'"^{*}

Again: "He took our nature upon him; but, in so doing, he raised it into a higher sphere, by uniting it with the nature of God, and became thus the root of a new life for the race. His assumption of humanity was something general, and not merely particular. The word became flesh; not a single man only, as one among many; but *flesh*, or humanity in its universal conception. How else could he be the principle of a general life, the origin of a new order of existence for the human world as such?" *Ibid.* 211. If the Logos became incarnate, it is argued, in the context, only in Christ as an individual, it would have no signification for us. He became incarnate in humanity, and thus raised it into union with the divine nature so as to form one life.

Dr. Schaff says also on this point, "Christ is not merely a single man, among other men; he bears at the same time a universal character, as the Saviour of the world. Hence the evangelist says, not, ὁ λογος ἀνθρωπος ἐγενετο, which would denote merely a human individual; but σαρξ ἐγενετο, to show that he assumed humanity, or the general human nature. . . . The Son of God became man not for his own sake, but for ours; and for us he still continues man in eternity. His humanity then must avail to our advantage; only by means of it, can we be permanently united to the divine nature. Only through our participation in its imperishable vitality [the vitality of Christ's humanity, *i.e.*, of humanity as elevated by its union with the divine nature,] is the power of sin and death gradually eradicated, and a new glorified body, which shall be like his own, prepared for our use. . . . The specific character of Christianity consists in this, that it is the full reconciliation and enduring life-union of man with God, continuing in the person of Jesus Christ. The life of Christ, which is neither simply divine, nor simply human, but divine-human, flows over by the different means of grace to believers, so that, as far as their new nature reaches,

* *Myst. Pres.*, p. 161.

they do not live themselves, but Christ in them.”* This life of Christ “is in all respects a true human life.” “Humanity stood revealed in his person under its perfect form. Not a new humanity dissevered from that of Adam, but the humanity of Adam itself, only raised to a higher character, and filled with new meaning and power, by its union with the divine nature.” It is this divine-human life, as it existed in Christ, which passes over to his people. “In this way they all have part in his divinity itself; though the hypostatical union, as such, remains limited, of course, to his own person.” As the humanity of Christ is the indispensable medium of our participation in his person as divine, it must be his whole humanity, body as well as soul. “The life of Christ is one; to enter us at all, it must enter us as a totality.” “The life to be conveyed to us in the present case, we have just seen to be in all respects a true human life before it reaches us. It is the life of the *incarnate Son of God.*” “Either the life of Christ is not formed within us at all, or it must be formed within us as a *human life;* must be corporeal as well as incorporeal; must put on outward form and project itself in space.” Christ’s divine nature is at the same time human in its fullest sense, and wherever his presence is revealed in the Church in a real way, it includes his person under the one aspect as well as under the other. . . . We distinguish between his universal humanity in the Church, and his humanity as a particular man, whom the heavens have received unto the restitution of all things.”†

It is not necessary to continue these quotations. The theory of Christianity as a life is sufficiently unfolded. Humanity, as it existed in Adam, and has flowed down to his posterity, is fallen and depraved. This fallen humanity was assumed, though without sin, in union with the divine, in the person of Christ. In virtue of this union, the divine and human become one life, which in all respects is truly human; the union with the divine only raising it to perfection. This divine-human life is perfect and complete in the person of Christ; imperfect and progressive in his people. *Humanity* is our nature as it ex-

* Historical Development, p. 36.

† The statements in the above paragraph are to be found in Chap. III. Sec. 2, of the “Mystical Presence.”

isted in Adam, and possessed by us as his descendants. *Christianity* is our nature as it existed in Christ, and is communicated from him to us. Objectively, or as it exists in him, it is stable; subjectively, or as it exists in us, it is constantly unfolding itself. By birth we become partakers of the humanity of Adam; by regeneration, we become partakers of the humanity of Christ. "Christianity *is* the life of Christ," and that life, though united to the divine, continues human, and enters us as a human life.

This view of the nature of Christianity must very seriously modify our whole doctrinal system. First, as to the person of Christ. Here, in the first place, all dualism as to soul and body is denied.* In the second place, the human and divine natures are in him so united as to be one life. The human is divine, and the divine human. It is one divine-human life, which, however, does not cease to be "human in all respects." How this is to be reconciled with Scripture or with the faith of the universal Church, we do not know. What meaning is attached to these statements by others, it is not for us to say. But if we believed that Christ's human and divine nature are united in one life, and that life human, we should either believe that human and divine are identical, God and man one, *i. e.*, that men are God, and humanity a form of divinity, and become pantheists; or we should believe that the union of the two natures in Christ was nothing beyond the presence of God in the hearts of his people, and be Socinians. And to this complexion the matter, we doubt not, will come at last, notwithstanding the supreme complacency and sense of superiority with which the advocates of this whole system look down on other men.

Secondly: this view of Christianity must modify our views of the whole method of salvation. Our nature, corrupted in

* "Soul and body, in their ground are but one life; identical in their origin; bound together by mutual interpenetration subsequently at every point; and holding for ever in the presence of the self same organic law. . . We have no right to think of the soul (body) as a form of existence of and by itself, into which the soul as another form of such existence, is thrust in a mechanical way. Both form *one* life. The soul to be complete, to develope itself at all as a soul, *must* externalize itself, throw itself out in space; and this externalization is the body."—*Mystical Presence*, p. 171.

Adam, has been assumed into union with the divine. By that union, human nature in Christ triumphed over the principle of evil introduced into it by Adam. This is redemption. The human nature thus healed, ennobled, and elevated, is communicated to his people. This is regeneration and sanctification. On the ground of this renewed human, or in other words, this "divine-human" nature, introduced into us, we are accepted of God. This is justification. This is an exact and fair statement, to the best of our understanding, of the form in which these great doctrines are held by the advocates of this view of Christianity. They are not our inferences, but their own mode of statement of these vital truths. How far they differ from the statements contained in all the Protestant Confessions, none of our readers need to be informed. This is the historical development which Protestant theology has undergone since the Reformation.*

* On this subject Dr. Schaff says: "Adam is the natural root of humanity, from which the vital sap flows into all its particular branches. Only on the ground of such an organic conception of the relation of Adam to his posterity, can the church doctrine of original sin and its imputation have any rational sense. And so also on the supposition of the indwelling of the incarnate Word in the Church, a like intimate, or rather far more intimate mystical life-union of Christ with believers, that the cardinal doctrines of atonement, the imputation of Christ's merit, and justification through faith, can be successfully maintained against Socinian and Rationalist objections."—*Historical Development*, p. 35.

"The value of Christ's sufferings and death, as well as of his entire life," says Dr. Nevin, "in relation to men, springs wholly from the view of the incarnation now presented," that is, viewing the incarnation as a general fact, not the union of the divine with the human nature in the person of Christ merely, but the union of the Logos with the race, *i. e.*, genuine human nature. "The inward salvation of the race required that it [the race] should be joined in a living way with the divine nature itself, as represented by the everlasting Word or Logos, the fountain of all created light and life. The Logos, therefore, became flesh, that is, assumed humanity into union with itself. It was not an act which was intended to stop in the person of one man, himself to be transplanted soon afterwards to heaven. . . . The object of the incarnation was to couple human nature in real union with the Logos as a permanent source of life."—*Myst. Pres.* p. 166. "The incarnation is supernatural; not magical, however; not fantastic or visionary; not something to be gazed at as a transient prodigy in the world's history. It is the supernatural linking itself to the onward flow of the world's life, and becoming thenceforward itself the ground and principle of the entire organism, now poised at last on its true centre." p. 167. This is the key to the whole system. The Logos became incarnate, not in Jesus of Nazareth only as an individual man, but in human nature. To partake of Christ's benefits we must partake of the incarnation, *i. e.*, of that nature in which God is incarnate. The atonement is not something external; "it is immanent in our nature itself." p. 166. "Whatever there may be of merit, virtue, efficacy, or moral value in the mediatorial work of Christ, it is all lodged in the life, by the power of which alone this work has been accomplished, and in the pre-

Thirdly: If Christianity, in the sense explained, is a life, it must be subject to "organic development," which is the law of life. "Only what is dead is done." "The plant is possessed of real life, and is the subject thus of a development which begins with the seed, forms itself from this into root, stem, branch, leaf and blossom, and becomes complete in its fruit. Here we have progress constantly from the lower to the higher; but still nothing is revealed that was not contained potentially in the germ." Man exists first as an embryo; "after his birth he makes the course of childhood, boyhood, youth, manhood, and old age. In all these changes he is *man*, and preserves thus in development the united elements of his nature; but in all, at the same time, he is yet different, inasmuch as his general nature takes continually a more definite form, and reveals itself in a higher and more perfect way. Still even the highest stage, the life of the old man, is but the full development of the life that was originally present in the child. This development we denominate regular and organic; since it follows with necessity an inward life-force, proceeds with equal, steady order, and continues true to the original nature of the man, till in the end it has brought the whole fulness of it into view. The German language, which is uncommonly rich and philosophical, has an admirable word that expresses all that is comprised in this idea of organic development. It is the word *aufheben*, which is so much used, and we may say, so much abused also in the Hegelian philosophy. It includes three meanings, namely, *to abolish*, *tollere*; *to preserve*, *conservare*;

sence of which only it can have either reality or power." p. 191. "The moral relations of Adam, and his moral character, are made over to us at the same time. Our participation in the actual unrighteousness of his life, forms the ground of our participation in his guilt and liability to punishment. And in no other way, we affirm, can the idea of imputation be satisfactorily explained in the case of the second Adam." p. 170. In a note, he says, "A fallen life in the first place, and on the ground of this only, imputed guilt and condemnation." So, as he argues, a restored life, "the divine-human life," and on the ground of this imputed righteousness and salvation. We do not know that Dr. Nevin now entertains the views on which he laid so much stress in 1846. He has certainly changed his position materially since that time. Then he could say the Pope is "justly styled Anti-christ." (See his sermon appended to Dr. Schaff's *Principles of Protestantism*, p. 204.) Now he considers such a sentiment proof of the lowest state of degradation of Christian and churchly feeling. (See *Mercersburg Review*, Jan. 1854.) We should consider the exchange of the system unfolded in the "Mystical Presence" for *doctrinal Romanism*, in many respects a real advance.

and *to raise* to a higher state, *elevare*. All these senses are wonderfully combined in the idea with which we are now concerned. We may say, with the fullest truth, of man, that in every higher stage of his existence, his previous life is in this threefold view *aufgehoben*. The child is abolished in the young man, and yet is preserved at the same time, and raised unto a higher stage of life. The temporary outward form is abolished; the substance, the idea is preserved; not, however, by continuing to be what it was before, but by mounting upwards to a more exalted mode of outward existence.”* Nothing could be clearer than this exposition. With no less clearness the theory is applied to the Church. Its development is not merely its external increase, nor its internal progress considered as an increased influence on society and the world, but it is organic. “It is no mechanical accumulation of events, and no result simply of foreign influences. Certain outward conditions are indeed required for it, as the plant needs air, moisture, and light, in order to grow. But still, the impelling force in the process, is the inmost life of the Church itself. Christianity is a new creation, that unfolds itself more and more from within, and extends itself by the necessity of its own nature. It takes up it is true, foreign material also, in the process, but changes it at once into its own spirit, and assimilates it to its own nature, as the body converts the food required for its growth, into flesh and blood, marrow and bone. The Church accordingly, in this development remains true always to her own nature, and reveals only what it contained in embryo, from the start. Through all changes, first Greek, then Roman Catholic, then German Evangelical, she never ceases to be still the Church. So the oak also changes, but never becomes an apple-tree. The expression *organic* implies further, that the stages of development, like the links of a chain, or better, like the members of a living body, are indissolubly bound together. Just because the Church does unfold itself from within, as now affirmed, obeying its own life-law throughout, the process itself must form a whole in which the several parts mutually complete each other.” “The development in question includes the

* Historical Development, pp. 83, 84.

threefold form of action, which has been already described as expressed by the German word *aufheben*. Each new stage negates the preceding one by raising its inmost being to a more adequate form of existence." *Ibid.* pp. 91, 92. This development of the Church proceeds "by dialectic opposites or extremes." "Freedom from sin and error may be predicated of Christ and the Church triumphant, but not of the Church militant. So long, accordingly, as the elements of a still unrenewed life continue to work in her constitution, her development must necessarily include hard struggles and conflicts. Fanatical opposition to images produced image worship. Scholasticism gives rise to mysticism; the formality of the English Church to Puritanism; dead orthodoxy to Pietism. The truth lies in the middle. "The main stream of development, though full of turns, always moves forwards. We say purposely the main stream, which was formed first by the Greek-Roman universal Church; then by the Romano-German Catholicism; and since the Reformation appears in evangelical Protestantism. Along with this there are side currents that may dry away entirely. Large churches also that once formed the main stream of history may sunder themselves from the historical movement, and then stagnate and waste away in dead formalism. This is the case with the Greek Church, since its separation from the West, and with those sections of the Roman Church since the Reformation, that stand in no connection whatever with Protestantism." *Ibid.* p. 107.

"Every other view of Christianity," says the *Mercersburg Review*, January 1854, p. 49, "than that of a living and life-giving power, freely unfolding itself in the world by its own activity, and organizing for itself an outward form from the elements with which it is here surrounded, suitable to its own wants, and to the necessities of each particular age and nation, falsifies the history of the Church. If Christianity is not such a power so acting, then it must be a system fixed, determined and complete externally, as well as internally, in all respects. It must be not only one and identical with itself, but also the same unchangeably and in all particulars, in outward aspect, as well as in inward substance, in every period and country. From the start, it must have been fully and completely defined

in regard to doctrine, to feeling, to ethical principles and practice, to worship, and to all the various modes in which its activity is exerted. For being divine, it must be perfect, and, therefore, unchangeable, in every particular essential to its nature. The changes which have taken place in the Christian Church, its government, worship, doctrinal views and practice, consequently, must all be regarded as mere human changes, produced not at all by the action of the Christian religion, or any movement in the Church, but solely by the fleshly will of man. They must be looked upon, therefore, as altogether corruptions. And taking the Christianity of the primitive times as our model of perfection, we must make that of the present age to conform to it outwardly and inwardly and in every particular."

Our readers we think will agree with us, that making Christianity a life—the divine-human life of Christ, has far-reaching consequences:—1. It confounds and contradicts the scriptural and church doctrine as to the person of Christ. 2. It essentially modifies the whole scheme of redemption, both as to its nature and application, as we have already shown. 3. It involves the doctrine of organic development, which overturns all the established views of the nature of revelation and of Christian doctrine. Revelation can no longer be understood as the supernatural objective communication of divine truths, but the elevation of human nature to a higher state, by which its intuitions of spiritual objects become more distinct. The "religious consciousness," "feeling," "the inward life," "the *Gottesbewusstseyn*," or whatever it may be called, is the source of doctrinal knowledge. Christian doctrine is not a definite form of truth revealed in the Scriptures, but the variable form in which the Christian consciousness or life expresses its cognitions. Different systems of theology are not to be distinguished as true and false, but in a two-fold manner; first, as more or less adequate and free from admixture; and secondly, as expressions of different forms of religious experience, or developments of different germs of religious truth. Dr. Schaff says that Schleiermacher, the acknowledged master, "makes religious experience the fountain of dogmatic knowledge." He himself says, systematic theology "unfolds for the under-

standing the present posture of the church, with her faith and life, and exhibits always the latest self-consciousness, or in other words the religious spirit of the age." In another place, he says, "Theology is the scientific apprehension of religion."^{*} It is the variable form in which Christianity, considered as an inward life, expresses itself to the understanding. In Christ, this "divine-human life" was perfect, and therefore, all his manifestations of it in the form of knowledge, feeling, or expression, were perfect. In this sense Christianity is something stable and unchangeable. But this same life as communicated to believers is feeble, and imperfect, and therefore all its manifestations, whether in the form of doctrine, discipline, or worship, are also imperfect. We get our knowledge not directly from the Scriptures, but it is included in the life which we receive from the Church. Christianity, moreover, being a life, assumes different forms under different circumstances, and at different periods, just as human life passes through various stages from youth to old age. The state of the Church in the early centuries as to her doctrines, discipline and worship, was the proper state for that period; not perfect, not free from evils, but still the genuine and proper form of Christianity. So her state during the middle ages was the true and proper form for that period. The Papacy was a legitimate development of what is included in Christianity. This period again was imperfect, beset with evils, through which the Church struggled to a higher state. The Reformation was a real advance; the Church then entered on its manhood. The past was *aufgehoben*. What was evil was thrown aside; what was true was preserved, and raised to a higher state. So the theology and religious life of the Reformation has experienced another *aufheben* into the theology of Schleiermacher and the evangelical Church life of Germany. The older Protestants, as Dr. Schaff says, regarded "the Church as something complete in its nature from the beginning, not needing nor admitting any development. All activity in the sphere of doctrine was apprehended only under the form of a vindication or denial of the truth, as orthodoxy or heresy. The orthodox was stable,

* Historical Development, p. 78, 28, 90.

always agreeing with itself. . . . The entire Protestant system was supposed to be immediately and literally in the Bible." In opposition to this, the theory teaches, that the Church was not something complete at the beginning, either in doctrine, discipline, or worship. Christian doctrines do not differ as true and false, orthodoxy and heresy. What is orthodox is not stable, always agreeing with itself. The Protestant system is not contained in the Bible, but is the legitimate development of what is therein contained. It must have a living connection with all that goes before. The idea that Protestantism is a true form of Christianity, and the Papacy and church-life of the middle ages an apostasy, is as incongruous as a living branch, a dead trunk, and a live root in a tree. The only possible way of defending Protestantism is to make Christianity a life, which unfolds itself in different forms, each true and suited to its time; first the Greek, then the Roman Catholic, then the Evangelical German.

In virtue of this view of Christianity, Dr. Schaff is enabled and required at once to speak of the Romish Church in terms so different from those used by the Reformers, who no more regarded Popery a legitimate development of Christianity, than the idolatry of the Hebrews was a development of the religion of Moses; and at the same time to turn his back upon Rome as something past. Judaism was something good enough in its day; but it has been superseded by Christianity. Popery was the actual and only form of Christianity during the middle ages; but Protestantism has reached a higher point.

This is the anti-Romish feature of the scheme, which must be allowed its due force, whatever points of affinity the theory may have with Romanism in other respects. Puseyism, as Dr. Schaff argues at length, looks back, and wishes simply to reinstate what is gone. He acknowledges the past, but looks forward to the future. He anticipates a state in which the Church shall be neither Romish nor Protestant, but when both forms shall be *aufgehoben* into something better than either.

As the conception of Christianity as a principle or life, the divine-human life of Christ, leads to unscriptural views of his person; modifies essentially the scheme of redemption, and the

mode of its application; involves the theory of organic development, with all its consequences; so, finally, it includes a new and thoroughly anti-Protestant view of the Church.

The Church, according to this theory, is a living organism as much as a tree or the human body. Its life principle is the "divine-human" nature of Christ, centring in him, but not confined to his person. Humanity, united with divinity as one life, belongs to him as an individual, but also to his people. It is the ground of their common life. The Church is, therefore, the continuation of Christ's earthly life. It is the historical development of his divine-human nature; so that, in the strictest and truest sense, the Church is the continuance of the incarnation. The Logos is united, not to the man Christ Jesus only, but with human nature, as historically developed in the Church.* All this is sufficiently apparent from the quotations already made. It is not necessary to prolong this already unduly extended article by a multiplication of proofs. The theory is clearly presented in the following passages from Drs. Schaff and Nevin.

* To understand what the Mercersburg writers mean by this, it may be well to advert to their view of personality, and of the relation of individual to general life.—"Personality unites in itself the presence of a spiritual universal life, which is strictly and truly the fountain of its own activity in the form of intelligence and will, and a material organization as the necessary medium and basis of its revelation."—Dr. Nevin in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1850, p. 559. The Church thus consists of many persons, with a common "spiritual universal life," which life is the humanity of Christ. "His person is the root, in the presence and power of which only all other personalities can stand, in the case of his people, whether in time or eternity. They not only spring from him as we all do from Adam, but continue to stand in him, as an all present, everywhere active personal Life. . . . The whole Christ lives and works in the Church, supernaturally, gloriously, mysteriously, and yet really and truly, always, to the end of the world."—*Myst. Pres.* p. 169. On that page the following passage is quoted from Olshausen's *Comm. John* xiv. 20. Die Persönlichkeit des Sohnes selbst, als die umfassende, nimmt alle Persönlichkeiten der Seinigen in sich auf, und durchdringt sie wieder mit seinem Leben, gleichsam als der lebendige Mittelpunct eines Organismus, von dem das Leben ausströmt und zu dem es wiederkehrt.

The 6th and 7th Theses on the Mystical Union, as given by Dr. Nevin, are—"The new life, of which Christ is the source and organic principle is in all respects a true human life." And, "Christ's life, as now described, rests not in his separate person, but passes over to his people, thus constituting the Church, 'which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.'"—*Myst. Pres.*, p. 167.

The former says: "The definition of the Church as the body of Christ implies, that as the life of the parent flows forward to the child, so the Church also is the depository and continuation of the earthly human life of the Redeemer, in his threefold office of Prophet, Priest, and King. Hence she possesses, like her founder, a divine and human, an ideal and real, a heavenly and earthly nature;" only with this difference, that the nature is perfect in Christ, and imperfect in her.

"The ultimate scope of history is this, that Christianity may become completely the same with nature, and the world be formally organized as the kingdom of Christ; which must involve the absolute identity of Church and State, theology and philosophy, worship and art, religion and morality; the state of the renovated earth, in which God will be ALL in all. In relation to single Christians, the Church is the mother, from which they derive their religious life, and to which they owe therefore constant fidelity, gratitude, and obedience; she is the power of the objective and general, to which the subjective and single should be subordinate. Only in such regular communion, and regular subordination can the individual Christian be truly free; and his personal piety can as little come to perfection, apart from an inward and outward communion with the life of the Church, as a limb separated from the body, or a branch torn from the vine."*

"Christ," he says, "dwells in the Church as an organic unity of different personalities and powers, as the soul in the body; and he acts through it as his organ, just as our soul, by means of the body itself, acts and exerts an influence on the world." The promise, "Lo, I am with you," &c., he says, does not mean, "My Spirit, or my consolation, or my truth, is with you always, but I, that is, my whole person, in which divinity and humanity are inseparably joined together. We must admit then the presence of the Redeemer in the Church—invisible and supernatural, of course, but none the less real and efficient on this account—in his glorified personality, with all the powers that belong to it, whether as human or divine."†

* *Principles of Protestantism*, p. 178.

† *Historical Development*, p. 32.

The way in which Christ's human nature is present, as to the soul and body, everywhere and at all times in the Church, is explained by a reference to the distinction between individual and generic humanity before mentioned. "The life of Christ, which is neither simply divine, nor simply human, but divine-human, flows over by the different means of grace to believers. . . . All this involves the uninterrupted presence of Christ, the God-man, in and among his people. His absence would rob us of the root of our religious existence, from which all living sap is derived into the branches. . . . In the Church, Christ carries forward, so to speak, his divine-human life, heals the sick, wakes the dead to a new existence, takes even young children in his arms by baptism, gives believers his atoning flesh and blood to partake of in the Lord's supper, speaks by his word, and ministers comfort, peace, and blessing, to all that seek his grace, &c., &c." *Ibid.* p. 36.

"The whole humanity of Christ," says Dr. Nevin, "is carried over by the process of the Christian salvation into the person of the believer, so that in the end his glorified body, no less than his glorified soul, will appear as the natural and necessary product of the life in which he is thus made to participate."* "Partaking in this way of one and the same life, Christians, of course, are vitally related and joined together as one spiritual whole; and this whole is the Church. . . . The union by which it is held together, through all ages, is strictly organic." p. 199. "Individual Christianity is not something older than general Christianity, but the general in this case goes before the particular, and rules and conditions all its manifestations. So it is with every organic nature. . . . The parts in the end are only a revelation of what was previously included in the whole. . . . Whatever the Church becomes by way of development, it can never be more in fact than it was in him from the beginning. . . . The unity of the Church then is a cardinal truth, in the Christian system. It is involved in the conception of the Christian salvation itself. To renounce it, or lose sight of it, is to make shipwreck of the

* Sermon on the Unity of the Church, appended to the Principles of Protestantism, p. 197.

gospel, to the same extent. There is no room here for individualism, or particularism, as such. An individual man dissociated entirely from his race, would cease to be a man. And just so the conception of individual or particular Christianity, as something independent of the organic whole, which we denominate the Church, is a moral solecism, that necessarily destroys itself. . . . We are not Christians, each one by himself, and for himself, but we become such through the Church." p. 200. "The life of Christ in the Church, is in the first place inward and invisible—but to be real, it must also become outward." p. 201.

The Church which is thus declared to be the continuation of the incarnation, the form in which the divine-human nature of Christ is continued and manifested in the world, is an outward, visible, organized, historical body. This idea pervades the entire system. The whole discussion is about the development of this outward visible body. It is this historical body, with its doctrine, discipline, and worship, of which these writers speak, and which they assert to be the body of Christ, the outward manifestation of his theanthropic nature; and which, having his nature as its life principle, has all his powers, and exercises his offices on earth of prophet, priest, and king; determining truth, imparting life, forgiving sins, communicating holiness, and securing heaven. These are essential and plainly inculcated features of the doctrine of the Church involved in this theory of Christianity, and of historical development.

More particularly, the theory teaches—1. The unity of this historical Church, both as to space and time. That is, there is but one Church on earth—the existing historical Church includes all Christians now living:—and secondly, the Church of all ages is the same. There can be no solution of continuity. The Church of the Nicene period, of the middle ages, of the present time, is one. In all these periods it has remained the living body of Christ. The outward has always been a revelation of the inward, and that inward is the divine humanity of Christ—it is his human life. Thirdly, as to the nature of this unity, it is organic. The Church is one, not from sympathy, or similarity, or contact, merely, but from participation of the same life. As all individual personalities

are the manifestation of a spiritual and universal life, which is the ground of their existence, and source of their activity, so the different persons of which the Church consists, and the different forms in which it appears, are only manifestations of the human nature of Christ, as it develops itself historically in the world.

2. The theory of course teaches that this outward historical Church is perpetual. This is involved in its unity considered as sameness throughout all ages. The idea of an apostasy of the Church is as horrible as the assumption that Christ himself should cease to be, or to be true to his nature; for the Church is Christ; it is the historical form of his human and divine nature. It therefore cannot fail, either ultimately or at any one period. To teach that the outward visible Church apostatized during the middle ages, is to teach that the head and feet in the human body may be alive, and all between be dead.*

* This is the reason why the Mercersburg Reviewers can hardly refrain from the use of profane language when speaking of this point. "Protestantism sets the whole process aside, overleaps the entire interval between the sixteenth century and the first, abjures antiquity clear back to the beginning, and claims to be a new and fresh copy of what Christianity was in the day of the apostles. . . . To make the Reformation a rebellion, a radical revolution, a violent breaking away from the whole authority of the past, is to give it a purely human, or rather *diabolical* character. It comes then just to this, that either the rebellion was diabolical, or else the ancient Church, back to the second century, was the work of the *Devil*, and not Christ's work."—*Mercersburg Review*, 1852, p. 25. "Without the idea of development, the whole fact of Protestantism resolves itself into a lie."—*Ibid.* p. 35. The Review says deliberately "that a Christianity which is not historical, not a continuation organically of the life of the Church," is false. To make the Church before the Reformation apostate, "is at least but a decent name for infidelity." According to this view, Dr. Nevin says, "Protestantism must be held to turn Catholicism into a wholesale lie. What if the so-called Church had existed before only under this form? It shows simply that the so-called Church was unworthy of the name, and represented in truth, not the kingdom of Christ, but the cause of Antichrist. So far as the Church was concerned, in its outward, historical organization, Christianity must be taken to have proved a failure; the gates of hell had prevailed against it for a time; it had become the synagogue of Satan." What if this state of things extended back to the early ages? According to this system, he says, "It only shows that the Church had been a synagogue of Satan all this time. To yield a thousand years here to the Devil, is no more difficult for the principle before us than it is to yield a hundred."—*Review*, 1854, p. 103. "The whole case is plain enough. The Christianity of the second, third, and fourth centuries . . . differed altogether from modern Protestantism, and led fairly and directly towards the Roman Catholic system." This is the simple fact. There are but two ways of reconciling this fact with Protestantism. The first is, "to treat the Church of the first ages as a wholesale falsification of Christianity in its apostolic form." "This,

This perpetuity of the Church necessarily involves perpetuity in doctrine, organization, worship, and discipline, in all that is essential. Though the oak, from the acorn to the full grown tree, may expand itself, it remains true to its nature—it never becomes an apple-tree. So the Church never reveals anything not contained in embryo in its original state. Accordingly it is asserted that “Nicene Christianity bore no resemblance to Protestantism. It carried in it all the principles of Romanism.” “Nicene Christianity, the system which the fourth century inherited from the third, was not Protestantism, much less Puritanism; bore no resemblance to this whatever, but in all essential principles and characteristics was nothing more nor less than Romanism itself.”—*Review*, 1852, p. 14. During that period, it is said, the fathers knew nothing of the Bible and private judgment as the principle of Christianity, and only source and rule of faith; they acknowledged the central dignity of the bishop of Rome, believed baptismal regeneration, the mystery of the real presence, purgatory, prayers for the dead, veneration of relics, the continuation of miracles, glorified celibacy, voluntary poverty, and the monastic life. The prelatical and pontifical system was then in full force; the eucharist was regarded as a real sacrifice, and to have the force of an atonement; the Church was regarded as imbued with supernatural power, and the ministry a true priesthood. Dr. Nevin (in the last number of the *Review* in a short notice signed “N.”) says, “The inquiry, after all, regards the Church and Christianity as a whole; for it is not possible to separate these from the Papacy during the middle ages. Christianity and the Church existed all that time under no other form.” The idea that the popes, cardinals, bishops, and other ecclesiastics of that period, who in so many cases, according to the testimony of Roman Catholic writers themselves, were heretical, lewd, treacherous, murderous, were the chief organs of the “body of Christ,” controlled by his life, and authorized to determine the doctrine, discipline,

however, is only another name for infidelity.” The second way is, to admit the Church of the middle ages, and under the Papacy, to have been a genuine form of Christianity, and to maintain that Protestantism is the continuance of the same life, a genuine development and fruit of the previous form of Christianity; which he evidently considers preposterous.

and worship of the Church, is so monstrous a delusion, that its adoption seems to argue judicial blindness. The papacy of the middle ages had no more affinity with Christianity, than the idolatry of the Hebrews with the religion of the Old Testament. And it might just as well be argued that the worship of Baal was legitimate and right, because it so long was the public form of religion in Judea, as that the Papacy was a genuine form of Christianity, because it alone prevailed for centuries in the West.

3. This theory further supposes that the Church is imbued with supernatural power. Being the continuation of the incarnation, it is "the bearer of the truth," the organ through which all the benefits of redemption are communicated. The theanthropic life of Christ is carried over by its ministrations to believers; its ministers have more than earthly power; its sacraments have inherent objective efficiency. We become Christians only by union with this outward body. A man, it is said, dissevered from the race ceases to be a man, so a Christian separated from the Church ceases to be a Christian.

No man can hold and carry out this theory of the Church, without becoming a Romanist. The formal idea of Romanism is that of an outward historical institution, which is the body of Christ, his representative on earth, clothed with his powers as prophet, priest, and king; which is one, perpetual, incapable of apostasy, whose ministers and sacraments are the exclusive channels of grace and salvation, and out of whose pale no one therefore can be saved. As this theory of the Church arises from considering Christianity as a divine life, historically carried forward in a visible organization, it must exclude the idea of any such development as can save the cause of Protestantism. There may be such a progress as conserves the past; such an advance as Dr. Nevin finds between the fourth and fifth centuries and the sixteenth, the former period including all the elements of the latter, but never such a progress which of necessity rejects the past, in its peculiar outward historical form. Protestantism is in its very nature a denial and rejection of those very principles which Dr. Nevin teaches gave character to the religion of the Nicene period. The supremacy of the Pope, the authority of tradition, salvation by sacraments

as distinguished from salvation by faith, subjective justification, the priesthood of the ministry, the sacrifice of the mass, the power of the church to forgive sin, purgatory, the merit of works and especially of uncommanded works, as celibacy, voluntary poverty, and monastic obedience—against these doctrines one and all, Protestantism is a protest. It pronounces them anti-scriptural and anti-christian. If those doctrines are true, Protestantism is of necessity false. But these doctrines constitute the distinctive religion of Rome; and the religion of Rome, it is said, is the religion of the middle ages, and of the Nicene period. To adopt such a view of the Church, therefore, as forbids the admission of apostasy, *i. e.*, that forbids the assumption that those doctrines rejected by Protestants are false, necessitates the rejection of Protestantism. It has, therefore, we doubt not, been rejected by the whole Nevin division of the Mercersburg school.

In an early part of this review we remarked that the theory of Dr. Schaff included incompatible principles. Those principles are the doctrine of development, and the doctrine of the Church. These cannot cohere. The one must exclude the other. If the outward visible church be the living body of Christ, it never can assume an anti-christian form. It never can in its doctrine, organization, discipline or worship reveal anything which is not included in the life of Christ. It may not in all respects be uniform, or free from foreign admixtures, but it must remain true to its nature. Its whole characteristic life cannot at one period be what at another period is rejected. Truth is permanent. What was true during the Nicene period, cannot be false in the Protestant period. There may be a difference as between more or less perfect; but not a contradiction. The oak cannot become an apple-tree. The idea, therefore, of an outward historical Church, incapable of defection, such as the theory calls for, is inconsistent with such development as the theory calls for. *No* cannot be developed out of *yes*. Polytheism cannot be an expansion of the doctrine that there is but one God. We are reduced to the absolute necessity of admitting that the outward Church, during the middle ages, departed from the pure gospel, or of giving up the cause of Protestantism. The Mercersburg gentlemen put the case in

their peculiar way, when they say, "It comes then just to this, that either the rebellion [the Reformation] was diabolical, or else the ancient Church back to the second century was the work of the Devil, and not Christ's work." This is their dilemma, not ours. We do not hold to an entire apostasy of even the outward Church before the Reformation. It is an historical fact that (excepting the Arian ascendancy,) the inspiration of the Scriptures, the doctrine of the Trinity, the true divinity and humanity of the Saviour, the fall of man, redemption by the blood of Christ, and regeneration and sanctification by his Spirit, were held by the Church universal. These are not the doctrines of Romanism as distinguished from Protestantism. These are not the points against which the Reformers protested, and as to which they declared Rome apostate and anti-christian. The doctrines rejected by Protestants are those above enumerated, which Dr. Nevin affirms belonged to the Church as far back as the second century, and the rejection of which as false and anti-christian, he says, is tantamount to turning Catholicism into a wholesale lie. Now the dilemma is this: one element of Dr. Schaff's theory, viz., that which determines the idea of the Church, requires that we should regard those doctrines as true; while another element, viz., that which makes Protestantism a development of Romanism, requires us to pronounce them to be false and anti-christian. No man can hold both sides of this dilemma. He will either give up that idea of the Church, and adhere to Protestantism; or he will adhere to the idea of an outward Church, incapable of defection, and give up Protestantism. In other words, the Mercersburg theory of development is utterly incompatible with the Mercersburg idea of the Church. Dr. Nevin, therefore, has evidently given up the theory of development. It admits of no progress. The religion of the early Church, he says, was in all essential points identical with that of the middle ages, nay, was "Romanism itself." There has been no development in the case, and therefore, on his system, "Protestantism resolves itself into a lie." And this we doubt not is his conviction, and the conclusion to which he has been long labouring to bring the readers of his various publications. The authorities of the Romish Church, we as little doubt,

desire him to remain where he is, so long as he can plead their cause with so much greater advantage than he could as an avowed Romanist.

Dr. Schaff, on the other hand, has just as evidently given up the idea of the Church, in order to adhere to that of development, and to save Protestantism. That is, he admits the defection of the Church before the Reformation. He acknowledges that the whole array of doctrines rejected by the Reformers is effete and obsolete. Those things are passed away. But this is just what the other wing of the Mercersburg party says is to turn Catholicism into a wholesale lie, and make the ancient Church "the work of the Devil." As Dr. Schaff has thus far remained true to that principle of his theory, which enables him to look back on Rome as defunct, we trust and hope he may be carried further and further from the whirlpool which has engulfed so many who venture within its outer circles. There is, we think, good ground for this hope. His later writings evince a great improvement. This noble history reveals only here and there traces of principles which are made offensively prominent in his earlier works. Were it not for his antecedents and his associations, his history would excite but little uneasiness, notwithstanding the blemishes to which we have referred. We confess, however, we feel no little concern about the future. The pantheistic philosophy of Germany is a broad road, leading Rome-ward. Many of the best Christians of that country also, alarmed by the union of the liberal with the atheistic party, have turned to despotism in the State, and to something like infallibility in the Church, for protection. They are afraid of the liberty wherewith Christ has made them free, and desire again to be entangled in a yoke of bondage. Still "the Lord knoweth them that are his."

Ein' veste Burg ist unser Gott,
Ein' gute Wehr und Waffen;
Er hilft uns frei aus aller Noth,
Die uns jetzt hat betroffen.

SHORT NOTICES.

A Manual of Political Economy. By E. Peshine Smith. New York: George P. Putnam & Co. 1853.

Mr. Henry C. Carey, of our State, has fairly achieved a standing among the leading political economists of the world; chiefly as the able and uncompromising opponent of the prevalent doctrines of the schools founded respectively by Say, Malthus, and Ricardo. Those who have had occasion to look carefully into this great subject, best know the value of the services rendered by Mr. Carey, in his masterly refutation of some of the monstrous conclusions to which these able authors were conducted, by their remorseless logic. The author of the volume now before us, is a disciple of the school of Mr. Carey. His work deserves more than the passing notice, which our limits, and the character of our Journal, will permit us to bestow. He adopts the views of Mr. Carey avowedly and almost without exception, so far as we remember; and has done for them what their propounder never did—he has reduced them to well-defined and scientific form; and has, moreover, thrown over his book the charms of a clear and fluent rhetoric. His aim was to make a text-book on Political Economy; and we are sincerely glad to say, he has succeeded, in no common degree, in infusing into his pages the vitality which such books so often lack. Another great recommendation of the work, as a text-book, is, that its main conclusions on the leading topics of political economy, strike us as just and sound.

The striking fact, that the great subject of social and political well-being, has been allowed to drop out of the schedule of instruction in so many, even of our higher institutions, we cannot but regard as a strong testimony to the intuitive unreasoned condemnation of the monstrous and unchristian dogmas maintained in the ablest and most generally received treatises of the Schools. The attempts of philanthropic and Christian scholars to substitute a more humane creed, in lieu of these, have notoriously failed to carry the confidence of the public; partly, we believe, because, even in the hands of our ablest thinkers, too much has been conceded to the authority of previous systematic writers on the subject; and partly, also, perhaps, because they have generally lacked the logical power to give consistency and completeness to the views put forth.

What Say did for Adam Smith, that Mr. Peshine Smith has now done for Mr. Carey.

In saying thus much in praise of the book, we are not intending to endorse it wholly or without exception. The refutation of the Malthusian doctrines of population, with their consequences, we think is the great feature of the system; and for this, it deserves the thanks of every friend of humanity, as well as of religion. The application of the established doctrines of modern physiology, in the exposition of the development of vital power, first in the productiveness of the soil; secondly, in the restoration of the exhausted muscular and nervous forces, both of men and animals in productive labour; thirdly, in the mechanical powers and implements applicable to the purposes of agriculture and the arts; and lastly, the comprehensive generalization, due, in a high degree, to the patient and able researches of Professor Henry, showing the constant circulation of power from the inorganic to the organic, and then back again to the inorganic, to be reproduced without loss in organized and living forms by the agency of the sun's rays—the application, we repeat, of this whole range of scientific truth to the refutation of the assumptions of the modern English economists, touching the tendency of population to outrun the means of subsistence, with all its inhuman and antichristian consequences, we regard as one of the happiest and most conclusive examples we have seen, of the harmony of all the branches of modern science.

We cannot say as much for the so-called "law," claimed by Mr. Carey and his friends, as the great American discovery in political economy, in virtue of which population is supposed to settle first on the lighter soils of a new country, and afterwards, as numbers, wealth, and tools increase, to proceed to clear, subdue, and drain the richer alluvial soils. If this "law," governing the occupation and settlement of new countries, were far better established than it is in history and human experience, it is manifestly unnecessary to the overthrow of the Malthusian doctrine, or the establishment of the conclusions reached by Mr. Carey, and vindicated by Mr. Smith, in regard to the progress of population, and the increase and distribution of wealth. The reasonings of the previous chapter on the endless circulation of the productive forces of nature, not only without loss or exhaustion, but with positive and steady increase, are quite sufficient to allay these idle fears. The increase of population, which the empirical reasoning of the English economists lead them to regard with unmixed horror, and for which starvation is their avowed and only cure,

has, and can have, no tendency to exhaust the soil, so long as the materials drawn from the prolific bosom of our mother earth are all returned to it, to re-enter the endless circuit of living transformations, any more than the products of the soil, which live and die upon the spot, have a tendency to exhaust its fertility. On the contrary, the settled law of nature—such is the beneficence of all her workings, when unhindered by the interference of man—is, that every plant which grows, returns to the soil, as the product of its decay, more materials, as pabulum for future and increased production, than it originally drew forth. The carbon of all growing plants, forming, as it does, the large proportion of their solid materials, it is well known, is extracted from the atmosphere by the decomposing agency of the sun's rays, acting through the chlorophyl, or green colouring matter of the leaves, on the carbonic acid of the air; and the whole product is returned, to add ever-increasing fertility to the soil. Hence the proverbial richness of our virgin forest soils, made so by that gracious law of nature, which ordains that for every contribution made to the vegetable wealth of the world, not only shall the capital be returned undiminished to the last farthing, but a full and liberal increment of interest is added towards the increase of that native capital, for future productive operations. A tendency, or principle, or, as the economists prefer the word, a "law," exists in nature, in regard to the increase of population, essentially analogous to that which provides for the steady increase of richness in the soil of a forest; the only limitation put on either being the result of human interference with the capabilities of nature in the matter of production, or else the want of room to stand upon—just as the number of trees in a virgin forest is limited either by the intervention of the woodman, or the want of space enough to shoot their roots down into the exhaustless soil, whose very depth and richness, so far from tending to diminish, they are the divinely appointed agency indefinitely to augment. The truth is, that that "law" of the political economists, which recites for its preamble the necessary tendency of population to outrun the means of subsistence, and then enacts, by the force of its stringent logic, and justifies the decree by the plea of necessity, that the labouring classes of society must be kept down by the pains of want, enforced, if need be, "without benefit of clergy," by the sterner penalty of starvation, till the average limits of subsistence are reached, is as gross a violation of every authentic law of God, in nature, as its enforcement is an outrage upon the great law of love and brotherhood in the gospel.

We are further bound in candour to say, that while we concur, for the most part, in the conclusions and teachings of our author, we regard the book as defective in repeating the attempt, which in the nature of the case must always prove a failure, to work out a system of objective laws, by which the intercourse of men must be regulated, without taking into account the essential and actual nature of man; and without a constant recognition of the principles and spirit of Christianity, as furnishing the true and highest law of social as well as individual life. Decided as we regard the advance made in this Manual to be, especially on the points we have indicated, with their resulting consequences, we cannot regard it as in all respects meeting the urgent wants of the case. The side of Political Economy which skirts along the domain of Christianity, is far the least satisfactory portion of the treatise. Indeed, we fear the author is still too much under the influence of his physical "laws," to make the book which the necessities of our wider Christian education are clamouring for. No system of political economy can meet the wants of the world, that does not take for its starting-point, not wealth, but *man*:—*man*—not regarded as a machine, to produce, distribute, and consume wealth, but *man*, as a social, moral, and immortal being:—*man*, not as a being of one fixed, all-absorbing, and all-controlling passion; which may be subjected to calculation, like the force of gravity, or magnetism, but a being of multi-form aspirations, affections, and hopes, and setting at defiance the power of any human calculus to compute the agency of each of their ten thousand separate springs, or the final resultant of their complex and combined play. It is a curious and suggestive fact, that the question is at this very hour undergoing warm discussion in the ablest school of political economy, perhaps, the world has ever seen, whether Political Economy is a science at all, or not.

The Religions of the World, in their Relations to Christianity. By Frederick Denison Maurice, A. M., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1854.

We regard the reprint of this series of "Boyle Lectures," by Professor Maurice, late of King's College, London, as meeting an important want in the literature of the Christian world. We have long felt that it would be a real service to the Church, to be brought into a better understanding and juster appreciation of the difficulties which she is called to grapple with, in the great missionary work of the age. The common feeling in the Church is, that the leading systems of

paganism, which hold the earth in bondage, are, each of them, a tissue of pure absurdity and silliness, expressing no truth of any kind to the human soul, and therefore requiring nothing but exposure to overthrow them. It might indeed be presumed that any form of belief, especially on a subject so commanding to human interests of the very highest class, which has swayed an unbroken influence over nations of men for centuries, thereby proves itself to possess power of some sort over the mind and heart of humanity: and to those whose vocation it is to reclaim the world to the true religion, it is manifestly a problem of the deepest interest, what the sources of that power are. We speak advisedly, when we say, that the three leading forms of paganism in our own day, as did also the bright and beautiful creations of the great extinct mythologies of the cultivated nations of the world, stand before their respective votaries, as real embodiments of the best and highest thoughts of the human bosom, on the all-absorbing themes of religion. To displace these forms of belief and worship, notwithstanding their cruelty and inhuman character, will prove to be a vain attempt, without offering some truer solution of these anxious problems of the human spirit. There are few inquiries, at the present moment, which seem to us better adapted to wake a sympathy with the sons and daughters of the Church, who have gone out as pioneers in the great work of recovering the world to a knowledge of the true religion, than to pry into the truths which blend with, and give permanence and power to those great systems of false religion, which still hold in the bondage of superstition and fear, if not of implicit and satisfying faith, millions upon millions of the race. There is truth enough in every such system, to account for its sway, if only we take the necessary measures to place ourselves in the proper point of view to discover it. The life of a nation is drawn from its religion; and no religion that is purely false can perpetuate a true life in the nation that adopts it. It is the truth it contains, (and the worst of them contain much that is true, mixed up, of course, with perversions that make it wholly and practically false,) that gives it its only hold upon the heart and conscience of man. The great doctrines of human guilt, atonement, sacrifice, intercession, new-birth, self-renunciation, spiritual re-union with the divine, mortification of the body, &c., &c.—we could run on till our readers might almost fancy we were sketching the outlines of a system of Christian doctrine—are to be found as *disejcta membra* of the extant and living paganism of the world, at this very hour. The deep and dark conceptions of sin, uttering a true voice from the

inmost consciousness of man, is the real ground of those bloody devices, which usurp authority and exact obedience, even where their mandates are in express violation of the clearest principles of reason and humanity. We return from this train of thought, which we have broached more than once before, to say, that the aim and scope of this ingenious and learned treatise, is to unfold whatever of truth is contained in the richest mythologies of the classic ages, and the most commanding and vital of our own. Its subtle analysis will prove both instructive and suggestive to the thoughtful mind; and we cannot imagine how any thinking Christian can read it, without seeing fresh evidences of the human truth, and the divine origin and power of the Christian religion. To some the discussion may seem to have rationalistic tendencies, and perhaps, as the subject lay in the mind of the author, he may have been led to attach too much importance to the human adaptations of Christianity, and too little to the efficacy of its divine and spiritual forces: but such tendencies, if they exist, are no necessary part or consequence of the principles and reasonings developed by the lecturer; and the effect of the book can hardly fail to be salutary, as we are sure it cannot but prove instructive and suggestive.

The Christian World Unmasked. By John Berridge, A. M. With Life of the Author, by the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, D. D., Minister of Free St. John's, Edinburgh. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1853.

"Father Berridge," the ripe scholar of Clare Hall, Cambridge, the fellow-labourer of Venn, and Grimshaw, and Wesley, and Whitefield, was one of those remarkable men, whom God honoured as the instruments of that great revival of religion which visited England and America during the latter half of the last century. He was as noted for the brilliant wit of his conversation and his correspondence, as for the pungency and power of his pulpit ministrations. "He thought in proverbs, and he spake in parables." We welcome the plain-dealing, quaintness, and point, of this searching reprint, as having special adaptations to the hollowness of much of the fashionable religion of our own day.

The Waldenses: Sketches of the Evangelical Christians of the Valleys of Piedmont. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This stirring volume, reciting the sufferings of one of the most remarkable bands of Christian heroes and martyrs the world has ever seen, constitutes the gift-book for the season, issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication. The style of art, as regards the typography and illustrations, may be

best described by saying that it resembles, in all essential respects, that already familiar to our readers, in the Book of Poetry, put forth a year ago, under the same auspices, and for a similar purpose. The scenes embodied in the engravings, for wildness and grandeur, are surpassed by nothing in the inhabited portion of the earth; and the letter-press describes a chapter of human, and especially of Christian history, the great outlines of which the world knows by heart. We have divine authority for regarding the acts performed in the name of any form of religion, as an index of its truth; and while we are entitled, on that ground, to visit with our severest condemnation the pretensions of those who profess to be followers of Christ, and exemplars of his Spirit, while perpetrating, in the name of religion, deeds which surpass in inhumanity and horror our worst conceptions of infernal malice, the danger to be guarded against is, the allowing of our sense of human wrong and injury to degenerate into a counter-spirit of hatred and fanaticism. We must never forget, that the same law which condemns the spirit that makes a man a persecutor, when circumstances put it in his power to become one, condemns equally the feeling of resentment which rises in the bosom of the victim of persecution. Hard as the saying may seem, we are as solemnly bound by the law of Christ to love our enemies, as our enemies are bound to respect our liberties and rights, when they are in power.

In saying this, we are far from meaning to call in question the salutary effects flowing from the study of the martyrology of the Church. It has ever been true, that the great charters of human liberty have been written in the light of blazing faggots and martyr-fires.

The Mission of the Comforter, with Notes. By Julius Charles Hare, M. A.
Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1854.

We have endeavoured to keep our readers apprized, in a general way, as far as the shifting nature of the ground would permit, of the posture of the principal actors and authors in the recent movements in the Church of England. It is impossible to foresee the decompositions and new combinations which are finally to result from the reaction of the ingredients poured into the bubbling cauldron of the Church of England, from Germany on the one side, and from Rome on the other. The Germanic element has been contributed by an increasing band of students, beginning with the days of Coleridge, and taking the products of German thought, as Coleridge did, with little or no modification, except the unavoidable tinge received in passing through the English of the great magnificent talker of

modern times; and more recently branching under the lead of some of the ablest thinkers of the day, into two widely diverging lines; one of them stretching off, on the extreme left, to the lowest forms of rationalism; and the other tending, under the instincts of its spiritual nature, to the opposite extreme of the transcendental movement. Between these extreme lines we find every shade of opinion, including substantial orthodoxy, and even high Calvinism. Among the men most thoroughly imbued with the enthusiastic and working spirit of their German brethren, and whose influence the Church of England, and the Churches of America feel most powerfully, are the men who have been drawn together as professors in King's College, in London; and a set of very able writers among the dignitaries of the Church of England, supported by the vigorous pens of a few well known names among the working "rectors," "chaplains" and "lecturers," either in London, or its suburban districts, or else in or around the great universities of England.

Notwithstanding the wide diversities of opinion found among these men, there are characteristics common to them all, and which seem to justify our classing them in common, as constituting what indeed Archdeacon Hare does himself somewhere designate as "Our New-school." The productions of this School, in one way or another, owe much to the German metaphysicians and theologians. On this account they have been subjected to suspicions of error and heresy, both in England and this country, which, in many cases, do not lie at all; and indeed, in some noted instances, the dangerous tendencies which actually do exist, point to the very opposite extreme, to that from which the indiscriminating accusations of their frightened opponents are anticipating evil.

It is a curious fact, that the studies of this school of writers are carrying them nearer and nearer to the central truths of spiritual religion. The stand-point from which the whole field of discussion is mapped out in the volume before us by Archdeacon Hare, is of this description. The title of the work will carry it into thousands of hands and houses, and win in advance a willing entrance for its teachings. The work possesses the well known characteristics of its author. It is clear, earnest, original, and suggestive. Its appreciation of the great doctrine of faith in Christ as the ground of salvation, its warm and living sympathy with the deeper truths of religion, and its appreciation of the higher spiritual freedom, which is the birth-right of the renewed soul—and above all, its just, broad, and timely views of the office-work of the Holy Spirit, the Com-

forter, through whom believers are sanctified, and the Church triumphs—all set forth with the author's well known breadth of thought and affluence of diction, give the work uncommon interest and value. The reader will however find, with pain, the undoubted recognition of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration as held by the author's wing of the Established Church; and also the advocacy of the right and duty of the Church to revise the received version of the Scriptures, from time to time, with a view of adapting it to his well known theory of the development of Christian doctrine, in the experimental life of the Church.

God with Men: or, Footprints of Providential Leaders. By Samuel Osgood. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. New York: Charles S. Francis & Co. 1853, pp. 269. 12mo.

This little volume of Essays, written in a style of elevated thought and diction, treats of the Philosophy of the History of Religion. Its author belongs to the same school with Bushnell, Sears, and the later and still advancing disciples of Dr. Channing. The air of blended rationalism and mysticism, together with the fascinations of style and the philosophic arrangement of the thought, combine, as in the cases just cited, to give it extraordinary attractiveness to cultivated minds.

Old Sights with New Eyes. By a Yankee. With an Introduction by Robert Baird, D.D. New York: M. W. Dodd, publisher. 1854. Pp. 372. 12mo.

This little book, if we may judge from our own experience, will be welcomed by the constantly increasing number of Americans who have travelled in Europe, because the author has done for them just what the illusion springing from the freshness and interest of present scenes, coupled with the constant hurry of travel, so often prevents them from doing for themselves:—we mean keeping full notes of places visited, and sights seen. Without hampering himself with the idea of making a book of travels, or feeling bound to describe fully every incident of his journey, or telling us how he was pestered by beggars or fleas, or by bad eating and drinking, he jots down memoranda, which may serve to recall the great features of his tour, in scenery, society, art, and incident. His line of travel lay mainly in the ordinary route, both in England and on the Continent: and we fancy many of our readers will feel, as we do, a lively gratitude, for the good taste and skill with which they will find the memory of travel refreshed, and the fast fading lines of some of the most interesting pictures of the past retouched and restored.

The very feature of the book, viz., its brevity and compre-

hensiveness, which gives it its chief value in our eyes, will, however, we fear, cause disappointment to readers who may be induced to purchase it, as a substitute for actual travel; or as furnishing a dessert of stimulating incident, such as literary epicures have led us to expect from the journals of travellers.

Infidelity; its Aspects, Causes, and Agencies: Being a Prize Essay of the British Organization of the Evangelical Alliance. By the Rev. Thomas Pearson, Eyemouth, Scotland. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854. 8vo, pp. 620.

This is, perhaps, the most important book of the year. It takes in a very wide range, and presents the subjects of which it treats in the form specially adapted to the present time. We know no work of the kind which, in so short a compass, furnishes more important information.

A Church Dictionary. By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds. Sixth edition. Revised, and adapted to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. By a Presbyter of the said Church. Philadelphia: published by E. H. Butler & Co. 1854. 8vo. pp. 580.

Dr. Hook belongs to the more moderate division of the Anglican or Tractarian School of the Church of England; and in the spirit of that division this work is written. Since its first appearance, a decided Romanizing tendency revealed itself among those who professed to be the champions of Catholicism, as distinguished from Romanism. "The articles," therefore, says the author, "relating to the heresies and peculiarities of the Church of Rome have been expanded, and, strong as they were in former editions in condemnation of the Papal system, they have been rendered more useful, under the present exigencies of the Church, by a reference to the decisions of the so-called Council of Trent, so as to enable the reader to see what the peculiar tenets of that corrupt portion of the Christian world really are." The work presents no claim to original or profound research. The authorities quoted are almost exclusively such as are accessible to the English reader, and to a great extent, articles are compiled, rather than written. As a convenient and authentic book of reference for the views of the class of theologians to which the author belongs, it is a very useful and desirable book.

Scotia's Bards. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854. 8vo, pp. 558.

This is an elegant gift-book, got up in the best style. It contains the gems of Scottish poetry, illustrated by appropriate and well executed designs.

Jacqueline Pascal; or, a Glimpse of Convent Life at Port Royal. From the French of M. Victor Cousin, M. Prosper Faugère, M. Vinet, and other sources. Translated by H. N. Withan. Introduction by W. R. Williams, D.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854, pp. 318.

There are few more interesting subjects than the diversity of forms of true religion. It is well for us, instead of always looking at our faces in a mirror, to look at the image of Christ, always imperfectly revealed in his people, and always to be recognized as his, in forms to us unfamiliar. The piety of the Pascals and their illustrious associates no one can doubt, and the exhibition here given of the character of one of the ladies of that family, cannot fail to awaken peculiar interest.

Noah and his Times: Embracing the consideration of various Inquiries relative to the Antediluvian and earlier Postdiluvian Periods, with Discussions of several of the leading Questions of the present day. By Rev. J. Munson Olmstead, M. A., author of "Thoughts and Counsels for the Impenitent," "Our First Mother." Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1853, pp. 413.

"Noah and his Times" is a rather startling title for a book; but what follows explains its import. The work contains, in a popular form, discussions concerning the deluge, the unity of the human race, the penalty of death for murder, and various points of equal importance and interest.

Conversion; the Theory and Process, practically delineated. By Rev. Theodore Spencer. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, 1854, pp. 408.

This work is written in the form of a dialogue between a pastor and an inquirer. It treats of the elements of moral character in general; the elements of holy, and unholy character; and seems to proceed throughout on the principle that the character of the agent is "determined by that of his ultimate object." The whole book is metaphysical; more a discussion of the principles of ethics than of Christian experience.

A Memoir of Richard Williams, Surgeon; Catechist to the Patagonian Missionary Society, in Terra del Fuego. By James Hamilton, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1854, pp. 255.

Short of communion with Christ and his word, there is nothing more elevating and purifying than the contemplation of a really holy, self-sacrificing man. This book contains the record of such a character, and of one of the most painfully interesting missionary efforts of the present day.

Notes on the Gospels, Critical and Explanatory; Incorporating with the Notes, on a new Plan, the most approved harmony of the four Gospels. By Melancthon W. Jacobus, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pa. Mark and Luke. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1853, pp. 319.

Professor Jacobus's reputation for scholarship and biblical

knowledge is already fully established. This volume is constructed on much the same plan with its predecessor, with which the public are familiar. It presents much valuable matter in a very condensed form.

Homiletics; or, The Theory of Preaching. By A. Vinet, D. D. Translated and Edited by Rev. Thomas K. Skinner, D. D., Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology in the Union Theological Seminary of New York. New York: Ivison & Phinney, 78 Fulton Street, 1854, pp. 524.

A philosophical and practical discussion of the subject of preaching, by one of the first writers of the present century.

The Attractions of the World to Come. By Alfred Bryant, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Niles, Michigan. New York: M. W. Dodd, pp. 308.

The title of this book hardly suits its contents. It treats of the immortality of the soul, the intermediate state, the resurrection, the day of judgment, the nature of future happiness, and the nature of future punishment.

The Lamp and the Lantern; or, Light for the Tent and Traveller. By James Hamilton, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1853, pp. 184.

The Bible and the Scholar, the Bible and the Inquirer, the Bible and the Christian, the Bible and the Invalid, are some of the topics treated of in this little volume, in Dr. Hamilton's peculiar style of glowing feeling and imagination.

Mrs. Ben. Darby; The Weal and Woe of Social Life. By A. Maria Collins. Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach & Keys, 1853, pp. 367.

A Temperance Tale, written on the principle on which the Spartans used to make their Helots drunk to excite disgust. Drunken men and women, drunken scenes, drunken language, that is, the language of drunken men and women, are here presented in every variety of imbecility and coarseness. We do not believe in the Spartan method of teaching morals.

Egeria; or, Voices of Thought and Counsel, for the Woods and Wayside. By W. Gilmore Simms, Esq. Philadelphia: Published by E. H. Butler & Co., 1853.

This is a collection of well written paragraphs on disconnected topics of Morals, Literature, and Life.

The Low Value set on Human Life in the United States. A Discourse Delivered on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 24, 1853. By H. A. Boardman, D. D. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1853.

The evil to the correction of which this eloquent discourse is directed, is one of the most serious blots on our national cha-

racter, and it is a public service of real value, to bring it thus prominently to view.

Letter to His Excellency Governor Manning, on Public Instruction, signed J. H. Thornwell. Columbia, South Carolina, 1853.

This pamphlet reached us too late for perusal. We are, therefore, ignorant of the ground taken by the writer. His reputation and the importance of the subject cannot fail to secure for it general attention.

A System of Moral Science. By Laurens P. Hickok, D.D., Union College, Schenectady. Published by G. Y. Van Debogert. London: John Chapman. 1853. 8vo.

This work seeks, because it is a work of science, first, to determine the general principle of morals; and, secondly, to exhibit the obligations which arise from the application of that principle.

The ultimate rule in morals, is not the law of the state, the revealed will of God, the nature of things, the highest happiness, susceptibility to pride, sympathy, an inner sense, an immediate intuition, but, as the highest good is "*worthiness of spiritual approbation*," the ultimate rule which binds every man is "*to do that, and that only, which is due to his spiritual excellence*." "Every virtue finds here its end. Why he should be benevolent to man, and why reverent towards God, have each the same end—namely, then, and then only, is he acting according to that which is due his spirit, and thus worthy of spiritual approbation." There are, says the author, two kinds of good: "One good is a means to be used for an end, and is thus a *utility*; the other good is an end in itself, and not admitting of use to any further end, and is thus a *dignity*. One good is measured by the happiness it confers as a matter of gratification; the other by the complacency which it confers in the end of its own excellency."

"In personal worthiness, as the end of all action, every claim centres; and in the attainment and preservation of this, all imperatives are satisfied."—"Nothing external can hinder the proposing to myself my highest worthiness, as the ultimate end of my life."—"Solely that I may stand in my own sight as worthy of my own spiritual approbation, is the one motive which can influence in pure morality, and in the complete control of which is the essence of all virtue."

In the above sentences Dr. Hickok's theory of morals is clearly expressed. We rejoice greatly in every new assault on the doctrine that happiness is the highest good, which has done so much to pervert the theology, and to degrade the

moral principles and conduct of so large a portion of our country. Thus far Dr. Hickok has our sympathy and thanks. His own theory, however, is scarcely less dangerous. 1. It is a specious form of self-deification. It is only on the ground that our spirits are forms of the absolute Spirit, that it is intelligible to us, that regard to our dignity is the ultimate end of all right action. If my obligation terminates on myself; if it is solely that "I may stand well in my own sight," that I am bound to be virtuous, then I am God to myself. There may be other spirits over me, *i. e.*, taller than I, human, angelic, or divine; but we are all on a level. However one may tower above the other, they stand on the same ground. They are, in fact, one spirit, and self-reverence is reverence for God. This is the only view in which this theory has for us any meaning. 2. It dissevers, contrary to their nature and contrary to Scripture, morality and piety. If regard for our own dignity is the essence of virtue, then, of course, an atheist may be perfectly virtuous, which is such a limitation of the meaning of the term *virtuous* as to destroy its nature. Dr. Hickok admits, or rather asserts, that all those parts of his system which relate to personal, social, and civil duties, find "their ethical ground and validity independently of the considerations of God's being, and are conclusive in their obligations upon an atheist." This, as we understand the matter, destroys the very nature of morals. What I do out of a regard to my own dignity, can never rise into a sphere of moral excellence. There is on this ground no specific difference between the undignified and the immoral; between folly and wickedness. The very idea of morality is lost, just as effectually (though not in the same disgusting place,) as on the utility system. Morality, moreover, involves of necessity obligation or responsibility. This responsibility is not to society, not to reason, not to ourselves, but to God—and it is that which raises it into a higher sphere, and identifies it with piety in its ultimate principle. Without that principle it ceases even to be virtue, or to have in it the nature of moral excellence. In the Scriptures, therefore, which are not a more perfect revelation of God than they are of our own nature and constitution, all moral obligations are made to terminate on God, and are enforced by considerations drawn from his being, perfections, will, and work. A perfectly virtuous atheist is an association of ideas which could not exist in Scripture. To do a thing because it is right, is as an ultimate, and an infinite higher end, than because it ministers to self-approbation; and into the idea of right and responsibility that of a personal God enters as the soul or the life-blood. According to

Dr. Hickok, even our reverence to God is obligatory only out of regard to our own spirit. In morality and piety, then, the sole motive comes to be, that we may stand well in our own sight as worthy of spiritual approbation. This cannot be, unless men are God, which Dr. Hickok of course denies as clearly and as strenuously as we do.

Voyages from Holland to America, A. D. 1632 to 1644. By David Peter-
son De Vries. Translated from the Dutch, by Henry C. Murphy.
New York, 1853. Quarto, pp. 199.

This elegant volume is dedicated to James Lenox, Esq., of New York, at whose suggestion the work was executed. It is adorned with a fine engraving by Ritchie, of the old navigator, whose labours and achievements it records. The work has a permanent, historical, as well as antiquarian interest. The character of a nation is so much influenced by its founders, that every document which throws light on their history, is valuable to those who come after them. It is an enlightened and liberal spirit which induces men of wealth to secure the publication of such historical records, which without their aid would remain buried out of the sight of the present generation.

NOTE.—The unusual size of our present number leads us to curtail our *Short Notices*, and to omit the mention of several pamphlets to which we should be glad to refer.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

— ENGLAND. —

The Hudson Lowe Correspondence is considered to be of great historical importance, and brings out the fact that O'Meara, the confidential physician of Napoleon, was really the spy upon his actions. In a long series of letters to Fin-laison, (an Admiralty clerk,) the government were made spectators of the fallen Emperor's misery. Sir H. Lowe is proved to have known nothing of this. Mr. Forsyth has done more than edit the correspondence. He has produced an elaborate vindication of the Governor of St. Helena. Opinions vary as to the effect of this book. Some think that it completely

refutes the accusations brought against Sir H. Lowe; others that it has deepened the shades resting upon his character.

The British Jews, by the Rev. John Mills. An able and interesting monograph. Mr. Mills states that there are 30,000 Jews in Great Britain, of whom 25,000 live in London.

Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter, from his Autobiography and Journals. Edited and compiled by Tom Taylor. Haydon was a man of genius and ambition. He aimed, at once, and without proper preliminary studies, for the highest walks of art; and too soon conceiving himself to have attained, demanded of the public applause and support that it was not prepared to give. The result was, that after a life passed between patron and bailiff, he ended years of agony by suicide. The biography, for which there were abundant materials, in twenty-six folio volumes, of Haydon's Journals, is able and discreet.

The first volume of Halliwell's Shakspeare is out. Our readers will remember the pretensions it made to being a complete Shakspeare Encyclopedia. The specimen that Mr. Halliwell has issued contains merely a rehash of what he and others have previously written on the subject.

The History of the Holy, Military, Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem. By John Taafe, Knight Commander of the Order. Sir John Taafe is a romanticist, and his object is to resuscitate the glories of his order; which, he thinks, may be made as serviceable to Christendom now, as when it stood in the van of her armies against Mohammedan aggression.

Some years ago, Sir John Dalrymple published the despatches of Barillon, French Minister to the court of Charles II. In these despatches were lists of sums granted by Louis to the English patriots, Sidney, Russell, and others. This has always been a knotty point with their biographers, who have not scrupled to charge Dalrymple with falsifying. Lord John Russell, when about to write the life of his great ancestor, wished to examine the originals, but was refused permission by the French Government. This was in 1820. Better counsels now prevail; an examination has been permitted, and a note prefixed to the fourth edition of Lord John's work, acknowledges that Dalrymple copied correctly.

The Evangelists of the Desert: a life of Claude Brousson, from original and authentic records, by H. S. Baynes, author of the "Witnesses in Sackcloth." Claude Brousson, an advocate of the Provincial Parliament of Toulouse, became a preacher of the Reformed Church of France, and a martyr to

its doctrines. Mr. Baynes writes with earnestness and ability, and has had access to MSS. and other rare documents.

History of the Byzantine Empire from 716 to 1057. By George Finlay. This work, together with two others previously published, "Greece under the Romans," and "The History of Greece from its Conquest by the Crusaders, to its Conquest by the Turks," forms a complete history of the Greek Empire. Mr. Finlay complains that Gibbon and other historians have neglected "the amount of social well being and civilization, that was secured to the East by the Byzantine Empire, and also the real strength of that rule as a bulwark against the Asiatic barbarians." He asserts that the superior moral tone of society in the Byzantine Empire was one of the great causes of its long duration. These volumes, characterized by solidity and accuracy of learning, deserve a place in the library of every student.

The Fall of Nineveh and the Reign of Sennacherib, chronologically considered, with a view to the re-adjustment of Sacred and Profane Chronology. By J. W. Bousanquet. The position taken by Mr. Bousanquet, who is a man of great learning and speculative skill, is that "the Hebrew Scriptures contain a system of chronology from the date of the birth of Christ, upwards, for a thousand years, if not a considerably longer period, more perfect than can be drawn from the records of any heathen nation, at least as they are at present understood. Mr. Bousanquet thinks that the whole chronology of the Assyrian Empire will soon be fixed with mathematical accuracy.

The third and revised edition of Lord Mahon's History continues the Junius discussion, with apparently some little additional light. He considers, with Macaulay, that Sir Philip Francis was the author.

One year's experiment of the Manchester Free Library has produced this gratifying result: in three hundred days were issued from the lending department 77,648 volumes, and from the reference department 61,488 volumes. This attempt to elevate the working classes was much sneered at, but its success will probably make it the precursor of many like it in Great Britain.

History of the Hellenic Revolution, by Spiridion Tricoupi. The author of this work has been, for many years, the Greek Minister in England, and is favourably known as an orator and diplomatist. The history is able and graphic, and gives rare information. It is written in the Romaic language, and yet is a pleasing proof of the success of the modern Greeks in

purifying their tongue, for it may readily be understood by any one who has read Xenophon.

We have already had more than one occasion to point out, of late, among popular authors in England, on religious and biblical subjects, what we should call dishonest, wholesale plunder of the unacknowledged labours of other men. This trafficking in other men's thoughts, especially by those whom we must regard as capable of thinking for themselves, however complimentary it may be to the real authors, is after all, not quite the thing, for those who are entitled to the profit, as well as to the credit of their learned industry. Our attention has just been called to another instance of the sort, in Hughes's Scripture History and Geography, reprinted by Blanchard and Lea—we presume, of course, without any knowledge on the part of that respectable house, of the literary theft in question. We deem it due, however, to Dr. Coleman, to inform our readers, that between two and three hundred pages of the work are an exact reprint of his Historical Geography of the Bible. We hope all who have occasion to use the careful and valuable researches of Dr. Coleman will do him the justice to consult the true original.

GERMANY.

The promised commentary of Ehrard on the Revelation has appeared. 8vo, pp. 667. It is issued as the seventh volume of Olshausen's Biblical Commentary on the entire Scriptures of the New Testament. The sixth volume is yet wanting to complete the work. From the known ability and independence of Ehrard his views on this difficult part of Scripture will be looked for with interest.

Prof. Augustus Dillman, of Tubingen, is editing an edition of the Ethiopic Old Testament. Portions only of this version have hitherto been published. The Psalms and the New Testament may be found, though with many inaccuracies, in Walton's Polyglott; they have also, as well as the Canticles, and a few parts of other books, been separately published. This publication, designed to make the whole of the Old Testament accessible in this version, which is as yet so little known, will be welcomed by critical scholars, as well as by the Abyssinians, for whose use it is also partly designed. Prof. Dillman has already acquired considerable reputation in Ethiopic literature by previous publications in that language, particularly a critical edition of the book of Enoch, and by translations from it. He has spent, as he informs us, the last six or seven years in

completing his preparations for this work. The sources whence the text of this edition is drawn, are chiefly four:—a MS., preserved in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society at London; another in that of the University at Halle, and two others brought from Abyssinia, respectively by Bruce and by Rüppell. The first, containing eight books—from Genesis to Ruth—is supposed to represent the best and purest text. The second is a copy made by J. H. Michaelis, from a MS. which was itself copied by Wansleben from one in the possession of Ethiopian monks at Rome. The coincidence of its text with that of the first, having palpable errors of transcription, led him to suspect, that the original, from which it was taken, is identical with that of the Bible Society; but, as there is no record whence that was brought, or how it was obtained, there are no means for verifying this conjecture. The MS. of Bruce contains the Pentateuch, that of Rüppell the book of Enoch, Job, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. The former is in the Bodleian library at Oxford, the latter in the public library at Frankfort. These have all been carefully compared throughout, and their various readings, when of the slightest consequence, have been noted. A comparison has also been made with the LXX., with the view of determining the character of the text which it represents, and the ability with which it is made. The views of the editor are to be presented more at large upon these subjects, as well as upon the age and authors of the version, in the prolegomena to the whole work. The present issue contains Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus; 4to, pp. 228 of text, and pp. 118, of critical apparatus, and costs five thalers. A second is to contain Numbers and Deuteronomy, and a third Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, completing the first volume. The whole is to be finished in five volumes.

The second and third numbers of the Condensed Exegetical Manual to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, contain the books of Tobit and Judith, explained by O. F. Fritzsche, 8vo. pp. 211, and the first book of Maccabees explained by C. L. W. Grimm, pp. 235. Three numbers yet remain to be issued; the fourth is to contain the other books of Maccabees; the fifth, the fourth book of Ezra and Wisdom, and the sixth Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.

Bertheau on the Chronicles is nearly through the press. It is to appear as the 15th number of the Exegetical Manual to the Old Testament.

F. H. Reusch, Explanation of the book of Baruch, 8vo. pp. 279. 1 th. 2 ngr.

H. Hupfeld, The sources of Genesis and the mode of their

composition, 8vo. pp. 224; a reprint, it is presumed, of his article on this subject in Schneider's German Journal for Christian Science.

Rabbi B. H. Auerbach, Text-book of the Religion of Israel, from the sources with important explanatory remarks. 8vo. pp. 151. 12 ngr.

L. Reinke, Contributions to the Explanation of the Old Testament. This, which is the second volume issued by the author under this title, contains a general introduction to the Prophecies of the Old Testament, two exegetical and historical treatises, and remarks supplementary to the first volume. 8vo. pp. 584. 2 th. 8 ngr.

C. F. Keil, Text-book of historico-critical Introduction to the canonical books of the Old Testament. 8vo. pp. 744. 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ th. We are glad to see so convenient a manual on this subject from such excellent hands. Keil is a pupil and admirer of Hengstenberg, and though not often original or striking, this is compensated by the soundness of his sentiments and the accuracy of his scholarship. It is thrown into the historical form, a mode of treating this subject rendered popular by Hupfeld, Credner and Reuss, who respectively claim the priority of the idea.

Guericke has enlarged his Introduction to the New Testament, thrown it likewise into the historical form, and issued it as the Complete History of the New Testament. 8vo. pp. 722. 3 th. He divides it into, 1. The preparatory history. 2. The history of the origin of the New Testament, both generally and specially. 3. The history of the collection of the New Testament, or of the Canon. 4. History of the preservation of the New Testament, or of the text. 5. History of its spread, or versions. 6. History of its exposition.

Three more books have appeared from the pen of Noack, of the philosophical faculty at Geissen, Christian Mysticism, 8vo. pp. 683; Biblical Theology, 8vo. pp. 392; Free Thinkers in Religion, Part I., 8vo. pp. 393. The stand-point of the writer is sufficiently indicated by the full title of the last named publication—"Freethinkers in Religion, or the Representatives of religious enlightenment in England, France, and Germany." The present volume is devoted to England, and gives in order the views of Herbert, Hobbes, Blount, and so on, down to Hume. His Biblical Theology is just what, after the preceding statement, was to be expected. The last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, Joel, and Obadiah, are put down under the Chaldee period; the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Proverbs, &c., under the Persian period; Jonah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel

in the times of the Maccabees; the Gospels and the Acts about A. D. 260. What confidence would be placed in a history of Greek Literature, conducted on similar principles, in which Homer was assigned to the age of Alexander of Macedon, and Herodotus put after the Roman conquest, we leave to judges to say. The work first named undertakes to give the history of Christian Mysticism during and since the middle ages.

F. X. Patritii, *de Evangelii libri III.* 2 vols. 4to. pp. 1155.

B. Gams, *History of the Church of Christ in the Nineteenth Century.* Likewise a continuation of the Church History of Berault-Berestel in a complete abstract to the present time. Vol. I. No. 2. 8vo. pp. 161-320.

H. Heppe, *History of German Protestantism, from 1551 to 1581.* The second vol. 8vo. pp. 639. 2 5-6 th., embraces twelve years, 1563-74.

F. C. Schlosser, *History of the eighteenth century and of the nineteenth, to the fall of the French Empire.* Vol. III., fourth edition, improved throughout. 8vo. pp. 566. 2 1/2 th.

Posthumous writings of Charles Hesselberg, with his biography. 8vo. pp. 329. 1 1/2 th. This promising young theologian was a son of Henry Hesselberg, the commentator on the minor Prophets, and was carried off by the cholera on the same day with his father in the summer of 1848, aged twenty-two years. Prof. Kurtz and Philippi, of Dorpat, speak of him in letters to Delitzsch in the strongest terms both of attachment and admiration. His treatise on Tertullian particularly is spoken of as evincing great ability.

Communications of the Antiquarian Society in Zurich. Vol. 8, No. 3. Continuation of the History of Zurich Abbey. 4to. pp. 170. 2 th. 16 ngr.

Tholuck, *Preparatory History (Vorgeschichte) of Rationalism.* Part I., The Academic life of the seventeenth century with special reference to the Protestant Theological Faculties of Germany. The first division of this part, 8vo. pp. 327, 1 3/4 th., contains an account of the universities as ecclesiastical institutions for education, the government of the universities, their laws, teachers and students.

G. Volkmar, on Justin Martyr, and his relation to our gospels. 8vo. pp. 52. 12 ngr.

J. P. Lange, *History of the Church.* Part I., Vol. I. The apostolic age. 8vo, pp. 373. 1 th. 24 ngr.

A Hilgenfeld, *The Apostolic Fathers, Investigations into the contents and origin of the writings preserved under their names.* 8vo. pp. 311. 2 th.

F. Maassen, The Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, and the old patriarchal churches. A contribution to the history of Hierarchy, especially to the explanation of the sixth canon of the first General Council of Nice. 8vo. pp. 144. 18 ngr.

The twelfth volume of Ritter's History of Philosophy has appeared, forming the eighth of the History of Christian Philosophy, and the fourth of the History of Modern Philosophy. 8vo. pp. 652. 3 th. 6 ngr.

The second division has been issued of the first volume of Kurtz's Church History. New edition, 8vo. pp. 546. It extends from Constantine the Great to the second Trullan Council.

Hase's Life of Jesus has reached a fourth edition. 8vo. pp. 233. 1½ th.

Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ in epitomen redactus. Curavit H. A. Daniel. Vol. IV., No. 1. Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ orientalis. 8vo. pp. 324. 2 th. 8 ngr.

F. C. Baur, Christianity and the Christian Church of the first three centuries. 8vo. pp. 504. (Tübingen.) 2½ th.

J. Döllinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, or the Roman Church in the first half of the third century. With reference to the writings and treatises of Bunsen, Wordsworth, Baur, and Gieseler. 8vo. pp. 358. 1½ th.

Thilo has commenced editing a *Bibliotheca dogmatica* of the Greek fathers. The first volume, 8vo, pp. 1006, 6½ th., contains select dogmatic works of Athanasius, with a preface by Thilo, and the interpretation and annotations of Montfaucon.

E. Eyth, Review of the World's History from the Christian stand-point. 8vo. pp. 250. ½ th.

H. Rückert, History of the Culture of the Germans at the time of their transition from heathenism to Christianity. In two parts. Part I. 8vo. pp. 354. 2 th.

W. Wachsmuth, History of the Political Parties of Ancient and Modern Times. Vol. I. Political Parties of Antiquity. 8vo. pp. 424. 2 th. 8 ngr.

W. Reithmeier, Flowers of the Latin Fathers, and Ecclesiastical Hymns. 8vo. pp. 381. 1 th.

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THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

APRIL, 1854.

No. II.

ART. I.—*Modern Explanations of the Doctrine of Inability.*

The Inability of the Sinner to comply with the Gospel, his inexcusable guilt in not complying with it, and the consistency of these with each other, illustrated, in two discourses on John vi. 44. By John Smalley, D. D. New York: 1811.

THIS little treatise has long been accounted standard among those who attach importance to the distinction between natural and moral inability, which it elaborately explains and vindicates. It is for the most part characterized by candour and good judgment. It clearly and ably sets forth much important truth. If we were to indicate objections to it, we should call in question certain portions of it, which seem to represent the inability of the sinner as being of the same sort as that of a man to perform any outward act, which he is no way unable, but simply indisposed to do. (pp. 10, 11.)

These instances, however, are few, and aside of the main drift of the treatise. The grand principle which it maintains and successfully vindicates, is that men labour under a real inability to obey the gospel; that this inability is moral, and therefore culpable, yet not, for this reason, any the less real and invincible, except by divine grace. A still more material

fault is a mistaken, or defective, or confused view, (we hardly can say which) of the nature of sinful blindness and spiritual illumination. (pp. 42 et seq.) Just views on this subject are obviously necessary to any clear and complete analysis of man's inability. With these abatements, many important things are said, and well said, in these sermons, by the author, who was among the most judicious and weighty of the circle commonly known as the New England divines. He protested ably and earnestly against the extravaganzas of Emmons. He contributed largely to give the distinction of natural and moral inability that prominence which it has had in American theology.

The peculiar prominence which this distinction has obtained among us, has given rise and currency to opinions in relation to it equally peculiar, especially in certain sections, and among certain theological coteries of this country. It is the boast of those who make the most of it, that it was born into the light, not merely in these United States, but in a province of them, whence it has irradiated our land; or, at all events, that its true import and uses have here first been duly developed; that what is American in it constitutes its value, and is entitled to the support of all good Americans, surely of all loyal New Englanders.

For ourselves, we have long ago learned to distrust, and jealously scrutinize all opinions in theology that are merely national, provincial, or sectional in their origin or prevalence. We look with especial jealousy upon theological provincialisms, in reference to subjects like that in question, which touch the very vitals of Christian experience. In regard to these, all Christians are of necessity, as to all that is essential, illuminated by the Spirit and guided by the word of God. A merely casual, local, and variable type of doctrine, on a subject which enters as an integral element into all our conceptions of sin and grace, has not one chance in a thousand of being true, if it be either opposed to the doctrine steadfastly held by the great body of the people of God of all ages and nations, or if it has been unknown or ignored by the Church as a whole. If a given opinion in relation to this class of subjects, be merely a German, or French, or English, or American opinion,

and that too of recent origin, while it is disowned by the great mass of the saints of all ages and nations, the most formidable presumptions lie against it. That cannot be a part of the faith of God's elect, which is unknown to, or repudiated by God's elect. If it prevail for a while in variable forms among the Christians of some province, or denomination, or party, it is much more likely to prove some casual eddy in the stream of doctrine, deflected for the time by some temporary barrier, out of its true course, than to be in the true current, which has its sources in the Infinite Mind. So far as any views of essential Christian doctrine are local, temporary, provincial, idiosyncratic, they are likely to prove false. Those which have commanded the assent of enlightened Christians as a whole, will survive all occasional opposition or neglect. They are catholic doctrines held by the true Church catholic and universal. The gates of hell shall not prevail against them.

In regard to the subject of the discourses at the head of this article, we suppose that all who come within the outermost verge of evangelical doctrine agree,

1. That man by the fall did not lose any of the faculties or capabilities that are essential to manhood. The essential properties of human nature inhere in every human being, fallen or unfallen, regenerate or unregenerate.
2. That by the fall, human nature, in all of the race, has been corrupted, without being destroyed, and that this corruption infects not the essence of the soul, but only the moral state and working of its faculties and powers.
3. That this corruption of nature involves an inability, of some sort at least, to good, to right moral action, and especially to self-purification or renovation.
4. That this inability is moral, as arising wholly from moral corruption, and pertaining exclusively to our moral nature and state; that it is therefore our sin, and so in the highest sense culpable and worthy of condemnation.
5. That, therefore, this inability is no excuse for the non-performance of any duty for which it disables us, much less for itself, since it is itself the most fundamental, fonsal sin.
6. That the only inability which excuses a failure to fulfil any command that would otherwise be binding, is such as dis-

ables for it when the moral state is itself right; and which no degree or perfection of holiness could remove. It is an obstacle or hinderance that would render it impossible, were we as sinless as the man Christ Jesus. Thus it is agreed that a man cannot justly be required to lift a mountain, or a child or idiot to govern a nation with prudence and success; neither can they be properly blamed for failing to do these things. And this for the obvious reason, that were they as holy as Gabriel, they have not the faculties or powers which render it possible.

While this comprehends the substance of that wherein there is agreement, so, justly understood, it comprehends the substance of what is true and important on the subject. But the principal diversities of opinion in respect to it, arise from diverse conceptions of the meaning of those little but important words, "moral" and "sin," and so of the phrases moral corruption, moral inability, moral state, sinful corruption, &c. And here the chief Americanisms in this branch of theology lie.

It is undisputed that, in fallen man, sin is co-extensive with his moral nature; and that if we determine what is properly included in his moral nature, we determine the extent of his sin and moral corruption: or if, starting from his sinfulness, we ascertain its extent, we shall also thus define the limits of his moral nature, and hence the true reach of his moral corruption and inability.

To the question, What is sin? our received translation of the Bible answers, and, as far as it goes, answers right, "sin is the transgression of the law." The original Greek, thus translated, however, answers, Sin is *avoluta*, i. e., lawlessness—which includes not only a positive overleaping of, but a failure to come up to, the law—most exactly rendered in the definition of the Shorter Catechism: "Sin is *any want of conformity unto*, or transgression of the law of God." Nor do we know of any who object to this definition. But one important school of theologians practically ignore it, when they insist that moral quality pertains only to acts done in conscious violation of known law, and in support of this dogma, triumphantly quote the text, "sin is the transgression of the law." It is plain,

that if sin be "any want of conformity to the law," all other questions implicated with this subject depend for solution on this: "What does the law require?" All will agree that the obedience it requires is a moral obedience; and that in the light of its demands, we can surely learn the extent of our non-conformity to it, of our moral corruption, and our inability to keep it. "By the law is the knowledge of sin."

Before proceeding directly to answer this question, it will assist us better to understand the *status quaestionis* for our present purposes, if we just bring to view some of the chief varieties of opinion as to the requirements of that law, which is exceeding broad. For it will be found that this is one of those sources from which the more important divergent currents in theology take their rise. Superficial views of sin and grace, and of the whole circle of Christian doctrine, always involve low conceptions of the divine law, and sooner or later, of God its Author.

A numerous class restrict moral quality and responsibility to acts of the soul committed in view of known law. Of these again, some contend that the only acts which can be sinful or holy, are of the nature of a purpose or determination to pursue a given course or object, formed by a power of choice with a supposed power of contrary choice, and which the soul can therefore make or unmake at any moment. With such theorists, of course, moral inability means simply, that the sinner at present purposes to sin, but may at any instant, when he shall see cause, form a counter purpose, and thus make himself holy. That is, it means nothing at all. It is as clear a misnomer and fraud, as it would be to say that one who can walk, but will not, is unable to walk. Those who adopt this view, hold that the wayward desires and depraved lusts of men are innocent constitutional propensities, void of moral character, except so far as they are sanctioned, or gratified, or fostered by the acts of the faculty of choice and contrary choice just mentioned. This, they say, exclusively constitutes the will and the subject of moral responsibility in man. But there are few who can persuade themselves that no merit or demerit attaches to the desires and preferences of the soul, until they have ripened into deliberate purposes. On

the contrary, they know full well, that all such purposes are prompted by these spontaneous inclinations of the soul, are formed to gratify them, and derive their character from them.

Another and much larger class, therefore, say that the law of God extends to these spontaneous exercises of desire, longing, or preference, with reference to moral objects—whatever the law requires or forbids. They pronounce not merely the purpose to do evil, but the lusting for it, sinful. And they are surely right, according to Scripture, conscience, and the universal and intuitive judgments of mankind. For, says Paul, “I had not known sin, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet.” But many who go thus far, restrict all moral quality, and so all sin, to the exercises of the soul. They deny that those states of the soul which dispose it to sinful exercises, whether of desire or purpose, are themselves sinful. At all events, they deny that any innate habits or dispositions, which are not the product of its own exercises, possess this character. Yet, as it is a familiar fact of consciousness, that men cannot at pleasure, by any mere purpose, or fiat of will, reverse the current of their affections and desires, it is evident that moral inability in the mouths of such men, may mean a real inability.

But the Scriptures, and the Christian Church as a whole, take a deeper view of human sinfulness. They pronounce not only the *exercises* of man’s whole optative faculty sinful, but also the innate *moral disposition or habits whence these exercises proceed*. The streams are like the fountain as to their essential quality. It cannot plausibly be denied, that by the words, *flesh, carnal mind, old man, corrupt tree, evil heart, heart of stone*, the sacred writers mean, and the great body of Christians have always meant, something more than an evil choice, or exercise of desire. They signify that native principle or habit of soul, which develops itself in desires, purposes and acts of enmity to God. It is no less certain that they represent what is condemned as sinful in the Bible. The old man is declared “corrupt according to deceitful lusts.” “The tree is known by its fruit,” and hence pronounced “corrupt.” The heart is “evil,” “desperately wicked.” Hence

we are “by nature children of wrath.” “That which is born of the flesh is flesh.” This “fault and corruption of every man’s nature” is declared to be sin, which “deserveth God’s wrath,” by the unanimous voice of the Protestant confessions.

But among those who are agreed thus far, a question still remains, as to the extent and manner in which the intellect is implicated in man’s moral state and exercises, and so in his sin and corruption. It has been the common doctrine of the Church, as shown in her confessions, that the whole soul, the heart and the mind, the will and the intellect, the optative, emotional and cognitive faculties are contaminated, and that this corruption pervades his “whole nature.” Hence spiritual illumination has ever been held to be a primary element in man’s regeneration. But there is a large class of casuists, who contend that no operations or states of the intellect involve any moral character or responsibility, except so far as the products of the will. They divide the soul, as if it were two different entities, one percipient and intelligent, the other elective. To the latter alone, they contend, does moral quality directly pertain. To the former it attaches only mediately, as its state and acts may be produced by the latter. They say that the will first chooses or refuses, the heart first loves or hates an object; and then, in consequence of such love or hatred, the mind sees a corresponding beauty or deformity in it. Hence the perceptions or judgments of the mind, in regard to moral and spiritual objects, have a moral character, not as they determine, but as they are determined by, the will and affections. But there is in reality no ground for such a partition of the human soul. It is not two, but one. It is not in one part corrupt, in another part incorrupt. The will and the intellect cannot be divorced. Every choice and desire supposes a prior apprehension of the qualities of the object chosen or desired. They are but the motions of the soul toward an object which it first sees to be desirable. As in all æsthetic exercises there is a perception of beauty or deformity, attended by a corresponding feeling of pleasure or disgust; so in all moral exercises there is perception of that in moral objects which pleases or displeases, attracts or repels the soul, and so evokes a correspondent

feeling, desire, or purpose. Edwards's great principle is, that "the will is as the greatest apparent good." This cannot be plausibly disputed. Thus, the intellect, heart and will are interblended in all moral acts. This none call in question. The only question is, which takes the lead. This is sufficiently answered, when we say that man is a rational being. He first, at least in the order of nature, sees, then chooses and desires. He does not first desire and choose at hazard, and then see by virtue of his choice. Such aimless and irrational exercises could have no more of a moral character or accountability, than the most fortuitous motions of an idiot.

But it is strenuously objected, that this view destroys moral responsibility, because it makes the acts of the will dependent upon the perceptions of the intellect. To this we answer, 1. In point of fact the exercises of the will or heart are not independent of the views of the intellect. This every man is taught by his own consciousness. And he knows equally well, that he is responsible for these exercises. If they were unaffected by the perceptions of the mind, they would be irrational, and therefore irresponsible. 2. As we have already said, we do not acknowledge such a division in the human soul, as that one part is pure, the other impure; the moral perceptions holy, the desires and choices resulting from them unholy. The human soul is one thinking, willing substance. The will and heart are somewhat in all moral perceptions. The intellect is somewhat in all desires and choices. Our consciousness teaches us that these are inseparable. We cannot say then, that the cognitive faculties are pure, while the will is the only sinner. But it is the one intelligent and voluntary soul, the whole man, judging, inclining, willing, acting wickedly, that is sinful.

And here we may safely appeal to the decisions of conscience, and the intuitive judgments of the human race. Men not only know that it is impossible to love or choose what is not first seen to be in some respect desirable or lovely, but they fix responsibility and guilt upon perverse moral judgments, with as much certainty as upon any acts of the soul. Any one who is blind to the beauty of moral excellence, in whose view virtue is odious, and vice attractive, mankind inevi-

tably and unavoidably pronounce a bad man. They attach the deepest guilt to all such moral judgments. He who judges prayer fanatical and loathsome, and profanity harmless and pleasant, therein commits foul iniquity. Our responsibility, therefore, for the character of our moral perceptions and judgments, *i. e.*, in reference to things morally good or evil, is past all doubt. As to our knowledge or opinions in regard to things morally indifferent, of whatever kind, that is another affair, and has nothing to do with the subject in hand. The reason why there is guilt in being blind to the excellence and binding nature of moral truths, is the same that renders ignorance of all moral obligation inexcusable. Moral truths shine in their own light, and are their own evidence. If any see them not, they give the most decisive proof of being morally corrupt.

3. But what is still more conclusive evidence of the truth of what we have advanced on this subject, is the uniform current of scriptural teaching in regard to it. One way in which the Holy Spirit sets forth the aversion of men to Christ, is that to their eyes there is "no form, nor comeliness," "no beauty" in him, that they "should desire him." If such is the reason why they have no desire for the one altogether lovely, are they, or are they not, held responsible for it? "Woe to them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness." Light is universally represented as the element of purity, just as darkness is represented as the element of corruption. This is the condemnation of men, that they "love darkness rather than light."

As to the natural blindness of fallen man, there is no subject on which the Scripture is more emphatic. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, * * neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Not that he may not discern much about them. He can see, to a certain extent, their meaning in a speculative sense. But he sees not their most vital part, their moral excellence and spiritual beauty, which alone can attract the heart. The crucifiers of Christ saw everything but the glory of his divine excellence, and therefore they crucified him, not knowing what they did, "for had they known it, they would not have crucified the

Lord of glory." But was not this very ignorance their sin? Under a similar infatuation, Paul verily thought that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. But because he did it "ignorantly and in unbelief," was he therefore innocent, and in no need of mercy? The sacred writers constantly represent deceit, especially self-deceit, as one of the elements of sin. They tell us of the "deceitfulness of sin," the "deceivableness of unrighteousness," of the "old man which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts." Is this deceit sinless? "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked."

Corresponding to this sinful blindness, is the work assigned to the Spirit in regeneration. It is just as surely, and just as far a work of illumination, as of purification. It opens our eyes to behold wondrous things out of God's law, to "behold the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." It calls out of darkness into God's marvellous light. It is an unction from the Holy One, whereby we know all things, even the things that are freely given us of God. As it is eternal life to know God and Jesus Christ, so the Spirit in regeneration and sanctification is a "spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of God; the eyes of our understanding being enlightened that we may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power."

An effort is sometimes made to break the overwhelming force of scriptural testimony on these subjects, and to prop the theory, that moral quality attaches only to the optative and not to the cognitive exercises, by reference to the fact, that the Scriptures sometimes ascribe this spiritual blindness and illumination to the heart. This argues, it is said, that the blindness and illumination exist, first, in the perversity or rectitude of the will, and only mediately in the understanding, as that is controlled by the will. In our view, however, it proves just opposite; or rather, it proves that the Scriptures contemplate just what we have insisted on, viz., that there is no dualism in the human soul; that in all exercises of the heart, the action of the intellect is also implied, and that in all the moral per-

ceptions of the intellect, the inclinations, the likes and dislikes of the heart are awakened. The mind perceiving, the heart desiring or choosing, are but one and the same soul perceiving, desiring, and choosing a given object. All its faculties, when exercised with reference to these objects, are implicated with each other. Hence such phraseology as the "thoughts of the heart," and the "desires of the mind," abound in the Bible. "The carnal mind is enmity against God." And in like manner the heart is deceitful. In accordance with this usage, the Scriptures speak of the blindness of the heart, and of the Holy Spirit shining into the heart, of believing with the heart, and of the willing mind.

If the Bible pronounces the mind, it also declares the conscience, "defiled." In truth, conscience is but the mind judging of moral actions or states as right or wrong, guilty or innocent. Though least of all our faculties corrupted by the fall, it is still more or less disordered.

Thus moral defilement pervades the whole inner man in all its parts and faculties; and original sin is no less than the "corruption of his whole nature," whereby he is "indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good."

This "whole nature" of course includes the body itself, so far as it is implicated in our moral state or conduct. That the body is corrupted by the fall, so far as it is made subject to weakness, pain and death, is among the most familiar facts. That it is so united to the soul that they have a powerful, though mysterious, reciprocal influence, is equally evident and familiar. We know that many states of the body are antagonistic to moral and spiritual excellence, and that it is in many respects an organ, or instrument of the soul, in sympathy with it. There are likewise some moral states that pertain more immediately to the body than the soul, although the soul is implicated in them, and so far lends itself to them, as to contract their purity or impurity. Who can doubt this, that remembers that he who looketh on a woman to lust after her hath already committed adultery in his heart? That gluttony and drunkenness are heinous sins, which exclude from the kingdom of God? We are required to yield our members as instruments of righteousness to God, and forbidden to yield them as

instruments of unrighteousness to sin. The corruption which wars against grace, is styled a "law in the members warring against the law of the mind." Of course these scriptural statements are not to be interpreted as metaphysical formulas. They, however, indicate the well known fact that the body, within certain limits, contributes to, or concurs in, our moral states and acts. What we mean to say is, that, so far as it is in this or any other way implicated with our moral being, it partakes, to the full extent, of its corruption, which is a corruption of the whole nature. The eyes are full of adultery, the poison of asps is under the lips, the feet are swift on errands of evil. In its impulses and propensities, it serves the flesh, lusting against the Spirit. And so the process of sanctification reaches "body, soul and spirit," and in pursuing it we are required to "keep the body in subjection," to "mortify the deeds of the body," through the Spirit, that we may live.

If such be the extent of man's moral corruption, pervading his whole nature and defiling all his faculties, inducing blindness of mind, impurity in the affections, perverseness in the will, defilement in the conscience, pollution in the body, so far that it at once inflames and obeys wicked lusts, the question, whether man has ability to deliver himself without grace from this bondage to corruption, answers itself. He cannot. His inability is indeed a moral inability; it consists in and arises from his moral depravation, and from nothing else. It consists not in the want of any natural faculties or outward opportunities for the discharge of his duty. It would vanish if he were holy. But although it be moral, it is none the less real, entire and absolute.

We find that we have virtually answered the question, What does the law of God require? in handling the different views held on the subject, in different quarters. We have thus been led to show in detail what it requires, and that it is exceeding broad. But the fundamental principle of it, as set forth by our Saviour, covers the whole ground. It requires us to love God with all the heart, soul, mind and strength. This surely shows that all the faculties of the soul, intelligent and voluntary, yea, all the powers, the "strength" of our being, that are capable of contributing to, or participating in this affection, or

of obeying its dictates, must be enlisted in the service. We need not say how distant from this are the affections which in fact absorb the whole soul and strength of fallen man.

Nor is the Bible less explicit and manifold in its assertion of the utter inability of corrupt nature to purify itself, and turn to God. "The carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. So then they that are in the flesh, cannot please God." "No man can come to me, except the Father who hath sent me draw him." These passages so plainly assert an inability beyond the control of the will, that we have often known the advocates of ability try to evade them by the pretext, that they mean simply, that while a man remains a sinner he cannot be a saint. It is a sufficient reply, that the whole Church of God have understood them otherwise, according to their natural obvious import to every mind that has not some counter theory to maintain. This natural import of these words is verified in the consciousness of the Church, and of every man who has a Christian experience. Withal, to ascribe to the Holy Spirit the use of language, to express a senseless tautology and barren truism, which has misled the friends of God in all generations on a fundamental point, savours more of profaneness than of exegesis. But the obvious meaning of these passages is abundantly confirmed by all the representations of the Bible, which show man to be in bondage to sin, spiritually blind, dead in sin, and so requiring to be delivered out of this bondage of corruption, to have his understanding enlightened, to be born again, or raised to spiritual life by the Holy Ghost, by "the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead!"

If all this does not convey the idea of a real inability to holiness in fallen man, then language is incapable of doing it; the Bible, as an attempt to reveal the truth of God to men, is a failure; the Church has been misled by it in a vital point, and infidelity will have new occasion for boasting and exultation. It will not be denied that the creeds of all the great branches of the Christian Church, go at least as far as the Anglican Church, Art. X. "The condition of man after the

fall of Adam, is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God: wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will."

Of course, such a doctrine is in the highest degree unpalatable to the carnal mind. That there should have arisen, in all ages, the most dexterous and persistent efforts to evade or emasculate it, was a matter of course. Plausible objections to it have always been abundant and cheap. But it still remains the faith of the innumerable throng of God's people. If some of them disown it, when arraigned at the bar of their "philosophy falsely so called," they all confess it on their knees before God.

The objections to this doctrine, although variously stated, virtually resolve themselves into this: that men cannot justly be commanded to do, or blamed or punished for not doing, what they are unable to do. How then can a just God require them to repent and exercise faith, and punish them for impenitence and unbelief, if they are unable to obey the command? To this the unanswerable reply is, that they labour under no inability but their sin, and which does not disappear the moment their sin disappears. Nothing is required of them which they could not do, and would not do, if they were morally good. Can sin then be its own excuse, because it perpetuates itself, and disables for its own destruction? If so, there is an end of all blame and guilt. Moreover, this state of the soul, although a bondage, is a willing bondage, which it freely adopts. He who committeth sin, is the servant of sin. Although there may be in some cases a desire to be rid of it, on account of the punishment it incurs, there is a preponderating love of sin in the ruling bias of the soul, so that, if it acts freely, it still cleaves to sin. And herein lies the essence and peculiarity of its bondage. As Augustin says, the soul, is "both bond and free, and bond because free." In other words, the inability is moral, but none the less entire and absolute. And the more complete it is, the deeper is the guilt, for the deeper is the sin. How can it be otherwise? Is

it not the universal judgment of men, that the guilt of sinful propensities increases instead of lessening, in proportion to their strength and obduracy?

It is alleged that it is contrary to the goodness of God to bring men into being with a corrupt character, which they are unable to remove, and to hold them blamable and punishable for it and its workings. It is a sufficient reply to this, so far as our present purpose is concerned, that if sin exists, and in such strength as to be invincible except by divine grace, then it is the universal dictate of conscience, that it is in its own nature culpable and guilty, whatever may have been its origin. The sinful states and acts of free moral agents, are ill-deserving in themselves, whatever influences or agencies may have contributed to produce them. The relation of the Most High to the fall of man and the origin of evil, is another and independent subject, presenting its own problems and methods of solution. But they are aside of the case in hand.

Probably the efforts which many have made to explain or attenuate this doctrine, have been prompted for the most part by a desire to free it from the embarrassment which they suppose it occasions, in exhorting sinners to obey the gospel. They wish to take out of their mouths the stale excuse, "It is useless for us to attempt to do what we cannot do. And if we cannot do it, how are we to blame for not doing it?" This was the leading impulse with Pelagius, whose views and arguments have reappeared in all the assaults made upon the doctrine in later times. Says Neander, "on this principle, and from this point of view, he denied that there was any such thing as a corruption of human nature, which had grown out of the fall. Such a doctrine appeared to him but *a means of encouraging human indolence—a means of excuse supplied to the hands of vicious men.* The question which had from the first occupied the profound mind of Augustin—the question concerning the origin of sin in man—could not be attended with so much difficulty to the more superficial mind of Pelagius. This was no enigma for him; it seemed to him a thing perfectly natural that there should be moral evil. *The necessary condition to the existence of moral good, is the possibility of evil.* Evil and good are alike to be derived from free-

will, which either yields to the seductions of sense, or overcomes it." This single passage contains the radical principles of New-school improvements in theology, and, indeed, of all the arguments we have ever met with, for attenuating or rejecting the doctrines of grace.

As to this complaint, that the doctrine of the sinner's inability arms him with excuses, discourages moral effort, and embarrasses Christian teachers in their instructions and exhortations to the unregenerate, several things are to be said.

1. If a given doctrine is proved true by incontestable evidence, it is no argument against it, that the wicked abuse it to harden themselves in sin. There are few evangelical truths against which this objection will not lie. Certainly it will lie against the doctrines of grace. The pretence of "continuing in sin that grace may abound," is as old as the gospel. A doctrine of grace which the wicked could not "turn into lasciviousness," "wrest to their own destruction," and make "a savour of death unto death," would thereby prove itself not to be the doctrine of the Bible.

2. All facts show that this doctrine is not unfriendly to moral improvement. The saints, the excellent of the earth, have always held, that of themselves they were unable to keep the commands of God. On this basis they have conducted their moral and spiritual culture. They have ceased from themselves and gone to Christ. They have made the most strenuous and successful efforts known among men to advance in holiness. An objection contradicted by all facts must be false.

3. The whole method of evangelical culture proceeds on the principle—not of arousing men to a consciousness of their own goodness, or strength to become good—but of their own corruption, weakness, and utter insufficiency of themselves to do works acceptable to God; and so, of persuading them to look wholly to the grace of God in Christ, that in him they may find righteousness for guilt, holiness for sin, and strength for weakness. It is so far from being true, that men can be stimulated to seek gospel holiness by a consciousness of their own strength, that, in such a state of mind, they cannot comprehend it, much less pursue it. The most that they can do with

such superficial and delusive views, is to disguise their disease. They will never apply the remedy. The whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. They can be strong only in the Lord and the power of his might. And this is possible only when they are sensible of their weakness. It is one great business of the preacher to bring them to this consciousness; the opposite persuasion is fatal to his success. When they are weak, then, and then only, are they strong. Then only is it possible to obey the gospel, or pursue evangelical holiness, when we know full well that we are not sufficient for anything as of ourselves; our sufficiency is of God; that without Christ we can do nothing; through him strengthening us, we can do all things; and so, emptied of self, go to Christ for all—wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. And in this conviction alone shall we render to God due gratitude and honour for our salvation, from first to last; from his first election of us as vessels of mercy, to our final entrance into glory; so that it shall be in all its parts to the praise of the glory of his grace.

Among those who have been led to attenuate or do away the inability of man, by the same practical interest, which prompted Pelagius to deny it entirely, two principal forms of opinion may be found. 1. A large class admit that man's nature is not only corrupted, but disabled, by the fall. But they suppose that such impotence to good, and subjection to condemnation, by nature, implies an obligation on the part of God to repair these effects of the original apostacy. In other words, if there be any meaning in the theory, God is bound to remedy his own injustice; an idea which refutes itself. A great number contend that he does this, by providing the sacrament of baptism, which, by an *opus operatum* efficacy, washes away the guilt of original sin, and implants a germ of spiritual life, which is capable of being developed by the efforts of the person baptized. Thus, potentially at least, man's forfeited power to good is restored. Such, in substance, is the theory of ritualists. To say nothing of the denial of special and sovereign grace involved in this scheme, and of its antagonism to spiritual religion, how does it afford any relief with respect to the unbaptized, if the natural corruption and

impotence of man by the fall, involve any injustice on the part of God? Another and very large class say, that, although human nature is thus fallen into sin, guilt, and moral impotence, yet common grace is given to every man, through the redemption of Christ, by which this disability is removed, and he has full power to make himself holy—many say, perfect. Wide of the truth as these two schemes are, and distempered as are the types of religious life to which they give rise, nevertheless they agree in asserting the native moral corruption and impotence of man, and the impossibility of its removal, except by a supernatural work of grace. This is therefore the catholic doctrine of christendom. They, however, neutralize it, in great part, by the doctrine of universal grace, or grace co-extensive with baptism, a grace, nevertheless, dependent on the will of man for its efficacy. On this system, it is not God, but the Christian, that makes himself to differ from others, and grace is no more grace. Religion becomes superficial, outward, unspiritual; ritualism, formalism, fanaticism, or a graceless, self-righteous morality. Most of these, with other still graver objections, lie against another favourite scheme of many, viz., that God has lowered the demands of his law in accommodation to man's corruption.

The other method of invalidating this great truth, is chiefly American in its origin and prevalence, and has but a slight currency in other parts of christendom. It takes for its first standpoint, that element of truth which is denied by the systems we have just been considering, viz., that whatever be the moral state of fallen man by nature, it is not such as to impeach God's justice, or to impose any obligation upon him to remedy its faults or disabilities. It is not such as lessens man's sin and guilt. It is such, that whatever God does for its removal, is of grace, and not of debt. But then, in order to maintain this position against rationalistic objections, it explains our inability into a species of ability, either plenary, or nearly so. And, of course, the whole doctrine of sin and grace, native corruption and spiritual regeneration, is explained so as to conform to the degree or kind of ability contended for. The essential peculiarity of this system is, not that man's inability to obey the gospel is a moral inability, but that it

lies solely in the will, and is under its control. Even this, however, means more or less, according to what is comprehended under the word *will*. Under the term are sometimes included all the optative powers of the soul, spontaneous and voluntary, whether operating in the form of desire, wish, preference, or purpose. It often has a more restricted sense, which, excluding the affections and inclinations, makes it a mere power of purposing to do or to seek given things which are objects of desire; indeed the executive of our desires. In popular language, the term is used more or less in all these senscs. With a numerous class, too, it means not only the power of choosing what the soul pleases, and rejecting its opposite, but also the power of making a contrary choice at the same moment and in precisely the same circumstances, which is not only contrary to all known fact, but a self-contradiction. And still further, when the word *will* is used in the broad sense already mentioned, as including desire, wish, disposition, or affection towards any given object, it sometimes, in loose popular usage, means nothing less than the whole soul consenting to, or embracing that object; including not only the optative faculty which desires it, but the cognitive, which apprehends it as desirable.

All these loose usages of common speech often insinuate themselves into the elaborate arguments of theologians and metaphysicians on these subjects. Hence have been reared many plausible arguments, which are nothing else than gross sophisms, in which the word *will* has one meaning in the premise, and another in the conclusion. Such ambiguities give rise to much logomachy and mutual misunderstanding. And it is very certain that when men say that our inability is purely an inability of will, or heart, every thing depends on the meaning which they attach to these terms, and the theory which they hold concerning the nature and properties of the will. Under this phraseology, every type of doctrine on the subject of ability may be held, and, in fact, has been and is held and propounded, from the strictest Calvinism to the blankest Pelagianism—from the most absolute impotence to the most plenary ability to make ourselves new creatures by the power of contrary choice.

In this connection, the distinction of natural and moral ability and inability has been prominent. It has long been a boast, in certain quarters, that this is the invention and the glory of American theology, that it has enabled us to hold fast the doctrine of inability, and yet so to explain it as to make the sinner inexcusable, and to prevent him from abusing it to purposes of carnal apathy and desperation. This happy result, which the Bible ascribes to the Holy Ghost, is supposed to be accomplished by showing men that they have full *natural* ability to fulfil God's requirements, that they have no inability, but simply a want of will, or purpose, or inclination to obey the gospel, which they have full power to remove, *if they will*. While this language is used by many in a sense which, as explained by themselves, as a close approximation to the truth, at all events coheres with the doctrine, that man has lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; it is used by others to express and vindicate the dogma, that men are perfectly able to make themselves Christians at pleasure. This is Pelagianism, without even a decent disguise. Yet it is this very class who make the most of the distinction in question. They think it a convenient and safe shelter for their doctrine, that man can make himself a new heart. This distinction has been much valued by many divines, whose praise is in all the churches, for orthodoxy, because they held to a real inability to holiness in fallen man. It is surely, then, a safe resort for those who deny it, and yet would not hazard their standing in the ranks of orthodoxy: who assert plenary ability, and call it natural ability, and then say that they teach the moral inability of the sinner, simply because they say he will not use his plenary ability to turn to God!

This class claim that Edwards was the inventor of this distinction; that it is the distinguishing characteristic and special property of his followers; that therefore they are the true Edwardeans, because they are the patrons and inheritors of this, his grand discovery in theology. It can easily be shown, however, 1. that whatever of truth is connected with this distinction, was familiar to theologians, not only before the time of Edwards, but from the time when the heresies of Pelagius

first occasioned thorough discussion of the subject of sin and grace.

2. That Edwards did not regard himself as introducing any novel doctrines or discoveries on the subject. A formerly distinguished champion of New-school doctrines recently said, in a public speech, with great truth, "that the common idea that the power of Edwards's system lies in the distinction of natural and moral ability is a fallacy. This was well understood before his day. It lies in his views of spiritual light which constitute the key to his whole treatise on the Religious Affections." All who have read this treatise, or his sermons on the "Natural Blindness of Men in Religion," and on "The Reality of Spiritual Light," must concede the justness of this statement. The great principle of his work on the Affections is, that "they arise from divine illumination."

3. So far as anything new on this subject has gained currency since his day, it is not true, unless the views which we have taken of the subject are false.

4. However the doctrine of spiritual illumination may have been weakened or vitiated by confining all depravity and moral quality to the will and affections, on the part of any claiming to be Edwards's successors, they intended by moral inability, a real inability, removable, not by any power of contrary choice, as is now claimed, not by "the will of the flesh, or the will of man, but of God." The precise point in the recent vaunted improvements in theology is, the discovery that this inability being moral, is therefore removable by the will, and so enables us to say to sinners, without qualification, they have all requisite power to obey the gospel. And since even the power of contrary choice, yea, if it be able to act "despite all opposing power," cannot, when choosing sin, under the sway of such a choice, also choose God, a process has been invented, by which it may be induced, from motives of self-love, to suspend its sinful purpose, and having thus become neutral, may, by the promptings of the same self-love, be induced to choose religion!

The amount of truth contained in the proposition, that man is naturally able, but morally unable, to obey God's commands, may be thus stated:—1. Man is really unable to do things

spiritually good, without divine grace. But this inability is moral, because it pertains to our moral nature. It does not excuse, because it is our sin, and the greater it is, the greater is our sin. 2. This corruption and inability do not destroy any of the faculties of will, affection, or intelligence, which are essential to humanity, moral agency, or responsibility. They only vitiate the state and action of those faculties with reference to things moral and spiritual. All power remains which would be requisite to the fulfilment of God's commands, if we were holy. Any hinderance, or want of power or opportunity, which would prevent us from fulfilling any command of God, if we were morally good, excuses the non-performance of it, and this alone. So far, then, as the assertion that we have natural ability is intended to express the fact that we have no disability but our sin, or that is excusable, it expresses an important truth. So far as it is used, or is adapted to convey the idea that we have ability to remove our sinful corruption, without the prevenient and efficacious grace of God, or that our inability, though moral, is such that we can remove it by the strength of our own will, or that it is not by nature, it contains a dangerous error. It is not only contrary to Scripture and all Christian experience, but it is inconceivable that any state or act of the unregenerate will of man should make him a holy being. The corrupt tree cannot bring forth such good fruit. Nay, as all Christians find to their sorrow, they cannot, although partially sanctified, by any power of their wills, exclude all corruption from their souls. The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, so that they *cannot* do the things that they *would*. When they *would* do good, evil is present with them. Though they love the law of God after the inward man, they have a law in their members warring against the law of their minds. How, then, is this indwelling corruption, having the entire mastery of the sinner, removable by his will? And does the phrase "natural ability," according to its natural import, fairly express, or rather, does it not express more than the truth, in regard to the power of the sinner? Is it not, unless carefully explained, adapted to mislead him? That cannot properly be called ability to do things spiritually good, to purify our corrupt natures, which is not adequate to pro-

duce the result. Man has not such an ability, whatever adjectives we affix to the word. He has only the faculties which would enable him to do his duty, if he were holy. Is it not best, in plain terms, to say so? Have we a right to do otherwise than speak the truth in love?

In conclusion, we ask the attention of our readers to a few quotations from recognized authorities, in proof of the several propositions we have just advanced, to the effect, that what is true on this subject is not new, and what is new is not true.

1. Bernard, whom Calvin represents as subscribing to what was said by Augustine, and whom he quotes with approbation, thus expresses his views: "In a perverse and wonderful way, which I do not understand, the will imposes a necessity upon itself, being changed by sin for the worse, so that this necessity (since it is voluntary) cannot excuse the will, nor can the will, inasmuch as it is enticed, exclude necessity in its actions." "So the soul, in a certain marvellous and evil manner, is held under a sort of voluntary and badly free necessity as both bond and free; bond by reason of the necessity; free on account of the voluntariness which characterizes it. And what is more marvellous and more miserable, it is guilty because it is free; under bondage because guilty; and by this means in bondage, because it is free."^{*} He abundantly sets forth the distinction between "necessity and compulsion," asserting the former, denying the latter, and showing that his bondage and necessity are free and unforced; that he means simply to assert the *unavoidable certainty of sinful action*, if there be free action in unrenewed man.

Turretin.—"A new heart is said to be produced in us by regeneration, not in a physical, but moral sense, because the same substance which was infected with sin must needs be rectified by grace. Nor if it be said that we must put off the *old man* and put on the *new man*, is anything more intended

* Bernard as quoted in Calvin's Inst. Lib. ii. Cap. iii. Sec. 5: "Ita nescio quo pravo et miro modo ipsa sibi voluntas, peccato quidem in deterius mutata, necessitatem facit, ut nec necessitas (quam voluntaria sit) excusare valeat voluntatem, nec voluntas (quam sit illecta) excludere necessitatem."

"Ita anima miro quodam et malo modo sub hac voluntaria quadam ac male libera necessitate et ancilla tenetur ac libera; ancilla propter necessitatem, libera propter voluntatem, et, quod magis mirum magisque miserum est, ideo rea quod libera: eoque ancilla quo rea: ac per hoc, eo ancilla quo libera."

than that the corruption of sin, which in a moral sense is called the *old man*, because it descends from the old Adam, is to be cast off from the man, in order that the work of regeneration, which is signified by the *new man*, may be begun and carried forward. The same is to be said of other phrases denoting sin or grace derived from the substance of man itself; which are taken in a moral, not a physical sense, nor so much in the abstract as the concrete, for the purpose of more emphatically expressing the greatness of our corruption.”* This passage occurs in an argument upon the question, whether original sin has corrupted the substance of the soul, which he, of course, denies. He elsewhere says, indeed,† that regeneration “partakes somewhat of the moral and the physical.” “It is not merely moral, as if God operated only by setting truth objectively before us, and by a slight suasory influence, as the Pelagians pretend.” “It is not merely physical, because it is wrought with respect to the moral faculties, which must needs be moved agreeably to their own nature.” “It has a physical character, because God creates, regenerates us by his Spirit,” &c. “It has a moral character, because he teaches us by his word, inclines, persuades, and by various reasons, as by chains of love, draws us to himself.” That is, it is moral as it is wrought upon a moral subject, producing moral results, in the free choice of Christ, and from rational motives. It is physical, as it is more than a moral suasory influence, acting directly upon the heart or dispositions, and so changing them that they will be swayed by the arguments and motives of the gospel. This also will serve for a key to the meaning of Owen and others when they call regeneration, in a certain sense, a physical change. They mean simply, that it is something more than a change wrought by moral suasion—a supernatural

* Elench. Loc. IX. Quæst. xi. Sec. 5. *Novum cor dicitur fieri in nobis per regenerationem, non physice, sed ethice, quia eadem substantia quæ infecta fuit peccato, debet restaurari per gratiam.* Nec si exuendus dicitur *vetus homo*, et *novus induendus*, aliud innuitur, quæm corruptionem peccati, quæ moraliter *vetus homo* dicitur, quia a veteri Adamo descendit, esse abjiciendam ab homine, ut opus regenerationis, quod per *novum hominem* significatur, inchoetur et promoteatur. Idem dicendum de aliis phrasibus peccatum vel gratiam connotantibus, ab ipsa hominis substantia petitis; quæ sumuntur *ethice*, non *physice*, nec tam in abstracto, quam in concreto, ad magnitudinem corruptionis nostræ eo efficacius exprimendam.

† Loc. XV. Quæst. iv. Sec. 18.

change wrought directly on the heart itself by the Holy Spirit effectually disposing it freely and sweetly to yield to evangelical persuasions, which otherwise it would repel. But as to the clearness with which Turretin saw and taught that our corruption was *moral*, pertaining to the moral state and dispositions, and not any corruption of the substance of the soul, or destruction or diminution of its essential faculties, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt.

Pictet, (edition of Presb. Board, p. 200.)—“But this impotence of the sinner does not excuse him in sinning, since it is not *involuntary* and merely *physical*, arising from a defect of natural power, but *voluntary* and *moral*, arising from a depraved nature. To say that man can do nothing but what is evil, is the same as saying, that man is so delighted with sin, that he is unwilling to cease from it. * * * God therefore justly punishes those whose impotence is such as this.” This needs no comment.

Owen.—“Some pretend, that whatever is required of us, or prescribed unto us in the way of duty, that we have a power in and of ourselves to perform. If by this power, they intend no more, but that our minds, and other rational faculties of our souls, are fit and meet as to their *natural capacity*, for and unto such acts, it is freely granted. For God requires nothing of us but what must be acted in our minds and wills, and which they are naturally meet and suited for. But if they intend such an active power and ability, as being excited by the motives proposed unto us, can of itself answer the commands of God in a due manner, they deny the corruption of our nature by the entrance of sin, and render the grace of God useless, as shall be demonstrated.” (*Works*. London edition, 1823, Vol. II. p. 302.)

“There is a *natural power*, consisting in the suitableness and proportionableness of the *faculties* of the soul, to receive spiritual things in the way that they are proposed unto us. This is supposed in all the exhortations, promises, precepts, and threatenings of the gospel. For in vain would they be proposed to us, had we not rational minds and understandings,” &c. (*Id.* p. 301.)

“There is in the minds of unregenerate persons a *moral* vol. xxvi.—no. ii. 31

impotency, which is reflected on them greatly from the will and affections, whence the mind never *will receive* spiritual things; that is, it will always and *unchangeably* reject and refuse them, and that because of various lusts, corruptions, and prejudices, invincibly fixed in them, causing them to look on them as foolishness." (*Owen's Works*, vol. II. p. 309.)

Owen also asserts, in addition to this, a *natural impotency*, consisting in the want of spiritual light for the saving apprehension of spiritual things, "whence his mind cannot receive them for want of light in itsclf." As we have already intimated, the view taken of spiritual illumination will of necessity modify the view taken of natural and moral inability. Upon this subject we have said enough already. It will suffice for our present object, to quote another passage from Owen, showing that, while, for the purpose of distinguishing it from mere wilfulness, he called it, in a certain sense, a natural impotency, yet he, after all, so explains himself, as not to militate against the kind and degree of natural ability he had previously asserted, nor to take it out of the category of moral inability, as generally explained by divines. "*And this (natural impotency) is consistent with what was before declared, the natural power of the mind to receive spiritual things; for that power respects the natural capacity of the faculties of our minds; this impotency, the depravation of them with respect to spiritual things.*" (*Id.* p. 309.) We might quote more to the like effect from Bates, Watts, and others; but it would be tiresome to accumulate further what is already before our readers *ex abundanti*, viz., proof that the distinction in question, so far as it has truth in it, was always a familiar one among divines of the Augustinian school.

Edwards treats of natural and moral necessity and inability as terms already established and in use to denote certain recognized distinctions, which he proceeds to define at length in Section iv. of his Treatise on the Will. He says, (New York edition of his Works, Vol. II., pp. 33—35,) "I do not mean to determine that, when a *moral* habit or motive is so strong, that the act of the will infallibly follows, this is not owing to the *nature of things*. But *natural* and *moral* are the terms by which these two kinds of necessity have usually been

distinguished; and they must be distinguished by some names, for there is a difference between them that is very important in its consequences. This difference, however, does not lie so much in the nature of the *connection*, as in the nature of the two terms *connected*. The cause with which the effect is connected is of a peculiar kind; viz., that which is of a moral nature; either some previous habitual disposition, or some motive exhibited to the understanding. And the effect is also of a particular kind; being likewise of a moral nature, consisting in some inclination or volition of the soul, or voluntary action."

"*What has been said of natural and moral necessity, may serve to show what is intended by natural and moral inability.* We are said to be *naturally* unable to do a thing, when we cannot do it, if we will, because what is most commonly called *nature* does not allow of it, or because of some impeding obstacle or defect that is extrinsic to the will; either in the faculty of understanding, constitution of the body, or external objects. *Moral* inability consists not in any of these things; but either in the want of inclination, or the strength of a contrary inclination, or the *want of sufficient motives IN VIEW* to excite or induce the act of the will, or the strength of apparent motives to the contrary. Or both these may be resolved into one; and it may be said in one word, that moral inability consists in the opposition or want of inclination. For when a person is unable to will or choose such a thing through a defect of motives, or prevalence of contrary motives, it is the same thing as his being unable through the want of an inclination, or the prevalence of a contrary inclination, in such circumstances, and *UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF SUCH VIEWS.*"

Edwards thus dwells upon the distinction between natural and moral necessity and inability, as a thing which had been understood in discussions of this sort. He no more treats it as a novelty, than he treats the distinction between external and internal motives as a novelty. And the view of it which he presents is essentially one with that given by his predecessors.

We now propose to show that by moral inability Edwards and his followers meant a real inability, invincible by the sinner, and by any other power, except the Spirit of God. The

citations already made sufficiently evince this with regard to Edwards. We will, however, add another, which is, if possible, still more decisive as to this point. In his concluding chapter, on the *Freedom of the Will*, he goes through a summation of the principal Christian doctrines, which are confirmed by the views he had maintained on the subject. He says:

"The things which have been said obviate some of the chief objections of the *Arminians* against the *total depravity and corruption of man's nature*, whereby his heart is wholly under the power of sin, and he is *utterly unable*, without the interposition of sovereign grace, savingly to love God, believe in Christ, or do anything that is truly good and acceptable in God's sight."

Smalley.—"Moral inability consists only in the want of heart, or disposition, or will to do a thing. Natural inability, on the other hand, consists in, or arises from, want of understanding, bodily strength, opportunity, or *whatever may prevent* our doing a thing when we are willing, and strongly enough disposed or inclined to do it." p. 9.

After proceeding to illustrate this moral inability by the cases of God and Satan, the one morally unable to do wrong, and the other to do right, he says, p. 12—"Should we be afraid to say it is *impossible* for a man to love God or come to Christ while his heart is altogether wicked and full of enmity against God and Christ, people would be ready to think we imagined this might sometimes happen, and that there was no real impossibility in it of any kind. Whereas there is as real and as absolute an impossibility in this case, as in any supposable case whatever. To be more guarded, therefore, than the Scripture is, in this matter, would be to be unguarded." p. 12.

As to the alleged ability to remove this moral inability by the power of self-determination or of contrary choice, he says: "Should we ever suppose a self-determining power in the will, those who are dead in sin would not be able to help themselves by it. For who is there to put such a power into action in the right way? They will not do it. And a self-determined determination, contrary to a man's heart, were such a thing

possible, would be no more thanks to him, than the having his heart changed by divine power." p. 34.

"In these discourses, under moral inability to that which is good, is meant to be included all that impotency which consists in moral depravity; whether in principle or exercise, whether in privation, that is, the want of moral rectitude only, or in any positive lusts and corruptions, and whether native or contracted, whether removable by moral suasion, or not without a new creation." p. 60.

It will be difficult to mistake Smalley's views after viewing these extracts from a formal and thorough treatise on the subject by him. And no one has ranked higher than he as an acknowledged and able expounder of the true New England doctrine on the subject.

We will now cite a little from Andrew Fuller, as one who was confessedly more thoroughly moulded by Edwards than any other leading English divine.

"If the definition which I have heretofore given of natural ability be just, it (natural inability) must be either a defect in the rational faculties or bodily powers, or opportunity to put these faculties and powers in exercise. But neither purity nor impurity, come by them how we may, are any constituent parts of human nature. A defect, therefore, in that matter cannot be a natural defect. * * By the *sin of our nature* we mean not any thing which belongs to our nature as human, but what is by the fall so interwoven with it, as if it were, though in fact it is not, a part of it; and so deeply rooted in our souls as to become *natural* as it were to us." (*Works*, Boston edition, 1833, pp. 485, 6.)

"We suppose that the propensities of mankind to evil are so strong as to become invincible to every thing but omnipotent grace." (*Ib.* p. 486.)

"It is *natural* power, and that only, that is properly so called, and which is necessary to render men accountable beings. To constitute me an accountable being, it is not necessary that I should be *actually disposed* to holy actions, (which is the same thing as possessing a moral ability,) but barely that *I could do such actions if I were disposed.*" (*Id.* p. 523.)

We will not weary our readers by adding quotations from other divines of the Edwardean and New England schools. Beyond all question, Smalley and Fuller are fair representatives of these schools, and acknowledged to be among the most elaborate, successful, and reliable advocates and expounders of their views on the distinction under consideration. As to the school of Emmons, as they held that all moral exercises in man, holy and sinful, were the direct creation of the Almighty, they of course denied that holiness could be produced by man, of himself alone.

Similar sentiments abound in Bellamy and Dwight. It is sufficiently evident that, until a very recent period, those who have maintained the distinction of natural and moral inability, have intended by it not that the former meant a real, the latter a merely nominal or unreal inability; and so, inasmuch as man is subject only to the latter, that he has all the ability requisite to render obedience to the law of God really practicable without grace. They meant not an indisposition which it is at any moment in man's competency to remove by the power of contrary choice. They meant by it no mere act of such a power, which it is at any moment all powerful to reverse. They meant a rooted propensity to evil, and aversion to good; a moral bias, which man has not the requisite power to remove. To say that he could remove it if he were disposed to do it, is but saying he would remove it if he would remove it; he would be disposed if he were disposed; he would have moral ability if he had moral ability, the precise thing that he has not, and never will have till it is imparted by the Holy Ghost. As Fuller says, "this is no more than the power of being what they are." But it surely cannot avail to make them what they are not. Without this right disposition, mere natural power, as it is termed, the possession of the faculties requisite to humanity and free agency, can never renew or purify the evil heart. They fix responsibility. They make men guilty for their sins. They make it certain that so surely as the wicked man acts freely, he will sin, and sin only. But they never can make corrupt man a new creature in Christ Jesus.

ART. II.—*Is the Church of Rome Idolatrous?*

IDOLATRY consists in ascribing to creatures properties or honours which belong to God alone. Dr. Wiseman says it “is the giving to man or to anything created, that homage, that adoration, and that worship, which God hath reserved unto himself.” The question now to be considered is, whether the Church of Rome is guilty of this sin. We allege that she does openly, habitually, and systematically, give to creatures honours due to none but God, and so is guilty of idolatry. This is indeed a grave charge. No good man can make it without sorrow of heart. It is grievous to a pure mind to believe such things, unless compelled by an overwhelming weight of evidence. We ask our readers to weigh the evidence in the case, and judge righteous judgment. Charity rejoiceth in the truth.

In proof that the Church of Rome gives to creatures honours due to God alone, we may cite the titles and powers ascribed to the pope. In a great Lateran Council, one member called the pope “Prince of the world;” another, “king of kings, and monarch of the earth;” another said of him that “he had power above all powers of heaven and earth.” Bishop Newton says: “He is styled, and pleased to be styled, ‘Our Lord God the Pope, Another God upon earth, King of kings, and Lord of lords.’ The same is the dominion of God and the pope. The power of the pope is greater than all created power, and extends itself to things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal. The pope doth whatsoever he listeth, even things unlawful, and is more than God.” Bellarmine says: “If the pope could or should so far err as to command the practice of vice, and to forbid virtuous actions, the Church were bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues to be bad.” Nor was Bellarmine censured for this language. On the contrary, he was always a great favourite at Rome. If the pope receives such honours as these from his Church, is he not “that wicked one,” who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God?”

2 Thess. ii. 4. It is confessed that when a man calls a graven image a god, and does it seriously, he is guilty of idolatry. The pope is a worm of the dust, and if papal authors, such as Baronius, may be trusted, many popes have been monsters of depravity; yet these men, crushed before the moth, allow themselves to be styled God, our Lord God, &c. Is not this idolatry? In England it is treason to assume the king's titles; and is it not rebellion to arrogate the titles of the God of heaven?

But this idolatry does not stop here. In his turn the pope himself gives to a creature honours and worship peculiar to God. Hear pope Gregory XVI., who has not been dead many years. In his first Encyclical Letter, addressed to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, and printed in the Laity's Directory for 1833, and in various ways published all over this land, without one word of warning from any priest of Rome against its shocking idolatry, the pope calls upon all the clergy to implore "that she (the Virgin Mary) who has been, through every great calamity, our Patroness and Protectress, may watch over us writing to you, and lead our mind by her heavenly influence, to those counsels which may prove most salutary to Christ's flock." Could he, in this matter, have sought more from God himself? From the Scriptures we learn that He whose eyes never slumber nor sleep is a present help in trouble; but here the pope says that Mary is "our protectress through every great calamity." Could Jehovah himself do more than is here ascribed to a woman? He adds: "But that all may have a successful and happy issue, let us raise our eyes to the most Blessed Virgin Mary, who alone destroys heresies, who is our greatest hope, yea, the entire ground of our hope." Surely this is plain. Whoever maintains truth by destroying heresies, whoever is our *greatest* hope, yea, the *entire ground* of our hope, is to us a God. What pious man ever put higher honour upon Jehovah himself than by making him his *greatest hope, yea, the entire ground of his hope?* Thus we have seen what idolatry is, with permission of the pope, paid to him, and what idolatry is, without her permission, paid to the mother of our Lord.

It is not therefore strange that in popish books of devotion,

Mary is called upon more frequently than the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In the Catholic Manual, published by Fielding Lucas, a popish bookseller still living in Baltimore, with the approbation of Archbishop Whitfield, we find on pp. 38 and 39 the following language in the Confiteor: "I confess to Almighty God, to blessed Mary, ever Virgin, to blessed Michael the archangel, to blessed John the Baptist, to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to all the saints, that I have sinned," &c. How diverse from this was the practice of holy men of old! Daniel said: "O Lord, the great and dreadful God . . . we have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts, and from thy judgments." Chap. ix. ver. 4, 5. Addressing God, David said: "I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the LORD; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight." Ps. xxxii. 5, and li. 4. Ezra says: "I fell upon my knees, and spread out my hands unto the Lord my God; and said, O my God, I am ashamed, and blush to lift up my face to thee, my God: for our iniquities have increased over our head, and our trespass is grown up unto the heavens. . . . O Lord God of Israel, thou art righteous: for we remain yet escaped, as it is this day: behold, we are before thee in our trespasses; for we cannot stand before thee, because of this." Chap. ix. 5, 6, 15. The publican prayed, "God be merciful to me a sinner," and went down justified. Romanists say their religion is older than ours, but in no good sense is this true; for ours agrees with that of Daniel, and David, and Ezra, and the penitent publican. These all lived before any pope, and they confessed their sins to God alone, and did not address angels and men, in their solemn acknowledgments of their wickedness.

Having finished the confession of sin, a Christian would have thought that the application should have been first and alone to God. That was the course pursued by all Bible saints. But in the Catholic Manual it is different. There we read thus: "Therefore, I beseech the blessed Mary, ever Virgin, the blessed Michael the archangel, the blessed John the

Baptist, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and all the saints, to pray unto the Lord our God for me." Who could have believed that in this age and land men were thus taught, if the evidence was not before the world? Then follow two short petitions to God, and then comes the following invocation: "O Holy Virgin, mother of God! my advocate and patroness! pray for thy poor servant, and show thyself a mother to me." In the Doway Bible we read, "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Just." 1 John ii. 1. This is the Scripture doctrine. But the devotee of popery is taught to call Mary his advocate. Jesus Christ taught us to pray to our *Father* which is in heaven, but when did God ever direct us to pray to our *Mother* in heaven, and to ask her to show herself such to us? The inspired writers never teach such idolatry as that. How can the Romish religion be older than ours, when ours agrees with the Lord's Prayer, and with the teachings of the beloved John? Jesus Christ the righteous is our sole, able, willing, prevailing advocate with God. To name another is an indignity to him—an attempt to take away the glory from his crown, the honour of his Mediatorship.

The next thing in the Manual is in these words: "And thou, O blessed Spirit!" The word *Spirit* begins with a capital letter, and is followed by a note of admiration. One would have supposed that the being here addressed was the Spirit infinite, eternal, unchangeable. But it is not so. "And thou, O blessed Spirit! whom God in his mercy hath appointed to watch over me, intercede for me this day, that I may not stray from the path of virtue." If any ask the meaning of this, he may look back a little, and he will see it is an invocation of "your angel guardian." The words next following are addressed to "your patron saint." "Thou also, O happy Spirit, whose name I bear, pray for me, that I may serve God faithfully in this life," &c. In the Doway Bible, acknowledged by Romanists to be correct, we read thus: "There is one God, and one Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus." The Vulgate is no less explicit: "Unus enim Deus, unus et Mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus." 1 Tim. ii. 5. There is no legitimate way of expounding this passage that does not make its teachings as direct and strong

against a plurality of mediators, as it is against a plurality of Gods. If the words teach that there is but one God, they as explicitly teach that there is but one Mediator. Yet in the Manual, men are taught to call upon creatures, an angel, or a saint, to make intercession in heaven, the very highest work of Christ's priestly office, and thus is the one Mediator superseded, and his honours divided among a countless multitude of creatures. To rob Christ of this high honour is as wicked as to rob God of the glory of creating and preserving the world.

In the Doway Bible (Heb. iv. 15, 16) are these words: "We have not an high-priest, who cannot have compassion on our infirmities: but one tempted in all things like as we are, yet without sin. Let us go therefore with confidence to the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy and find grace in seasonable aid." This reasoning is as strong as it can be. We have a tender-hearted intercessor at the throne above; therefore we need not be afraid to come boldly. Thanks be unto God, who has taught us this best, this only way. Does it look like coming "*with confidence*," to stand off, and cry to Mary, to Michael, to John the Baptist, to Peter and Paul, to a guardian angel of whose very name we are ignorant, and to a patron saint whose name we bear, and ask them to intercede for us? Where is there distrust in the fulness and sufficiency of the work of Christ as intercessor, if it be not in going to this long list of mediators? It does seem strange; it must be wicked to cry to Paul, when he has so strongly recommended "looking to Jesus," or, as the Doway Bible has it, "looking on Jesus," and when he has told us to "flee for refuge to the hope set before us in the gospel." In Heb. vii. 25, in the Doway Bible, we read concerning this same Jesus, that "He is able to save for ever them that come unto God by himself, always living to make intercession for us." If we are to come unto God by Christ *himself*, then we are not to come by his *mother*, nor by one of his *apostles*, nor by an *angel*, nor by any one else. Blessed be God, that when Jesus was yet with us on earth, he said, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father, but by me." John xiv. 6. "All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me:"

[not to my mother, nor to the saints,] “and him that cometh to *me*, *I* will in no wise cast out.” John vi. 37. “Amen, amen, I say to you, *I* am the door of the sheep.” “*I* am the door: if any one enter by *me*, he shall be saved; and he shall go in, and go out, and shall find pasture.” “Amen, amen, I say to you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber.” John x. 1, 7, 9. All these are the very words of the Doway Bible. Are they not clear? Should they not deter us from all attempts to approach God but through Jesus Christ alone?

It is but fair to say, that after all this invocation of a woman, of angels, and men, the Manual gives “the Litany to the holy name of Jesus,” but in the “Confiteor” his mother is addressed *three times before him*. So also in the Manual p. 44, are these words in *italics*: “*A prayer to the blessed Virgin;*” and under that prayer are these words: “*A prayer to invoke the life of Jesus Christ into ourselves.*” Here again the mother takes precedence of her Son, the Son of God. In this prayer to the Virgin are these words: “O Holy Mother of God, deliver us from all dangers.” As a Protector and Redeemer, could God himself do more than to “deliver us from all dangers?” To those who use and love this Manual, is not Mary put before God himself, before the *one* Mediator of God and men?

On the 45th page of the Manual is an address to Mary, in which she is styled, the “Bright Queen of Heaven.” The title “Queen of Heaven” is found in Scripture, but not applied to Mary. See Jeremiah xliv. 17, 25, 26. The whole connection is alarming. God there declares his displeasure against the people for “making vows to the Queen of Heaven.” In the Doway Bible is a note saying, that by the Queen of Heaven is meant the moon. Grant it; but Mary is as truly a creature as is the moon, and it is as dishonourable to God that we should pray to her, as that we should make vows to the moon. On the 46th page of the Manual we find this address to Mary: “O Holy Mother, my Sovereign Queen.” We all know that there is no power higher than a sovereign power. The heart over which any creature is sovereign, can-

not call Christ Lord, cannot esteem Jehovah as the only Judge of all the earth. Let us read further: "Receive me under thy blessed patronage, and special protection, and into the bosom of thy mercy, this day, and every day, and at the hour of my death. I recommend to thee my soul and body. I commit to thy care all my hopes and comforts, all my afflictions and miseries, my life and my death, that by thy intercession, and through thy merits, all my actions may be directed and disposed according to thy will and the will of thy blessed Son. Amen." We solemnly declare, that in our lives we never read a more idolatrous prayer, nor could we frame any sentences of the same length that should more effectually ascribe the whole of salvation, in life and in death, to the protection, mercy, care, intercession, and merits of a creature; for all these words are used. Christ, as man, never offered higher honour and worship to God than when in death he said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Luke xxiii. 46. Christ in glory never received higher honour or worship from a holy martyr, than when dying Stephen said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Yet, in the Manual, all this honour and all this worship are offered to Mary. If any doubt, let them again read the prayer just quoted. In this Manual, Mary is called upon page after page. In one litany (pp. 51—53) she is invoked *forty-seven* times, and the three persons of the Trinity but *nineteen* times.

On page 56 of the Manual are these directions for going to sleep: "Compose yourself to rest in the arms of your Saviour, piously invoking the names of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph." Here the entire "holy family" are "piously invoked." On pp. 101, 104, and 109, devotion to the Blessed Virgin is put down among the preservatives and remedies against sin. And on p. 103 she is thus addressed; "Thou art the Mother of grace and mercy, thou art the refuge of sinners." The Bible says that God is the FATHER of mercies, but it is silent about any MOTHER of grace and mercy. To be the Father of mercies, is to be their original and fountain. Is Mary the original and fountain of mercy? How very different are the teachings of Rome from those of Isaiah, (xxxii. 1, 2,) "Behold, a King [not a Queen] shall reign in righteousness. . . . and a man

[not a woman, but a man, the man Christ Jesus] shall be as a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, as rivers of water, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." Could a wider, a more striking difference between truth and error, true worship and idolatry, be found, than that between the Catholic Manual and the teachings of holy Scripture?

Nor is this shocking idolatry confined to one book of devotion in use among Romanists. In all that are in our possession, new and old, European and American, the same glaring error is found. One of the most favourite books of devotion among Papists is entitled "The Glories of Mary, Mother of God," &c. Its author is St. Alphonsus Ligori, who was canonized less than *forty* years ago. Our copy was published by Eugene Cummiskey, of Philadelphia, and is approved by Dr. Kenrick, then Bishop of Philadelphia, now Archbishop of Baltimore. The translator dedicates the work to Mary, "the Queen of angels and of men," "with all veneration and respect," and says it is "designed to increase the number and fervour of her clients." The table of contents is as follows: "Chapter I. How great should be our confidence in Mary, *Queen of mercy*. How great our confidence should be in Mary as our Mother. Mary is the refuge of repentant sinners. Chapter II. Mary is our life, since she obtains us the pardon of our sins. Mary is our life, because she obtains our perseverance. Mary renders death sweet to her servants. Chapter III. Mary is the hope of all the children of Adam. Mary is the hope of the sinner. Chapter IV. Mary's readiness to assist those who invoke her. The power of Mary to defend those who invoke her in temptations. Chapter V. Necessity of Mary's intercession in order to obtain salvation. Continuation of the same subject. Chapter VI. Mary is a powerful advocate. Mary is a compassionate advocate. Mary is Mediatrix of peace between God and sinners. Chapter VII. Mary is ever watchful to succour our miseries. Chapter VIII. Mary preserves her servants from hell. Mary succours her servants in purgatory. Mary conducts her servants to heaven. Chapter IX. The greatness of Mary's clemency and goodness. Chapter X. The sweetness of the holy name of Mary in life

and in death." Some tables of contents give but a poor idea of the book. Not so here. The filling up of these chapters in sections corresponding to each sentence above given, fully carries out all the idolatrous sentiments suggested by reading the contents. Indeed, the book abounds in stories and interpretations of the most idolatrous type. Yet this book is one of the most popular of the day, we mean, among Romanists.

Another book of devotion in general use in this country and elsewhere among Romanists, is the Ursuline Manual. It is published by Dunigan, and sent out by authority of Bishop Hughes.

On page 64 we read as follows:

"O happy Mary! chosen to be
The Mother of grace and clemency,
Protect us now; and at the hour of death,
O bear to heaven our parting breath. Amen.
Holy Mary, Mother of God, }
St. Joseph,
St. Patrick,
St. Augustine,
St. Charles,
St. Angela, } Pray for us.

St. Ursula and all your holy companions, all you angels and saints of God, *make intercession for us.*"

On p. 186 are these words: "Mother of God! Mother of Mercy! and Refuge of sinners! intercede for me." Just after: "Holy angel, to whose care I am committed, do not leave me, now that I so particularly require your charitable assistance." Indeed, what devotional book in this corrupt communion does not teach the same idolatrous practices? In the Catholic Manual, p. 188, it is said: "The psalters now in use among devout Christians are three. The first, David's, which contains thrice fifty psalms. The second is that of our Blessed Lady, commonly called the rosary, or beads, composed of thrice fifty Hail Marys. The third is the psalter or invocation of Jesus." Here the psalter of Mary is put before that of Jesus Christ. In the psalter of the Virgin, as given by some, we find the last two psalms of David thus thrown into parody, and applied to Mary instead of Jehovah:

“Sing unto our Lady a new song; let her praise be in the congregation of the just,” &c. Again: “Praise our Lady in her holiness, praise her in her virtues and miracles; praise her, ye choirs of patriarchs and prophets; praise her, ye army of martyrs; praise her, ye crowds of doctors and confessors; praise her, ye company of virgins and chaste ones; praise her, ye orders of monks and anchorites; let every thing that hath breath praise our Lady;” and in that form of devotion, which, it is audaciously pretended, was revealed by an angel to St. Bernard, offering worship to many members of her body, we find these among other words: “Adoro et benedico beatissimos pedes tuos.” I adore and bless thy most blessed feet.

The worship of saints and angels in the Church of Rome has for centuries fixed the mark of idolatry upon her. Thus, in the “Collects and Hymns to the Saints,” published in 1520, we find such petitions as the following: “May the holy assembly of the angels, and the illustrious troop of the archangels, now blot out our sins, by granting to us the glory of heaven. . . . O George, renowned martyr In our soul and inmost heart we beseech thee, that with all the faithful, we, being washed from our sins, may be joined to the citizens of heaven: that so, together with thee, we may joyfully be in glory, and that our lips with glory may render praises to Christ. . . . O martyr Christopher, make us to be in mind worthy of the love of God. . . . O William, thou good shepherd, father, and patron of the clergy, cleanse us in our agony; grant us aid; remove the filthiness of our life, and grant the joys of a celestial crown. . . . O ye eleven thousand glorious maids, roses of martyrdom, defend me in life, by affording to me your assistance; and show yourselves to me in death, by bringing the last consolation.”

Well has it been said, that “as in the ancient heathen mythology, there were gods who presided over particular countries and districts, and gods who presided over particular trades and professions, so it is in the calendar of popish saints. We are all familiar with St. George of England, St. Andrew of Scotland, St. Patrick of Ireland; and in like manner we have St. Sebastian of Portugal, St. James of Spain, St. Dennis of France, St. Ambrose of Milan, St. Barbara of Ger-

many, and St. Mark of Venice; again, St. Luke is the patron of painters, St. Catherine of scholars, St. Austin of divines, St. Ivo of lawyers, St. Crispin of shoemakers, St. Magdalen and St. Afro of prostitutes; St. Anthony has the charge of swine, St. Eulogius of horses, St. Vendeline and St. Gallus of geese and sheep."

The effect of this state of corruption is manifest in all papal countries. Even pirates and robbers are often great worshippers of the saints. In Graham's "Three Months' Residence in the Mountains East of Rome," pp. 155 and 161, we read: "Every robber had a silver heart, containing a picture of the Madonna and child, suspended by a red ribbon to his neck, and fastened with another of the same colour to his side. . . . They talked pretty freely with their prisoners about themselves and their habits of life, which they maintained arose from necessity, rather than choice. They showed them the heart and picture of the Madonna, which each had suspended from his neck, saying, 'We know that we are likely to die a violent death, but in our hour of need we have these,' touching their rifles, 'to struggle for our lives with, and this,' kissing the image of the Virgin, 'to make our déath easy.'"

All this is sometimes acknowledged by the priesthood itself. In his "Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome," pp. 104, 105, Seymour tells us of the defence given to himself by one of their learned men. He said: "The feeling of devotion to the Virgin has a mysterious something in it, that will ever linger about the heart of the man who has ever felt it. It is one of those feelings that, once admitted, can never afterward be totally obliterated. There it still clings around the heart; and though there may be coldness to all other religious impressions; though there may be infidelity or even scorn upon all our faith; though there may be the plunging into the wild vortex of every sin, yet still there will not unfrequently be found, even among the very worst of our people, a lingering feeling of devotion to the blessed Virgin. It is as a little thread that still keeps hold of the soul, and it will yet draw him back. All else may be broken, but this thread, by which the blessed Virgin holds him, still clings to his soul. Even in the most wild, wicked, and desperate men—even among the bandits in

their worst state—there is always retained this devotion to Mary." How strange, that men do not see that adoration, which allows men to give their lives to murderous wickedness, can be of no avail! When Mary and sin may both be loved and served at the same time, how can it be good and wholesome to call upon her?

But besides ascribing titles and powers to the pope, which belong to none but God, and worshipping saints and angels without number, giving a woman great prominence therein, Romanists go further, and render to the cross the worship which is due to God alone. Bossuet admits that Thomas Aquinas says that the cross is to be worshipped with *Latria*. The Roman Pontifical expressly says, that "Latria is due to the cross." The Missal enjoins on clergy and laity, "on bended knee to adore the cross." In the mean time the whole choir sing, "Thy cross, O Lord, we adore." Again, "O venerable cross, that hast brought salvation to the wretched, by what praise shall I extol thee?" In the service for Good Friday in the Roman Missal, a hymn to be sung to the cross is given. It begins thus:

"O Crux, ave spes unica,
Auge piis justitiam,
Reisque dona veniam."

"O Cross, hail thou only hope. Increase righteousness to the pious. Give pardon to the guilty."

The Church of Rome also requires the worship of the elements in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the mass. The Council of Trent expressly says: "There is, therefore, no room to doubt that all the faithful in Christ are bound to venerate this most holy sacrament, and to render thereto the worship of *Latria*, which is due to the true God, according to the custom always observed in the Catholic Church. Neither is it to be less adored, because it was instituted by Christ our Lord, as has been stated." Here is the very highest authority of the Church of Rome on the subject. The very highest worship [*latriæ cultum*] which is due to God, [qui vero Deo debetur,] is to be rendered to the sacrament of the Eucharist. That Papists carry out this decree, none will dispute. Accordingly the people prostrate themselves when the host is elevated

or carried in procession. To justify all this, Trent teaches and Romanists believe, that the bread and wine are converted into the body and blood, the soul and divinity of Jesus Christ, thus maintaining idolatry by the grossest absurdity—an absurdity which contradicts the testimony of four senses—for our sight, our taste, our smell, our feeling, all declare that these elements are still bread and wine, and nothing else. Thus Rome requires that a wheaten cake and the juice of the grape are to be worshipped with the very worship which we offer to God, and that under the most fearful anathema.

The Church of Rome is also guilty of idolatry in worshipping the relics, images, and pictures of saints, and images and pictures of Christ, and pictures of the Trinity. The Council of Trent enjoins the invocation of saints, teaches that to ask them to pray for us is not "idolatry," "nor opposed to the honour of Jesus Christ," nor "contrary to the word of God." It strongly condemns those "who affirm that veneration and honour are not due to the relics of the saints." It further teaches "that the images of Christ, of the Virgin, mother of God, and of other saints, are to be had and retained, especially in churches, and due honour and veneration paid to them," and that "great advantages are derived from all sacred images." Sir Edward Coke informs us, that in England at one time, when Popery swayed that land, a law was passed, "that any persons who affirm images ought not to be worshipped, be holden in strong prison until they take an oath and swear to worship images." In all countries where Romanism is established, the devotees are found kneeling or prostrating themselves before images. This is notorious. Even in the United States, Romanists have used a picture of the Trinity. There is now before us a printed engraving, copied from an original painting, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the Virgin Mary. This picture was recently, and no doubt still is, in the Jesuits' College at Georgetown, District of Columbia. That it is not slander or fiction thus to assert, is proved by the certificates of the artist who sketched the copy of it, and by three clergymen, all of whom are still living, and two of whom still reside in Washington, District of Columbia. The

whole account of this shocking idolatry was published in the Protestant Vindicator of November 22, 1843.

All this is according to the teaching of the great doctors of the Church of Rome. Peter Dens discusses the question, "Are images of God and of the Most Holy Trinity proper?" He replies, "Yes; although this is not so certain as concerning the images of Christ and the saints, as this was determined at a later period.

"But it is to be observed that the divinity cannot be depicted, but those forms are depicted, under which God has sometimes appeared, or to which divine attributes are paid in some similitude; thus God THE FATHER is represented under the form of an old man, because (Dan. vii. 9) we read that he appeared thus: *And the ancient of days sat;* and the Holy Ghost under the form of a dove, because he appeared thus, (Matt. iii. 16): *He saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove;* or under the form of cloven tongues, such as he appeared on the day of Pentecost, (Acts ii. 3): *And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, as it were, of fire.* Therefore, images of this kind are not to be painted according to any one's will, but only under those forms in which they have sometimes appeared."

He afterwards discusses the question, "With what worship are the images of Christ and the saints to be worshipped?" He replies, "It is to be premised, with St. Thom. in corp. that images may be regarded in a two-fold manner.

"I. In so far as they are any thing or certain matter, any gold, or sculptured or painted wood; and in this respect they cannot be honoured.

"II. In so much as they are images or representations of Christ or the saints; and in this respect they may be honoured with relative or respective worship; so, doubtless, that they may not be honoured for the sake of a dignity intrinsic in themselves, but on account of the dignity of the prototype or pattern; and consequently the honour shown to an image redounds to the prototype as the formal reason of the worship, although the object which the representing image itself is, is not the reason why it is worshipped.

"III. Therefore St. Thomas replies to the question, that

images may be honoured with the same worship with which their prototype is honoured, but only with a relative or respective worship; therefore, the images of the saints are worshipped with the respective worship of *dulia*; of the Divine Virgin with the relative worship of *hyperdulia*; and of Christ and of God with the respective worship of *latria*; almost just as if by the same virtue we love God and our neighbour on account of the goodness of God in himself."

He then notices the decrees of the Seventh Synod against offering the worship of *latria* to images, and attempts some explanation, and thus concludes: "However this may be, it is sufficient for us against sectarians, that all Catholics teach and prove that the images of the saints are to be worshipped."

Nor is it at all a very modern usage to paint the Trinity. Cramp quotes from the "Catechism," p. 360, these words: "To represent the persons of the Holy Trinity by certain forms, under which, as we read in the Old and New Testaments, they deigned to appear, is not to be deemed contrary to religion." He says: "Hence, in the engravings found in some editions of the breviary, God the Father is represented as a venerable old man, (the Ancient of Days, Dan. vii. 13;) on his right hand the Saviour stands, in human form; above is the Holy Spirit, in the shape of a dove; at a little distance the Virgin Mary," &c.

We doubt not the feelings of pious men must be greatly shocked at the recital of such forms and figures used in the worship of Him, who is a Spirit, and requires that he be worshipped in spirit and in truth. Against all such practices the word of God is clear and explicit. Here are the very words of the Holy Ghost. In Deut. iv. 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, Moses says, "And the LORD spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude; only ye heard a voice. . . . Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves, (for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire): lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, the likeness

of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth." Clearer, stronger, more specific prohibitions to represent Jehovah, or any person of the Trinity, by statues or paintings, could not be well conceived.

In this worship of images may be found the secret of the opposition of Romanists, especially of the priesthood, to the second commandment. Their hostility is so great, that in their catechisms they often omit it altogether, so that their children are often not taught to say, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them, for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments." This is found in Exodus xx. 4—6. Romish catechisms, published in purely Roman Catholic countries, seldom contain it. It is frequently omitted in catechisms published in this country. We recently saw two such. The editor of the Comprehensive Commentary says that he has in his possession a Latin, an Irish, and an English catechism, in each of which the second commandment is omitted. But even where the second commandment is given, it is put as a part of the first, and not as the second commandment. In this country, and in England, of late years, the catechisms are more apt to contain the words of the second commandment. This is quite a desirable improvement. Yet in none do we find it stated that it is wicked to bow down to images, or to prostrate ourselves before them.

Of course, any visible representation of the true God is forbidden by the second commandment. To represent God by the figure of an old man, is to make for religious use the likeness of something that is on the earth, and so is forbidden. Isaiah denounces all visible representations of God as utterly inadequate and impossible. After an appeal to the works of nature, as showing the greatness of God, he says, "To whom will ye liken God, or what likeness will ye compare unto him?"

Isa. xl. 18; and then the prophet proceeds to describe the making of an idol, or graven image, (the word is the same as in Exod. xx. 4,) out of metal or wood, as a futile and ridiculous effort to represent God. After another sublime appeal to nature, God says, ver. 25, "To whom then will ye liken me, or shall I be equal, saith the Lord?"

That Protestants give the right translation to the word rendered "bow down" in Exod. xx. 5, is most evident to a scholar. Even the Doway Bible elsewhere renders the word in the same way. In like manner, the word "serve" is properly given in our translation, as the Doway Bible admits, by using the same word. The only question is, what did a pious intelligent Jew understand by serving an idol? Calling upon it, making offerings to it, praying to it, trusting in it, prostrating himself before it, &c., were infallible signs of service.

The attempt to set aside the clear teachings of the second commandment by a note in the Doway Bible, is a mere contradiction of the text. The note says, "All such images or likenesses are forbidden by this commandment, as are made to be adored and served; according to that which immediately follows, *thou shalt not adore them nor serve them.*" That is, all such as are designed for *idols, or image gods,* or are worshipped with *divine honour.* But otherwise, images, pictures, or representations, even in the house of God, and in the very sanctuary, so far from being forbidden, are expressly authorized by the word of God." In proof of this, reference is made to Exodus xxv. 15, and xxxviii. 7. What the staves or bars of satin wood, or the rings in the ark, have to do with image-worship, requires more ingenuity to discover than we possess. The other texts cited are Num. xxi. 8, 9, where the brazen serpent is spoken of, and 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, 19, and 2 Chron. iii. 10, where the cherubim are spoken of. But as these were never designed as objects of worship, and are never called by the same name as the graven images mentioned in Exod. xx. 4, it is obvious that no verse cited in the note has the slightest reference to the subject of image-worship.

The foregoing proofs of the idolatry of the worship of the church of Rome could easily have been multiplied fifty-fold. But we will not weary our readers. Yet something more

should be said concerning the idolatrous nature of the invocations, bowings, and worshippings, in the cases already stated. Papists themselves acknowledge that the pagan invocation of demons was idolatry. These demons were commonly dead men. And who are the saints in the Calendar? Commonly dead men and women. Where is the difference? The Pagan prayed to dead men. The Papist prays to dead men and women. The Romanist may say, I call upon *holy* creatures, whereas the Pagan called upon wicked ones. To this it is sufficient to reply that a *holy* creature is still a *creature*, and therefore it is idolatry to give divine honours to such. It is as truly idolatry to worship a *holy* as a fallen angel, a man saved as a man lost. Worshipping and serving the creature rather than the Creator is the great sin. To prove that all whose names are in the Calendar are *holy* beings, or that they all are or ever were in existence, is simply impossible. As to some of them, we know that they were regenerated, pardoned, justified, and glorified. Such were Joseph, Mary, John the Baptist, Paul, and Peter. Until the day of final judgment, we cannot *know* that any man is saved, unless God's word says so, or unless we are admitted to heaven, and see him there.

No one is canonized at Rome until he has been dead a long time, during which a superstitious people may conjure up any kind or amount of legend. The evidence on which the title to saintship is made to rest, is in many cases, of the slenderest kind. We may indeed entertain very strong hopes concerning the salvation of those who have led apparently pious lives on earth. But till God shall pronounce upon their characters, either by revealing to us on earth that they are saved, or by admitting us to glory, or by the sentence of the last day, how can we be sure that they are in glory? Therefore, there is danger that in invoking the saints in the Calendar, men may be calling on those who are not in heaven, never were there, and never shall be there. Nor is this fear uncharitable. Every one acquainted with the history of canonization, knows that nothing enters more largely into the claims of any one to that distinction, than reputation for miracles. Even if these miracles were genuine, they would not prove saintship. Christ himself said, "Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord,

have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name have done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity." Matt. vii. 22, 23. Men may be prophets and yet not saints. They may cast devils out of others, and let pride and malice reign in their own hearts. They may work miracles, and yet work iniquity, and so perish in their sins. Balaam's prophecies were as true and as sublime as those of Moses, and there is as much evidence that before Christ's death Judas wrought miracles, as that any other disciple of Jesus did; yet neither Protestants nor Romanists believe that Balaam was a holy man, nor that Judas has gone home to glory. "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord."

But some of those named in the Calendar cannot by any possibility be proved ever to have existed. No mortal can prove that there ever was such a person as St. Veronica. The course of reasoning by which such a thing should be attempted, would as well suit to establish the wildest fancies of heathen mythology. In his letter from Rome, Conyers Middleton gives the following account of the fabulous personage named above: "They pretend to show us at Rome two original impressions of our Saviour's face on two different handkerchiefs; the one sent a present by himself to Agbarus, Prince of Edessa, who by letter had desired a picture of him; the other given by him, at the time of his execution, to a saint or holy woman, Veronica, upon a handkerchief, which she had lent him to wipe his face on that occasion; both which handkerchiefs are still preserved, as they affirm, and now kept with the utmost reverence; the first in St. Silvester's church; the second in St. Peter's; where in honour of this sacred relic, there is a fine altar built by pope Urban VIII., with the statue of Veronica herself, with the following inscription:

SALVATORIS IMAGINEM VERONICE
SUDARIO EXCEPTAM
UT LOCI MAJESTAS DECENTER
CUSTODIRET URBANUS VIII.
PONT. MAX.
MARMOREUM SIGNUM
ET ALTARE ADDIDIT CONDITORIUM
EXTRUXIT ET ORNAVIT.

"There is a prayer in their book of offices, ordered by the rubric, to be addressed to this sacred and miraculous picture, in the following terms: 'Conduct us, O thou blessed figure, to our proper home, where we may behold the pure face of Christ.'

"But notwithstanding the authority of this pope, and his inscription, this VERONICA, as one of their best authors has shown, like Amphibolus, before mentioned, was not any real person, but the name given to the picture itself by old writers who mention it; being formed by blundering and confounding the words VERA ICON, or true image, the title inscribed perhaps, or given originally to the handkerchief, by the first contrivers of the imposture." And he quotes Mabill. Iter. Ital. p. 88, as saying, "Hæc Christi imago a recentioribus Veronicæ dicitur: imaginem ipsam veteres Veronicam appellabant."

But suppose all the saints named in the Calendar were in heaven, and we knew it, what then? If they are in heaven, they are not upon earth, and how can they hear, or help, or see, or save us? "Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils." Isa. ii. 22. If even a living man can give us no effectual aid, what can the dead do? If these saints are holy, they are yet finite. God's people, when glorified, are still creatures, and possess not the attributes of Jchovah. For instance, they are not omnipresent. If they were here upon earth, no one of them could be in Rome, Vienna, Calcutta, Lima, Mexico, and Montreal, at the same time. If they are in heaven, they cannot at the same time be on earth. Such ubiquity belongs to but one being, the infinite, eternal, uncreated God. Therefore, to say or do anything which implies that the saints, like God, are or can be present everywhere, is to ascribe to them one of the incommunicable perfections of Jehovah, and that is idolatry.

Their knowledge is also limited. No finite creature (and all creatures are finite) could, even if upon earth, know all the wants, and fears, and sorrows of all the pious in the church militant. Nor is it more possible for them in heaven to know these things. Mary would need to have millions of ears and of understandings; she would require the possession of *infinite* intelligence; that is, she must be God, in order to know the

wants and wishes of all who now address her. But unlimited knowledge is one of the highest attributes of the God of heaven. To say, or do, or think anything which ascribes such knowledge to any creature, however exalted, is idolatry.

This praying to saints and begging them to intercede for us is founded upon the presumption that they pity us more tenderly and love us more strongly than the Lord Jesus Christ himself. That such is the tendency of the practice of invoking saints, might naturally be inferred. If the child presents its petition to its father through its mother, it must be because it regards the mother as most inclined to listen to its requests. That such is the actual belief of many Romanists does not admit of a doubt. It is also based on the presumption that God will hear the saints sooner than his Son. A learned priest, holding a high position at Rome, distinctly declared to the Rev. M. H. Seymour, "*that God hears our prayers more quickly when they are offered through the blessed Virgin, than when offered through any one else;*" and that "*even Christ himself was not so willing to hear our prayers, and did not hear them so quickly when offered simply to himself, as when they were offered through the blessed Virgin.*" See "Mornings among the Jesuits," pp. 101, 102, 106, &c. Now the Scriptures teach that Jesus Christ is infinitely condescending and kind, and that it is impossible any should be more compassionate and approachable than this "one Mediator." They say: "Greater love hath no *man* than this, that a man lay down his life for his *friend*; but God commendeth his love to us, that while we were yet *enemies*, *Christ* died for us." What wickedness it must be even to suppose that the compassions of any creature can compare with those of the glorious Son of God! When on earth, Jesus said: "Come unto *ME*, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and *I* will give you rest. Take *MY* yoke upon you, and learn of *ME*; for *I* am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For *MY* yoke is easy, and *MY* burden is light." In what contrast with this is the celebrated prayer to the Holy Virgin quoted at the end of "The Glories of Mary," and now in so common use in this country: "Remember, O meek and merciful Virgin Mary, that it was never heard of, that you abandoned those,

who, in their affliction or necessities, have placed themselves under your powerful protection, implored your aid, or solicited your assistance; therefore, animated with the same confidence, O Queen of Virgins, our tender Mother, I have recourse to you though a miserable sinner, I, sighing, prostrate myself at your feet. Refuse not, august Mother of my God, to listen favourably to my prayer; I humbly solicit your powerful intercession; deign to grant it to me, be propitious to the supplication of a wretched creature, who hopes to obtain every thing through your mediation. Amen." The poor publican said, "God, be merciful to me a sinner." Poor Romanists are taught to say, "O Mary, to thee we send up our sighs, mourning and weeping in this vale of tears." Dying Stephen said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." The Papist is taught to say, "Holy Virgin . . . grant that I may never forget to invoke you, especially during my last combat, the most terrible of all." For these and other things like them, see "Glories of Mary," pp. 149, 150, 151, and 288. No contrast could be more striking than that between the Bible and Romish books of devotion. All this is the more monstrous, as Mary, when on earth, confessed herself a poor helpless sinner, like other humble servants of God. Listen to her words: "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." Luke i. 46, 47. The translation of this passage in the Doway Bible is identical with that in our version. Now, if Mary had a Saviour, it was because she needed one, and if she needed a Saviour, it was because she was a lost sinner. That she felt her need, and felt that need supplied, we learn from her own lips.

The Romanist may ask if the Scriptures do not teach that all nations shall call Mary blessed. Certainly they do. They also say, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, Blessed are the pure in heart, Blessed are the meek," &c. Indeed, unspeakable blessings are pronounced on all the pious. But how can this prove that we are to call upon them, and not upon God alone? God has indeed conferred great blessings upon the pious of earth. In heaven those blessings are perfected, and others are bestowed. This should encourage us to go to God, and ask him to bless us, but it ought not to lead us to put our trust

in the grace, power, or intercession of those, who, though in heaven, are themselves but redeemed sinners. If any should ask if Mary was not the most highly favoured among women, the answer is, that when upon this earth God did put more honour upon her than upon any other woman, by making her the mother of his holy child Jesus. In this respect, she was the most highly privileged of her sex. But when Christ was upon earth, he was told, “Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee. But he answered and said unto him that told him, Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? And he stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said, Behold, my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.” Christ could not more emphatically have declared that in his kingdom a new heart, leading to a holy life, infinitely exceeded in value all affinities of blood, even with himself. As to the Romish doctrine that Mary is queen of heaven, and has the highest throne of any of our race, it is a mere imagination, unsupported by God’s word. Our Lord Jesus expressly declined saying who should be the greatest in his kingdom, stating, that to sit on his right hand and on his left hand should “be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father.” There is nothing in all God’s word intimating that Mary, or Peter, or any other particular saint, personally or historically known to us, should be preferred before all the rest of the redeemed. But if we knew that Mary was and ever should be the most highly honoured of all the blessed in heaven, that would not make it lawful to invoke her; for her blessedness alone does not deify her. She would still be a helpless, dependent creature; and as it is as truly idolatry to worship the sun and moon, as it is to worship a candle or a glow-worm, so it is as truly idolatry to call upon the most exalted creature in heaven, as to offer our prayers to the weakest of all God’s creatures on earth.

When an angel appeared to John, (Rev. xix. 10,) the apostle mistook his appearance for a manifestation of God, and fell at his feet to worship him; but the angel said, “See thou do it not; I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that

have the testimony of Jesus. "Worship God." We were curious to see how Romanists would dispose of this passage. Peter Dens says that "the angel refused this on account of the great holiness of John;" and the authors of the Notes in the Doway Bible say that he refused it "in consideration of the dignity to which our human nature had been raised by the incarnation of the Son of God, and the dignity of St. John, an apostle, prophet, and martyr." But the angel assigns no such reason, but a very different one: "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren," &c. This reason was sufficient for John. He required no other.

In Col. ii. 18, 23, are these words: "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind. . . . Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and neglecting of the body," &c. To this 18th verse the Doway Bible has a long note, in which it attempts to direct the force of what is here said against those philosophers who worshipped demons, and then against the Jews. But if it was wicked for Jews and Greeks to pay worship to demons, why is it not so for Romanists to do the same?

Protestants sometimes refer to Eccles. ix. 5, as discouraging our addresses to the dead; "The dead know nothing more." To this Dens says: "The best solution is, that these are the words of the foolish, and of those who say that the soul perishes with the body." But the note on this text in the Doway Bible is far more safe and reverent: "*Know nothing more*, viz., as to the transactions of this world, in which they have now no part, unless it be revealed to them; neither have they any knowledge or power now of doing any thing to secure their eternal state, (if they have not taken care of it in their lifetime;) nor can they now procure themselves any good, as the living always may do, by the grace of God." That is right and good. But why should we ask them to procure good for us by the grace of God, when they cannot do it for themselves? He who is not able to help himself, cannot be a very safe reliance for his fellow-creature.

To set aside all charges of idolatry brought against the

Church of Rome, her doctors have invented various devices and distinctions. One is, that worship is of three kinds: Dulia, Hyperdulia, and Latria. These are again distinguished into absolute and respective or relative. So that we have six grades of worship, viz., Absolute Dulia and Respective Dulia, Absolute Hyperdulia and Respective Hyperdulia, Absolute Latria and Respective Latria. It must be obvious to the intelligent, that whatever some speculative minds may imagine, these distinctions are to the masses wholly unintelligible and impracticable. The great body of worshippers are confounded by any attempt to explain these distinctions. The plain people neither know them, nor understand them, nor practise them. Nor are these distinctions preserved in Romish books of devotion which have fallen under our notice. Not only is no warning given to the devotee that he is to use the Litany to Mary with less exalted feelings of piety, than those he exercises when using the Litany of the name of Jesus; but in many cases petitions are presented to mere creatures to do for us things which none but God can do. There is on earth no higher act of worship than committing our souls to God in death; yet in a prayer, sanctioned by the Pope in 1807, his followers are taught to say, "Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, assist me in my last agony." So that these refinements are of no practical use; and Popish writers admit as much, as we have seen in a passage already quoted from Peter Dens. Ask any plain man to tell you whether the worship he is offering to a relic, an image, a cross, the Virgin, or God, be of any one of the six kinds before described, and he cannot tell you. Ask him what he understands by Respective Hyperdulia, and he has no answer to make. Besides, these distinctions are unnoticed in the Bible. It says, "Worship God." It says, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." Matt. iv. 10. The distinction of worship into civil and religious is plain and clear. A child can make it. All men do make it. Civil worship is the respect and reverence we pay to civil authority or to worth in man. But religious worship belongs to God only—the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. One is performed with the common sentiments of re-

spect, esteem, and good will. The other is only performed with heartfelt piety, humility, and love.

But Papists are very anxious to defend their worship of images, of saints, of the cross, and of the host, by some argument drawn from Scripture. In Heb. xi. 21, we read, "By faith Jacob, when he was a dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph; and worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff." In the Doway Bible it reads thus: "By faith Jacob, when he was dying, blessed each of the sons of Joseph; and worshipped the top of his rod;" and then there is a note, saying that Jacob paid a relative honour and veneration to the top of the rod or sceptre of Joseph, as to a figure of Christ's sceptre or kingdom." Any one can easily understand the reason of this translation, and the note is a bold assertion.

In his Defence, pp. 129, 130, Gallitzin adopts another method of defending the practice of Rome. He says: "St. John the Baptist venerated the very latchets of our Saviour's shoes. Mark i. 7."

He puts this remark in a paragraph by itself, showing that he attaches great weight to it. Now the whole verse referred to, reads in the Doway Bible, "There cometh after me one mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and loose." The plain sense of which is, that Christ was so glorious and exalted a person, that John did not esteem himself worthy to do for him the most menial office. This is the whole grammatical sense of the passage. Yet Gallitzin quotes this verse to vindicate the practice of the Church of Rome respecting "images, pictures, and reliques." But he gives us another Scripture proof. He says:

"The Israelites venerated the brazen serpent, a type or figure of Christ, Numb. xxi. 9."

This also is put in a separate paragraph, as though it was a weighty affair. In the Doway Bible, Numb. xxi. 9, reads thus: "Moses therefore made a brazen serpent, and set it up for a sign; which, when they that were bitten looked upon, they were healed." If Romish idolatry can find support in such a verse, we see not why it should not also from Gen. i. 1. But we are not done with this serpent. Some of the ancient Israelites were of Gallitzin's mind, and thought it should be vene-

rated. In 2 Kings xviii. 4, we read of Hezekiah that "he removed the high places, and broke the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it." The Doway version has it, "and broke the brazen serpent which Moses had made: for till that time the children of Israel burnt incense to it." If Hezekiah were alive and had his way, papal images would fare as this brazen serpent. He was a great iconoclast.

A portion of Scripture sometimes brought forward to show that we may pray to *saints in heaven*, is that where Paul says, "Brethren, pray for us." But Paul never called on dead men and women to pray for him, nor did he say, Brethren, pray to dead men or women for me. The sense of what Paul said evidently is, "Pray to God for us;" and Romanists will admit as much, but then they say, if Paul asked men and women to whom he spake and wrote on earth to pray for him, we may ask the saints to do the same for us. The answer is, that if we and the saints whose prayers we solicit, are on earth, as Paul and those to whom he wrote were, we may safely do as he did. But how can the dead hear us when we cry? They are in the land of silence. They no longer hear the earthly wail of woe, the voice of the oppressor, or the cry of friendship. To say that they in heaven can hear us all over the earth, is to deify them.

If any ask how Romanists suppose that saints in glory become acquainted with their prayers, one of their greatest doctors, Bellarmine, shall answer. He says: "Concerning the manner in which they know what is said to them, there are four opinions among the doctors:

"1. Some say that they have it from the relation of the angels, who at one time ascend to heaven, and at another time descend thence to us.

"2. Others say that the souls of the saints, as also the angels, by a certain wonderful swiftness which is natural to them, are in some measure everywhere, and themselves hear the prayers of the supplicants.

"3. Others, that the saints see in God all things, from the beginning of their beatitude, which in any way appertain to

themselves; and hence even our prayers which are directed to them.

"4. Others, lastly, that the saints do not see in the Word our prayers from the beginning of their blessedness, but that our prayers are only then revealed to them by God, when we pour them forth."

It is not our purpose to examine at length these several particulars. The first would make the employment of angels very different from any thing taught in Scripture. The second contains the absurdity that there is a limited kind of omnipresence. The third supposes a limited kind of omniscience. The fourth shows a very singular kind of process to be going on, and, if true, should lead us first to ask God to tell the saints what we wish them to ask God for us. The whole four are thoroughly fanciful, and without the shadow of support from any portion of Scripture.

But some say, Jacob wrestled with an angel, and would not let him go till he got the blessing. Let us look at this whole case. Where the history of this event is first given, in Gen. xxxii., this angel is called a man, that is, he had the appearance of a man. But no sooner did he leave Jacob than it is added: "And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel, (*i. e.* the face of God,) for (said he) I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved." This appearance of a man, then, was a manifestation of God, and Jacob knew it was God before he left the place. Indeed, the angel said: "As a prince thou hast power with God." As this was a memorable event in the life of the patriarch, he afterwards referred to it. When dying, he said, "God of my fathers, the God which fed me all my life long to this day, the *angel* which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads." Gen. xlvi. 15, 16. And in Hosea xii. 4, 5, an explanation yet more full is found: "Jacob had power with God, yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed; he wept, and made supplication unto him: he found him at Bethel, and there he spake with him, even the Lord God of hosts: the Lord [Jehovah] is his memorial; therefore turn thou to thy God." Nothing could be more clear than that Jacob spake that night with God. These passages infallibly determine who this man, this angel was; it was the angel

of the covenant, Jehovah, the Son of God, "the Lord God of hosts," who before his actual incarnation, more than once assumed the appearance of a man. And yet this praying to the angel, who by Hosea is called Jehovah, is brought forward by the great modern champion of Romanism, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner, in his "End of Controversy," to establish the lawfulness of worshipping created angels. On p. 210 of Lucas's edition, he says: "That it is lawful and profitable to invoke the prayers of the angels, is plain from Jacob's asking and obtaining the angel's blessing, with whom he had mystically wrestled, Gen. xxxii. 26, and from his invoking his own angel to bless Joseph's sons, Gen. xlvi. 16."

Romanists adduce other texts to evince the lawfulness of their idolatrous practices, such as this: "Render to all men their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour." Having quoted these words, the author of the preface to "The Glories of Mary," says that God "thus expressly sanctions our doing homage to the exalted dignity and transcendent splendour of his servants in heaven." p. x. But how does this prove that we should pray to saints or angels? Render to all men their *dues*. Religious worship is no man's due. That belongs to God alone. There are more than five hundred passages of Scripture in which religious worship, prayer, and supplication, are spoken of, and yet not in one of them is any such command given or implied as this: "Pray to the angels, call upon the saints for help or mediation." Learned Papists of high authority rely very much on other things than the word of God for most of their idolatrous practices. Thus Peter Dens says, "Prove that the images of Christ and the saints are to be worshipped. *Ans.* It is proved in the first place by the Council of Trent." The rest of his argument is of the same character.

That Romanists in the United States do approve of what their bishops and pope elsewhere appoint and enjoin, there is no room for doubt.

Enough has been proved to justify us in saying to all who would make salvation sure: "Come out of this Babylon and flee to Christ alone. Come out of her, that ye receive not of her plagues." Rev. xviii. 3. "For the rest of the men, which

have not been killed by her plagues, have not repented of the works of their hands, but worship idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk. Rev. ix. 20. Come out of her and flee to Christ. Forsake the pope and embrace the Lord Jesus. Leave the city of the Seven Hills, and escape to the mountain, to Calvary.

ART. III.—*Ebrard on the Apocalypse.*

The Revelation of John, Explained by Dr. J. H. A. Ebrard, etc. etc. 1853. 8vo. pp. 667.*

OUR readers have already been notified of the appearance of this volume. The evangelical sentiments of Dr. Ebrard, coupled with the ability, originality, and thoroughness which he has displayed in his former publications, particularly his Commentary on the Hebrews, his treatise on the Gospel History, and his Systematic Theology, naturally create an interest in his views upon the Revelation. It shall be the aim of this article merely to report, without commenting on them, the contents of the volume before us.

The introduction discusses in one hundred pages the authorship of the Apocalypse, the history of its interpretation, the principles upon which it ought to be interpreted, and those points of Old Testament prophecy which here find their fuller expansion. Ebrard maintains, in opposition to Lücke and others, that this book is from the pen of no other John than the apostle, to whose gospel it stands related, somewhat as the Acts of the Apostles to the Gospel by Luke, of which it is the continuation. The pretended lack of unison between the spirit and teachings of the Apocalypse and those of the Gospel and Epistles of John, from which a diversity of authorship has been

* Die Offenbarung Johannes, erklärt von Dr. J. H. A. Ebrard, Consistorialrath und Hauptprediger zu Speyer, Mitglied der historisch-theologischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig und der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

argued, is answered by denying its existence. Alleged linguistic differences between this book and the other productions of the same apostle, are disposed of by pointing out their actual and striking coincidences of style,* while the diversities that remain are accounted for by the new point of view under which, from the altered character of the composition, things are necessarily regarded, or by the hebraic style naturally adopted in a prophecy in imitation of the great and only existing models of the Old Testament.

The testimony to its apostolic origin is abundant and decisive. Papias, for twenty years a cotemporary, and, according to Irenæus, a pupil of the apostle John, is quoted by Andreas of the fifth century, to the effect that the Apocalypse is "worthy of credence." And although no specific testimony has been preserved from him that the apostle John was its author, rather than a presbyter of that name, (whose existence Ebrard admits, though Hengstenberg denies it,) yet as it was according to the unanimous voice of antiquity, the apostle John, who was banished to Patmos, Rev. i. 9, leaves it no longer an open question who wrote it, if it be a genuine and credible book. In the second century, to come no further down, witnesses can be brought from every region, and from all parties in the Church, from Chiliasts and Anti-Chiliasts, from Montanists and Anti-Montanists, from Syria, from the banks of the Rhone, and even from the bosom of the Apocalyptic churches themselves. This book is cited by Theophilus of Antioch, by Apollonius, by Clement of Alexandria, in the epistle of the churches of Lyons and Vienne. It was the subject of a special work by Melito of Sardis. Justin Martyr says expressly that its author was one of the apostles of Christ. Irenæus appeals in behalf of the correctness of the reading

* Peculiarities common to the Apocalypse with the Gospel and Epistles of John are such as the nominative with the article in place of the vocative, ἐρχεσθαι for ἐρεθαι, apposition instead of a genitive or adjective, εἰς as a circumlocution for the partitive genitive, repetition of the possessive, e. g. John ii. 12; Rev. vi. 11, instrument denoted by ἵνα, future with ἵνα in place of the conjunctive, οὐ μή with the indicative, ἵνα more frequent than ὅπως, καὶ in place of δέ or κανόν, nominative in apposition with an oblique case, lack of agreement between the adjective or relative and its noun, etc.

666 to the testimony of men who had seen John himself. Polycrates says that John, who lay on the breast of the Lord, became a priest with the breastplate; that is to say, he was privileged, like the high-priest bearing the Urim and Thummim, to enter the holy place, and receive divine communications.

There is repeated testimony also to the apostolicity of the Apocalypse in that barbarous and almost unintelligible fragment which goes under the name of the Canon of Muratori, an anonymous list of ecclesiastical, rather than of inspired writings, drawn up, it would seem, about A. D. 160. The omission of this book from the old Syriac version does not require the assumption of any doubts as to its inspiration or apostolic origin. It was omitted simply because it was not thought generally edifying, or adapted to the ordinary uses of public worship. For the same reason, it was passed over without mention in the Laodicean Canon, and in that of Cyril, both of which were designed to guide the private reading of catechumens, and the public reading of the churches; and there is evidence from Cyril's other writings that he regarded this book as canonical. The rejection of this book by an insignificant body of heretics, known as the Alogiani, is of no critical weight, as all admit. Dionysius of Alexandria was led, in his zeal against the Chiliasts, to deny the apostolic composition of this book; but that did not prevent Eusebius, also an Anti-Chiliast, from ranking the Revelation among the books whose inspiration was universally acknowledged; though there were some, as he afterwards adds, who (on grounds like those of Dionysius) counted it spurious.

As our author regards the history of apocalyptic interpretation from a point of view different from that which prevails among ourselves, his remarks on that head may not be devoid of interest. The earliest commentators upon the Revelation, set out with the presumption, that, as a book of prophecy, it must contain a summary of Church History, on to the end of time. They may, with their successors who adopt the same fundamental idea, be denominated the historiological school. The Revelation is made to tally throughout with the history; not by taking large and comprehensive views of its whole course,

investigating its true spirit, and determining the epochs and events which really mark the progress of the kingdom of God; but the book is treated as though its only design were the gratification of a prying curiosity, and the prophecy is linked with its fulfilment by no surer bond than that of a casual external similitude. The Abbot Joachim (1180) was one of the most distinguished among the earlier representatives of this school. He divided the history of the Church, up to the time in which he lived, into six periods, symbolized respectively by the first six seals, and repeated again substantially in the trumpets and the vials. Nicolaus de Lyra (†1340) explained the seven seals, of the history as far as the time of Julian; the trumpets, of the period from Julian to Mauritius; chapters xii. and xiii. brought the prophetic narrative down to Charlemagne, the vials to the Emperor Henry IV., &c. Vitringa, though addicted to the historiological method, combined with it idealizing tendencies. The seven epistles represent, according to his view, seven main periods in the history of the Church; the seals disclose the fate of the Church, the trumpets the fate of heathen Rome, and of Rome in the middle ages, the vials the final judgments upon Rome, as the mystic Babylon. The strangest mal-interpretations follow as of course upon the adoption of such a method, even to explaining the fifth vial of the removal of the Papal See to Avignon, and the horses of the sixth trumpet, from whose mouth issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone, of the invention of cannons and of gunpowder.

One branch of this school have busied themselves with attempted calculations of the mystical numbers with which this book abounds. So Whiston, Bengel, and many others since, unintimidated by the palpable failures in the reckonings of those who have preceded them.

The Reformation is an important epoch in Apocalyptic interpretation, though it gave rise to no school of commentators. The gain then effected was due, not so much to the direct application of exegesis to this book, as to the light which events shed upon the connected scheme of Providence and of prophecy. And the progress made is to be looked for, not so much in commentaries specially devoted to clearing up the

mysteries of this book, as in the more general Christian writings of the period. As the Reformers became increasingly sensible of the meaning and character of the times in which they lived, the conviction took irresistible hold of their minds that the great antichristian power which oppressed them was the beast of Rev. xiii. In this sentiment they were entirely unanimous: it was even by some Churches inserted among their articles of faith; and this must be regarded as a settled point in the exposition in all time to come. With this substantial correctness, however, of the conviction entertained by the Reformers upon this point, there was an error easy to be accounted for in the form in which it was commonly presented. The scheme of Providence was unfolded sufficiently to reveal the identity of the Roman hierarchy* with the beast of Rev. xiii. But the indications were wanting then, which have since appeared, that this was to be succeeded by another power which in a new form should raise a yet more terrible opposition to the Church of God, the scarlet-coloured beast of Rev. ch. xvii, identical, or at least its head identical, with the man of sin, of whom Paul forewarned the Thessalonians, and with the personal antichrist in whom Satan becomes, so to speak, incarnate, spoken of in the epistles of John, whose appearance is immediately to precede the second advent, and who shall be directly destroyed by Christ at his coming. They were mistaken in confounding the Romish Babylon with the last and highest concentration of antichristian power. Their mistake, however, naturally grew out of the fact, that the developments of history had as yet cast no light upon what lay beyond their own times. This cannot vitiate the substantial correctness of the view then opened up to the consciousness of the Church.

The progress of the Reformation period was followed by a retrocession or a reaction, originating in two quite distinct quarters, viz., the hierarchy and unbelief. The champions of

* The Reformers, as Ebrard adds here in a note, never regarded the Roman Catholic Church as antichrist, but only the Papacy in that Church. They always carefully distinguished between the hierarchy and the people composing its communion. Viewed under this latter aspect, they never denied that the ecclesia Romana collectiva was a part of the ecclesia universalis visibilis, or that it was ecclesia vera quanquam impurissima. Comp. Calv. Inst. IV. 2, 12. Quum ergo ecclesiæ titulum non simpliciter volumus concedere Papistis, non ideo ecclesias apud eos esse inficiamus, sed tantum litigamus de vera et legitima ecclesiæ constitutione.

the hierarchy thus sturdily attacked, were compelled to stand on the defensive. In order to maintain their ground, they were forced into an error directly opposite to that of the Reformers. Assuming, in common with their adversaries, the identity of the beast ch. xiii. with the scarlet-coloured beast ch. xvii., and the man of sin, 2 Thess. ii. 3—9, they referred them all to the personal, individual antichrist of the future; the apocalyptic periods were regarded as literal chronological dates, and the fulfilment of the whole was expected in the three years and a half next preceding the second advent.

The retrocession of unbelief began with the Arminian Grotius and culminated in Rationalism. The Apocalypse was stripped of its proper prophetic character, and its sublime predictions were converted into dreamy anticipations or safe conjectures as to the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and heathenism. The only question was, whether its subject was the downfall of the Jewish state (Wetstein, Herder, Züllig,) the downfall of heathen Rome (Semler, Ewald, De Witte,) or that of both (Herrensneider, Eichhorn, Matthäi.)

The events of the French revolution opened the eyes of the Christians on the continent to the meaning of another part of this book. Since that time there has been a general agreement among the children of God in Europe as to the proper interpretation to be put upon the two beasts, Rev. xiii. and xvii. This, however, has not been expressed so much in commentaries as in other ways, and it has not been wrought up into the form of a systematic exegesis. As far as the commentaries of the present are concerned, this may be denominated the period of confusion. Principles, methods, and results are all unsettled. Even the boundaries between the symbolical and the literal have not been definitely drawn. The old Jesuitical view has been revived of late among Protestants (Hofmann, Hebart,) by which the whole is thrown into the future as a detailed account of three years and a half preceding the advent. The opposite rationalistic extreme also survives, by which every thing is explained of the very origin of Christianity, as "ideas" respecting the fall of Jerusalem, or that of heathen Rome, which did or did not meet their realization. Whilst the intermediate space is occupied by the

historiographical school which continues its search after all the details of ecclesiastical history. The school which finds in the Revelation a disclosure of the grand epochs of the Church of God, and of the elements out of which its development should proceed—which finds in it not conjectural ideas, nor the barren details of Church history, or of eschatology, but true, real prophecy, is yet in its infancy.

Many of the disclosures of the Apocalypse are already anticipated with greater or less distinctness by the Old Testament prophets. There are predictions uttered by both Isaiah and Jeremiah, which did not meet their full accomplishment at the coming of Christ, and which shall not, until he comes again. It was not disclosed to them when the events which they foresaw were to be accomplished, nor by what long intervals they were to be separated. Up to the time when the visions were granted which are recorded in the book of Daniel, the people of God may not have known but that the termination of the exile would be immediately followed by Messiah's advent, and by the consummation of all that had been promised of the glories of his reign. To Daniel was first revealed, in their chronological succession, the four great empires of the world, whose character and fortunes were symbolized by the metallic image, and again by the four beasts of a later vision. And here our author presents us with a very original interpretation of the prophecy of the seventy weeks. These are weeks of years, and are to be reckoned from the close of Jeremiah's seventy years, over which Daniel had just been meditating and fasting, that is to say, from B. C. 538, when the captivity was terminated by the decree of Cyrus. "From the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks:" where an error is assumed, on the authority of the text of the Septuagint, in the Codex Chisianus, which reads, seventy and seven weeks, (=539 years.) The year of the nativity would consequently fall in the 77th week, reckoning from B. C. 538. "Threescore and two weeks the street shall be built and the wall," *i. e.*, Jerusalem shall have been built up again for 434 years when Messiah comes. This complete rebuilding of Jerusalem is dated from the visit of Nehemiah, in the 20th year of Artax-

erxes Longimanus, B. C. 445. The 62 weeks would accordingly expire B. C. 11; and as Christ was born six years before the vulgar era, the advent falls within the very next week after the predicted term had elapsed.

Then follow Messiah's death, and the overthrow of the Jewish State; after which it is added, "He shall confirm the covenant with many in one week." This week does not commence when the threescore and two terminate, nor is it like them susceptible of computation. It is a mystic week of indefinite length, commencing at the death of Christ, and extending over the conversion of the Gentiles. This week is divided into two halves of unequal length, by the cessation of sacrifice and oblation at the destruction of Jerusalem, which took place just the half of 70 years after the death of Christ.* The second half, of unknown duration, extends on from that point of division to the end of the present dispensation. This semi-septenary period is identical with the time, times and a half, of Israel's dispersion, Dan. xii. 7, and reappears as the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, or 42 months, or 1260 days of the Revelation. It is not to be confounded, however, with another prophetic period, also semi-septenary, but briefer, described Dan. vii. 25, as a time, times, and the dividing of time, which marks the persecution of the post-Roman enemy of the Church, and which is identical with the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days of Antichrist's triumph in the Revelation.

The Revelation is divided into four visions: the first containing the epistles to the seven churches; the second the seals and trumpets; the third the woman persecuted by the dragon, the beast from the sea, and that from the earth, with the judgment upon them; the fourth the vials, and all that follows, to the end.

The angels of the seven churches to whom the epistles are addressed, were simply the messengers and representatives of those several churches, who visited John in Patmos, and were made by him bearers of these divine communications. That these epistles have not barely a historical, but, in addition, a

* So p. 76. But on p. 334 the birth of Christ is made the beginning of this mystic week, and on pp. 494 and 583, his ascension is spoken of as the point of division.

typical and prophetic meaning, is argued from the prophetic character of the entire book, from their being addressed by Christ seen in vision to the churches which he holds as stars in his hand, as he in fact holds the universal Church; from the charge, repeated afresh in each epistle, "He that hath ears, let him hear," implying not only that all may gather instruction from them, but that they are directly addressed to all; and from the mystic character of the number seven. These churches were selected as apt types and representatives of the universal visible Church, not in all of its possible conditions, with the view of exhibiting the various forms of excellence or of degeneracy to be emulated or to be shunned; but they are a prophetic picture of actual conditions or states of the Church, and that not during seven successive periods, reaching from the ascension to the second coming of Christ, (Vitringa,) nor seven co-existing phases to be presented by the Church, immediately preceding the second advent, (Hofmann,) but partly consecutive, partly co-existent. The Old Testament allusions in the first four epistles are regarded as intimations of their successive character: in the first, paradise; in the second, temptation by Satan; in the third, the manna, and Balaam, both belonging to the times of the Exodus; in the fourth, Jezebel, and the kingdom of David, referred to in the "rule with a rod of iron." As this last is a prediction extending into New Testament times, and even to the latest period, and the only scriptural allusions in the epistles that follow refer to the same period—the book of life—the New Jerusalem—sitting on the Saviour's throne—this is held to be an intimation that the states of the Church therein set forth are cotemporaneous, extending side by side to the end of all things. In determining the particular periods or phases of the Church here represented, the names and the scriptural allusions are held to be significant, as well as the condition portrayed in each epistle. Ephesus is the representative of the apostolic Church, of which it was also in fact a part, and hence in this alone of the epistles a real name is introduced, that of the Nicolaitanes. Smyrna is the martyr Church, from the death of John, the last of the apostles, to Constantine, (A. D. 100—325); the ten days of tribulation are the ten general persecutions. Perga-

mos is the Church from the fourth to the ninth century; its characteristics are, possession of the imperial throne once Satan's seat, and consequent corruption, while nevertheless the true faith was carefully defined and rigidly adhered to. Thyatira is the Church of the middle ages. The remaining epistles represent phases of the Church springing from the Reformation: Sardis is the high Lutherans; Philadelphia the Reformed Churches of Britain, America, and the continent of Europe; Laodicea has no proper antitype in existing church organizations, but if the extreme Schleiermacher party were to form themselves into a separate body, it would answer precisely to them.

In the second vision, as is shown by its exordium, Christ no longer appears in his relation to the Church as its Shepherd, but in his relation to the world as its Sovereign Lord, who has already, as the slain Lamb, potentially vanquished his and his people's foes, and under whose omnipotent sway all the powers of nature shall be made to contribute to the advancement and final triumph of his kingdom. The four and twenty elders before the throne are the twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles, representing the Church of both dispensations. The thunderings and lightnings proceeding from the throne betoken not the divine wrath, but the infinite glory and almighty power of the Lord of nature. The sea of glass before the throne in contrast with the turbulent sea symbolizing the restless, heaving nations of this world (Rev. xvii. 15) denotes the pure and peaceful multitudes of heaven, creatures in their true normal relation to the great Creator, the calm, unruffled mirror of their Maker's glory. The four living creatures set forth the Creator's power in the various modes of its manifestation in the universe.

The opening of the first four seals discloses not particular events to occur consecutively in the order there indicated, but general facts repeatedly recurring in the divine administration. Christ riding forth to victory upon the white horse, the same that is seen returning (Rev. xix. 11,) does not meet its accomplishment in any single historical event. The figure upon the white horse must be taken also not by itself, but in conjunction with those that come after upon the red, black, and pale horses. Christ rides forth to victory, to gain for his Church

the victory over the world: war, famine, and death follow in his train, are employed by him as instruments to effect the intended subjugation. These are not judicial inflictions upon the ungodly alone, but calamities sent in the ordinary course of Providence, from which both the righteous and the wicked suffer, but whose aim and actual result is the furtherance of the kingdom of the Redeemer. The fifth seal is likewise not an individual event, but a manifestation of the truth, that by such judgments as the foregoing, the blood of the martyrs is not yet avenged. It is thus far the period of the divine forbearance, a time of gracious respite to the unconverted, a time of trial to his believing people.

The sixth seal contains premonitions of the approaching judgment, the same precisely that our Lord himself foretold as antecedents and signs of his second coming. Matt. xxiv. 29-31. The opening of the seventh seal reveals the judgment itself expanded into seven distinct scenes, the seven trumpets. Before the last seal is opened, however, and the judgment has actually come, the people of God are set in safety from its effects. The vision of the seer is first directed to the Church militant on earth, then to the Church triumphant in heaven. The former appears under the form of the tribes of Israel, because at the period contemplated Israel shall be converted, and the heathen shall be incorporated into their communion. All the tribes named are now in actual existence: not that the ten tribes are for the present concealed in some undiscovered region, whence they shall at some future time be brought forth and recognized. The ten tribes returned to Palestine, in as full a sense as they ever are to return, when leave was granted them in common with the Jews by Cyrus. The name of Dan is missing from the list of the tribes (Manasseh being substituted in its place) simply because that tribe is no longer in existence: it had perished before the return from Babylon, as is shown by the circumstance that no registers were preserved of that tribe as of all the others. 1 Chron. iv.—vii. The sealing of the Israel of God denotes that those of his people who are living on the earth when the judgments of the Most High break in upon an ungodly world, shall be effectually protected from all harm. For this reason they are accurately numbered,

that every individual of them may be known and kept safely. The twelve thousand of each tribe is the mystic number of the patriarchs and apostles multiplied a thousand-fold. The innumerable multitude from all nations who next appear, are those who have died before the judgment is inflicted. They are seen already possessed of all the felicity and glory of heaven. God's true people, both those who are alive and remain and those who have fallen asleep, being thus provided for, the last seal is opened: for half an hour all heaven waits in breathless expectation, and then judgment is let loose.

The contents of the seventh seal are unfolded under the seven trumpets. It might be supposed, therefore, that the judgments symbolized by them were chronologically subsequent to the sixth seal. This, however, is not the case. In the sixth seal were seen the immediate precursors and signs of Christ's second coming, and the whole world was trembling before the wrath of the Lamb: and yet even under the sixth trumpet men are still living on in obduracy and sin. Is it possible to bring in six events, one of them of five months' duration, however that period be reckoned, between the sixth seal and the coming of Christ, which must be in fact simultaneous? Besides, in the sixth seal the sun and moon were already completely darkened in a literal, physical sense; and yet in the fourth trumpet the third part of the sun and moon is smitten. If this is to be taken in a literal sense, it cannot of course succeed their total obscuration; still less if it is to be figuratively understood, for it is a law of prophecy, that figurative and spiritual accomplishments precede the literal and full accomplishment, but never the reverse. The first six trumpets must consequently precede the sixth seal. The hands of the apocalyptic clock are not, however, here set back. The first four seals contained general calamities wrought by means of natural causes, and consequently have not the character of a judgment for the shed blood of the martyrs. The fifth contained a call for such a judgment; and in the sixth the day of the Lamb's wrath opens, in the mode predicted by Christ himself, by those great catastrophes in nature visible alike to good and bad, which are not themselves the judgment, but its heralds and precursors. In the first six seals is thus brought to a close every thing that

befalls the righteous in common with the wicked. For the seventh seal, or in other words, for the seven trumpets is reserved the whole of what is inflicted on the enemies of God alone and as such. The chronological order is not the thing regarded, but only the announcement of what those penalties shall be which are specially to overtake the haters of Christ and the enemies of his people; and in this announcement is included not barely the ultimate judgment to be inflicted at his second coming, but all that has been inflicted upon them from the very first. The distinction between the first six seals and the first six trumpets is thus not chronological, but qualitative: the former are calamities befalling good and bad alike; the latter appertain to the wicked exclusively.

From this it will be seen that the sealing which follows the sixth and precedes the seventh seal cannot be, at least as regards the earlier trumpets, a single event whose chronology is fixed by its place in the vision. But while there is in the eschatological period a particular event signified by it, it must in the case of the earlier trumpets merely indicate the altered relation in which the saints of God stand to the seventh, from that in which they stood to the other seals. They are secured against these judgments as they were not against the others.

In order to connect the judgments that follow more clearly with hostility to the saints, of which they are the righteous retribution, an angel appears with a censer and incense, which he is to "give to the prayers of the saints," *i. e.*, those prayers have ascended, but have not yet been answered; they are now to be made effectual, and to obtain a hearing. The incense is offered with fire from the burnt altar, beneath which the souls of the martyrs had been heard, vi. 9, 10, crying for vengeance, and on which they had been sacrificed. Coals are cast from that altar to the earth; thunders, lightnings, and an earthquake follow, and then seven angels with trumpets prepare to sound.

As the first four seals were general in their character, portending not single events, but classes of events, not individual calamities, but kinds of calamities which were repeatedly to recur, so the first four trumpets are predictive of as many

generic forms of judgment upon the ungodly, and in each case the physical stands as a symbol of the spiritual. The first trumpet is followed by a terrible storm of hail and fire like that of Egypt, whose terrors are enhanced by blood, the blood of the martyrs which those visited by it have shed, and which destroys the means of subsistence. The thing intended is the spiritual famine with which they are visited who resist the truth, and persecute its adherents: witness Spain, Italy, France. By the second trumpet, the medium of intercourse, and the sources of commercial wealth, are converted into a mass of corruption, and become a curse instead of a blessing. By the third, the springs of life and enjoyment are embittered and poisoned. By the fourth, the centres of light are struck with darkness; and intellectual power and culture, forsaken of God, instead of elevating and refining, only blinds, bewilders, and misleads. That it is the third, not the whole, which is every time affected by these judgments, intimates that the withdrawal of spiritual blessings, however alarming, is not yet absolute nor total.

The fifth and sixth trumpets portend individual events, both future, and both occurring under the instigation of evil spirits. The falling of the star from heaven, under the fifth trumpet, simply represents, under a visible symbol, that a sudden and supernatural effect is wrought on the earth, or the bottomless pit, by a potency proceeding from God out of heaven. The abode of Satan and his angels is opened, and demoniac locusts pour forth, with the commission, not like natural locusts, to devour grass and trees, but to torture men, and for a continuous period, for five months. Its precise chronological duration cannot be determined, as this, like other notes of time in the Apocalypse, is a mystical period. The interval between the ascension of Christ (destruction of Jerusalem?) and the entrance of the eschatological period, marked by the conversion of Israel, the fall of Babylon, and the setting up of the kingdom of Antichrist, is a mystic $3\frac{1}{2}$ years; the dominion of the ten kings is to endure for one hour, xvii. 12; the triumph of Anti-christ lasts $3\frac{1}{2}$ days. As this plague endures for five months, it must precede, at least in its commencement, the reign of Antichrist, though its close may and does extend into the $3\frac{1}{2}$

days. It is to be looked for, therefore, before the final fall of the Romish power. It lies still in the future, and its character cannot as yet be accurately defined. By the sixth trumpet, fresh hosts of infuriated demons are let loose, not to torture merely, but to slay. The hour, and day, and month, and year for which they are prepared, does not express the duration of their ravages, but only that the very hour when they shall commence is definitely fixed in the divine purpose. The four angels under whose leadership they rush forth, are spoken of as bound in the great river Euphrates, because it was upon that Babylon was situated. The mystic Babylon is the birth place of these wild and revolutionary hordes. Infidelity is the child of superstition. The might of Babylon still holds them bound; its fall shall be the signal for their being let loose. These judgments are the last, though still an ineffectual means to bring men to repentance.

Before the sounding of the seventh trumpet, there is an episode, whose aim is to set forth those means employed for the conversion of men which were not ineffectual. The little book in which these were revealed was first sweet, then bitter; sweet, because of the result, that men were to give glory to God; bitter, because of the sufferings through which the pious must first pass before that end is reached. The temple, with its worshippers, *i. e.*, the Church of Christ, as the true Israel, is to be saved from destruction, while Israel after the flesh, and their capital city, Jerusalem, are to be given up to the gentiles, and trodden under foot of them 42 months, a mystic period, extending from the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, to Israel's conversion and return. Meanwhile God's two messengers, the Law and the Gospel, continue to give their testimony during the whole of this period, calling a wicked world to repentance, bringing down upon them blessings and curses, torturing their consciences, and disquieting them in their sins; until, in the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days of Antichrist's sway, their testimony shall no longer be endured nor listened to, but laughed to scorn. But suddenly the despised, rejected volume of eternal truth shall retake its power to work on obdurate hearts, and fill them with anguish and dismay, and then it shall be immediately taken up from them. Simultaneously a fearful judgment, of what nature

can be known only from the event, shall overthrow a tenth part of the kingdom of Antichrist. The remainder of men shall be affrighted, and give glory to the God of heaven. With the seventh trumpet follows the end. Christ comes, and his triumphant kingdom is erected over all the earth.

The third vision exhibits the hostility of Satan and the world against the Church; first against Israel, before and after their conversion, chap. xii., next against the Church in its gentile form, chap. xiii. The woman seen in the vision is the literal Israel, not in so far as they have sinned, and still sin, by the rejection of Christ, under which aspect they are a synagogue of Satan, but in so far as in spite of their present unbelief they yet possess the promise of a future restoration, and are by consequence hated of Satan. She is clothed with the sun, and wears a crown of twelve stars, as the destined light of the world, and has the moon beneath her feet, as the conqueror of night. Her child is the Messiah, born to rule all nations with a rod of iron. The dragon, who stood ready to devour him, is Satan. His tail draws a third part of the stars of heaven, and casts them down, in allusion to his seducing great numbers of angels to their fall. He appears with seven heads and ten horns, as the prince of this world, whom the kingdoms of the world obey. The Messiah, whom he sought to destroy, was caught up from the cross to the throne. His rage was then turned against Israel. But an asylum was prepared for them in the wilderness of their present exile, where for eighteen centuries their preservation has been a standing miracle, and where they are still kept for what is yet in reserve for them. At the end of the appointed 1260 days of their banishment, Michael, Israel's guardian angel, Dan. xii. 1, shall make war upon the dragon who is in heaven as their accuser. He is able to continue those accusations as long as Israel remains in their guilt and unbelief. Michael's vanquishing him implies that he has no longer any right to accuse the people, that their guilt has been removed. See Zech. chap. iii. The meaning is therefore that Israel is now converted. Satan, no longer able to pursue his hostility by accusing them in heaven, persecutes them on earth. From this persecution the woman is shielded by receiving two wings of a great eagle to

bear her into the wilderness. This eagle is identical with that, viii. 13,* which announced the woes at the sounding of the fifth trumpet. This is held to intimate a relation between that trumpet and the persecution of the woman. The fury of the abysmal locusts is for five months directed upon the enemies of God: toward the close of the period to which their duration is limited, the conversion of Israel takes place; and now, at Satan's instigation, the locusts turn their rage against them, or rather against the entire Church, which from the moment of the return to God of his ancient people, puts on the form of Israel, into which the believers from other nations are incorporated. The shelter afforded to Israel from this attack of Satan and his emissaries, is the event denoted in the second vision by sealing the twelve tribes. In the case of the earlier judgments, that sealing had simply an ideal character, representing the truth that the people of God were kept in safety. But now the sealing takes on an outward form, and is incorporated in the act of providing for them a secure retreat, probably Palestine. There they shall be guarded from every assault for a time, times and a half: this is not the longer, but the briefer semi-septenary period; not the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, or 1260 days of their present dispersion, but the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days of Antichrist's triumph. Continuing his impotent hostility, Satan casts a flood out of his mouth after the woman, to reach her if possible in her asylum. This flood is the armies of Antichrist, or the vast ungovernable host of the sixth trumpet, which immediately precedes and partakes of the character of Antichrist. The earth opening her mouth to swallow up this flood is the same event as the cleaving of mount Olivet, Zech. xiv. 4, like a second Red Sea, for the escape of Israel, and the destruction of their foes, immediately consequent upon which is the coming of the Lord.

Baffled in his attempts to injure the woman, the devil goes to make war with the remnant of her seed, which as distinguished from the woman herself denotes the gentile believers who are also the seed of Israel in a spiritual sense. This hos-

* The received text has "angel" in this passage, but the preponderance of critical authority seems to be in favour of "eagle."

tility against the gentile Church is described, not by continuing the account of the dragon's movements, but by opening a new scene: and as in two similar instances before (the trumpets, ch. viii., and the little book, whose contents are given, ch. xi.,) in which fresh scenes were introduced upon a vision already begun, the prophecy goes back and commences its portraiture of the new element from the beginning. A beast rises from the troubled sea of nations. It is a mixture of the leopard, the bear, and the lion, the beasts of Daniel's vision (Dan. vii.) to intimate that it combines them all in itself. It is the empire of this world in an absolute sense, of which the various empires which have in succession played their part upon the stage of history are but different phases. Its seven heads are the seven great empires which have been, or are to be, as explained xvii. 10, the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, Syrian,* Roman, and that of the ten kingdoms in their future separate existence. For the present these last are but the ten horns upon the sixth or Roman head, subsisting with it and regarded as a part of it, in the same way as the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image still formed part of the feet. The beast is here represented as persecuting the Church in its gentile form, that is to say, prior to Israel's conversion, when it puts on an Israelitish form: it must consequently be the Roman power, or that phase of the empire of this world indicated by the sixth head, which is especially intended. The same thing appears from the duration of its power being forty-two months, the mystic period from the destruction of Jerusalem to the conversion of Israel, during all of which Rome is to subsist. Hence there are crowns upon the ten horns of the sixth head to denote that the sovereignty is resident in that head for the time. The dragon, on the other hand, had crowns on all his seven heads, to indicate that he ruled in all the empires of the world, and that his hostility to Israel was exercised, not during the continuance of one empire alone, but during the whole of them. The head wounded to death and healed is the reigning head of the period, the

* This is inserted on the ground of Zechariah's predictions relating to this empire. Hengstenberg leaves this out, and begins the list with Egypt.

Roman empire overturned by the incursions of the barbarians, but reviving again and rising to its former greatness, so that Rome under the pontiffs became the seat of as powerful a despotism as Rome under the emperors. It is to all intents and purposes the old empire revived. The distinction between secular and ecclesiastical dominion is merely formal, not essential, and is consequently not recognized by the prophecy. The Papacy was a worldly power, exercised over the kingdoms of the world, and on worldly principles. The beast from the sea is not the Papacy; but it represents, as already said, the kingdom of this world in its form as the Roman dominion, in which it subsists from the time of Christ to the future conversion of the Jews. The fulfilment shows that since the thirteenth century this dominion has been concentrated in the Romish See. The Papacy, therefore, is not excluded; but there is included with it everything that belongs to the kingdom of this world. The Papacy is only one of its phases.

This particular phase is now set forth under an additional emblem, that of a beast coming up out of the earth, *i. e.*, not out of the tumultuous agitation of the nations as the one before it had risen, but out of a firm and settled state of political relations. As it is called "the false prophet," xvi. 13 and xix. 20, it must be, in pretence at least, a spiritual power. Nothing is said of its form or appearance, except that it had two horns like a lamb. The horn is the symbol of power. It possesses, therefore, or rather claims to possess, the same power which belongs to the Lamb, or to Christ. That there are two horns may even find its explanation in claims like those of Gregory VII. *Sedes apostolica . . . spiritualia decernens dijudicat, cur non et saecularia?* echoed by Bernard, *Uterque ergo ecclesiæ (est) et spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis.* It does not appear that the beast resembled the Lamb in any other respect; he spake like the dragon, xii. 9, or Satan. Pretending to be Christ's vicar, he seduces men away from Christ, using dragon-like (Gen. iii. 5, Matt. iv. 4, etc.) God's words in perverted senses or for ungodly ends. The pseudo-lamb exercises all the power of the first beast before him, not merely similar or equal to his, not a co-ordinate, much less a rival power, but the very same. The pope has

taken into his hands the identical sceptre of the Cæsars. The papal supremacy is further set up as the image of the empire with all the *prestige* attached to its remembered greatness. Not only salvation, but the enjoyment of civil rights and privileges, is made dependent on receiving the name of the beast. Its number 666—*Λατεῖνος*,* or לְטָבֵד, may have been intentionally so selected as to admit of interpretation from both the Greek and Hebrew, while the three figures of which it is composed are but the triple repetition of 6, Rome's number in the list of empires, xvii. 10.

This description of the enemies of the Church is followed by two consolatory scenes. First, the vision of the whole body of the persecuted saints in glory, to which they are translated immediately after death, without needing to wait for their recompense until their enemy is overthrown. Second, just judgment is inflicted on their great adversary. Three precursors are heralded by angels of the coming of Christ, which is to reap this harvest, ripe for vengeance, and to tread to overflowing the winepress of Almighty wrath. These are cotemporary with the three final woes inflicted under the trumpets on the ungodly. They are (1) the rapid and unprecedented spread of the gospel among the heathen, which, as the fulness of the gentiles is to come in before Israel's conversion, Rom. xi. 25, must take place before the expiration of the five months of the fifth trumpet. (2) The fall of Babylon, or of the Roman phase of the kingdom of this world, the sixth head of the beast. The beast itself is not yet finally destroyed. It is still in existence when the following angel makes his announcement, xiv. 9, in the form of the power represented by the seventh head, or that of the ten kingdoms in their separate and independent state, and after that the eighth or Antichrist, xvii. 11, 17. The Roman dominion, however, falls, and with it the Papal see. This overthrow of the kingdom of superstition is effected by the “infidel and democratic” hordes of the sixth trumpet, or second woe. (3) Warning is given of the approaching judg-

* It is suggested in explanation of the use of *Λατεῖνος* rather than ‘*Papuzios*’ to designate this power, that the latter in the age of the apostle would suggest a sway over the entire world, while the dominion intended was not to cover the East, but to be specifically Occidental, and Latin.

ment. Then Christ comes, and terrible vengeance is taken upon the realm of Antichrist.

The fourth vision winds up the affairs of the Church and the world, revealing their ultimate issues. It opens with a view of the saved triumphing in heaven. Then follow the seven vials, which are poured out during the mystic $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, and produce not such calamities as affect both the righteous and the wicked like the seals, nor such judgments as are visited upon an ungodly world at large like the trumpets, but such as are inflicted specially upon the seat of the beast, upon his conscious and decided adherents. The last three vials are identical with the last three trumpets, differing only in the sphere within which they are regarded as operative. The first four vials cannot be identical with the corresponding trumpets, inasmuch as these do not represent specific and individual judgments, but kinds of judgments which are sent again and again. They are, however, analogous to them, only of heightened intensity. The trumpets were of a negative character, deprivations; these are positive inflictions. Under the first vial there is not merely the loss of spiritual food, there is spiritual torture. The second marks a more dreadful corruption than that of the second trumpet. The third gives them blood to drink who have shed blood, and it has met its accomplishment, as often as a people trained to a thirst for blood by scenes like that of Bartholemew's day, satisfy their tiger-cravings upon those by whom they were first excited. By the fourth, a perverted science is not quenched in darkness, but heated to fanaticism. From the fifth, it appears that the evil spirits of the fifth trumpet proceed from the seat of the beast, and make it their first object of attack. In the sixth vial, three foul spirits, political, ecclesiastical, and Satanic, Mobocracy, Pantheism, and God-defying Blasphemy, shall gather the hosts already seen under the sixth trumpet, first for the assault of Babylon, and then they shall arm themselves against God Almighty, to meet the fate of the Canaanites under Sisera at Megiddo, Judg. v. 19. The drying of the Euphrates signifies the capture of Babylon, with allusion to the expedient adopted by Cyrus, and foretold by Isaiah. The kings of the East are the captors of Babylon, they are so called because the literal

Babylon was taken by invaders from the East, as prophecy had repeatedly declared that it should be, Isa. xli. 2; xlvi. 11, etc. They are identical with the four angels, the leaders of the host under the sixth trumpet.

As the seventh vial was poured out, the great city was divided into three mutually hostile parts. This great city, (the same with xi. 8, but not xvii. 18,) is not Babylon, but the realm or sphere of all that sets itself in opposition to Christ and to his people. The three parts correspond with the three foul spirits by which this mass of wickedness had been gathered, the three heterogeneous elements of which it is composed; the political shall be at war with the ecclesiastical power, and both in conflict with a power direct from the abyss, or that of Antichrist. Babylon sinks and Antichrist rises. This is more fully expanded and expounded in two special scenes, occupying respectively ch. xvii. and ch. xviii. In the former, the Roman dominion or the Papacy appears no longer identical with the kingdom of this world, but is reduced to a weak, defenceless woman, supported by an empire no longer hers. The crowns have fallen from the sixth head. It is now the dominion of Antichrist. The colour of the beast is that of blood freshly shed; the raiment of the woman that of blood shed long since. This beast is not compounded, as its predecessor was, of a leopard, bear, and lion. The former beast had names of blasphemy upon its heads; this beast is full of them. This beast was and is not; it had already existed and perished in the time of John; what this means shall be explained presently. It shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, not like the others out of the sea or earth, but directly from Satan out of hell. The seven heads, considered with relation to the woman who sits on them, are seven mountains; the woman is therefore unmistakably the seven-hilled city, Rome. The same heads, considered with relation to the beast, are seven kings, *i. e.*, seven successive empires. Five of these had fallen in the time of John; one, the Roman, was then in existence; and the other, not yet come, is that of the ten kingdoms, which, after subsisting for a while alongside of the Roman power as constituents of it, ultimately, for a brief space, rise into its place as a separate phase of the world's

kingdom. The beast that was and is not, *i. e.*, the one which John saw, the scarlet-coloured beast is both an eighth empire, and one of the previously existing seven. The key to this mystery is furnished by Daniel, who in ch. xi. of his prophecy, predicts a tyrant to arise after the Macedonian monarchy, Antiochus Epiphanes. In ch. vii. he predicts another tyrant to come after the fall of the Roman monarchy, and to continue until destroyed at Christ's second coming. The descriptions of the two tyrants run completely parallel. The post-Macedonian tyrant is a type and prefiguration of the post-Roman; the post-Roman is, as it were, the post-Macedonian risen again. The Syrian monarchy of Antiochus Epiphanes is, as stated above, the fifth of the seven heads: it shall rise again as the kingdom of Antichrist. This is true, not geographically, as though Antichrist were to rise in Syria, for according to Dan. vii. 20, he is to arise from the midst of three of the ten kingdoms; nor personally, as though Antiochus Epiphanes were to be identically raised as the Antichrist; but the spirit and character of the two are the same.

The woman, the ten horns, and the scarlet-coloured beast, correspond with the three parts into which the great city was divided; the Papacy, now impotent, no longer holding the reins of empire, the ten kingdoms dominant for one hour, and the Satanic empire of Antichrist. The ten kingdoms shall destroy the Papacy, then submit to Antichrist, and with him make war upon the Lamb, and be overcome in the unequal contest. In chap. xviii., Babylon's fall is more particularly described, and in the first verses of chap. xix., heaven's exultation at her overthrow.

After the fall of Babylon must be supplied from xi. 7—11 the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days of Antichrist's supremacy. During this time, the Lamb's wife is dressed in white, safely sheltered in the asylum which has been provided for her against the double attack of Antichrist, xii. 13—15. Then follows the coming of Christ, and the destruction of his foes, which completes the contents of the seventh vial.

Satan is next confined to his prison for a thousand years, a mystic period, not calculable, but immensely longer than the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, not to say the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days, which preceded it.

That will be the Messianic period proper, in comparison with which the present preparatory stage shall be not worth mentioning in the insignificance of its duration. Christ's kingdom shall be set up in visible glory over all the earth. The martyrs, and all the true worshippers of every age, shall be raised from the dead, and the members of the Church then living shall be changed. 1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 17. These reign with Christ, not in heaven, but on earth, over the nations which had not been included in the kingdom of Antichrist, but which shall now be christianized. The seeming incongruity of having the earth thus tenanted at once by the glorified saints, and by nations in their mortal state, is thought to be relieved by the fact of our Lord's continuance in the world for forty days after his resurrection. When the term of his confinement has expired, Satan shall deceive the unglorified nations once more, and gather them to war against the saints, and be with them miraculously overthrown, and cast into the lake of fire. Consequent upon this is the final judgment upon all the occupants of Hades, of whom there are two classes, those who died ignorant of Christ, and those who positively rejected him. This is succeeded by the physical renovation of the universe, and the coming down out of heaven of the New Jerusalem, in which shall dwell the reigning saints of the millennium, while the new earth generally shall be tenanted by such of the heathen dying ignorant of Christ as are found capable of healing by the leaves of the tree of life. What becomes of those among the nations who were converted during the thousand years, no intimation can be found. They are certainly not among those judged according to their works; for believers are not so judged. Perhaps they die, and are translated to heaven; perhaps they are successively changed as they live on earth.

In conformity with our design announced at the outset, merely to exhibit, not to discuss the views of our author, we leave them without remark to the judgment of our readers.

ART. IV.—*Inaugural Address, delivered at the Danville Theological Seminary, October 13, 1853.* By Edward P. Humphrey, D. D. Cincinnati: 1854.

OF the eloquent discourses at the late inauguration of the Danville Faculty, the one before us has especially arrested our attention at this moment, as affording the occasion for a few remarks upon the Method of Church History. The Discourse itself, without affecting learned or profound discussion, either on the general subject, or on any special topic, gives a gratifying augury both of the spirit and the principles by which the historical instructions of this new Church School are to be characterized. The sound discretion, liberality of sentiment, elegant culture, devout spirit, scholarly and felicitous expression, by which different parts of this address are distinguished, conspire with a coincidence of judgment upon most of the points touched, to make us wish for something still more elaborate and professional from the same pen. To this meagre account of a performance which we may suppose to be already in our readers' hands, we take the liberty of adding some reflections of our own, upon the same or kindred subjects, partly suggested or recalled by its perusal.

There is something remarkable in the actual condition of the study of Church History. While it seems to be receiving more and more cultivation from a few among us, it fails to command the general attention of the educated public in the same proportion. There is even some disposition to depreciate it theoretically to excess, but chiefly on the part of those who, in the very act of doing so, betray their own need of the discipline which nothing but such studies can afford. The raw and blustering polemic, who mistakes every fresh reproduction of exploded heresies for something peculiar to his own church or village, is very apt to sneer at the only pursuits which could have taught him better; and the self-inspired prophet or interpreter of prophecy, as well as the transcendental dreamer and disclaimer, may be pardoned for their natural antipathy to History, as the science of facts and actual events. Of such she is sure to be avenged, sooner or later, when their own

history comes to be written, or what is far more likely and more dreaded, left unwritten. But apart from these sporadic cases of avowed contempt for history, there is certainly a general indifference to historical theology, even among such as cherish no such prepossessions; an indifference which shows itself by negative rather than by positive expressions, or not so much by any expression at all, as by simply letting it alone, and failing to derive either pleasure or sensible advantage from the study. We are strongly of opinion that, beyond the requisitions of academical or professional examination, there is very little reading of Church History in any way, and that little rather as an irksome task, though only self-imposed, than as a congenial intellectual employment or indulgence. This fact is the more worthy of remark, because it is only in the way of copious continued reading *con amore*, that a real knowledge of history can be acquired. In the sciences, properly so called, whether physical or moral, much may be accomplished by mere dogged perseverance, under proper guidance, and with due attention to fixed laws and principles, even, so to speak, against the grain of taste or inclination. But historical knowledge, practical or permanent, to have any value, must be gained by laboriously yet willingly sifting grains of gold from heaps of sand, with this important difference between the literal and figurative process, that the gathering and assorting and laborious separation of the crude material is not, in the latter case, a necessary evil, to be gladly avoided by ingenious contrivances and labour-saving arts, but an absolutely necessary good or means of good, without which the product, gained by such economical or indolent expedients, would be altogether worthless, not in itself, but relatively to the intellectual improvement of the person thus securing it. What we mean to express by this perhaps ill-chosen illustration is, that the dry details of history, the proper names and dates and technical divisions, furnished by the cheap compendium or the table of contents, so far from being the quintessence of the subject, to which copious reading only adds a mass of superfluous rubbish, is itself of little value to the individual student, except as the result of his own collective and constructive labour. This view of the matter has nothing to do with what is often falsely

called the philosophy of history, but is strictly a lesson of experience, which all have learned for themselves, who have attained to any clear and satisfactory acquaintance, not with notions or theories of history, but with its bare and stubborn facts.

We do not think it necessary to enlarge upon the grounds of this opinion, or the causes of the fact alleged, or to attempt a demonstration of its truth, which is sufficiently attested by the actual experience of all successful history-readers, who are well aware that they must read much in order to learn even a little, and that no attempt to get at the little by itself can possibly succeed, because, for some cause, known or unknown, the laborious separation of the dross from the ore, and of the chaff from the wheat, seems in this case necessary to the value of the product or residuum. The utmost that the best historical instructor can contribute to the success of his disciples is incitement and direction, not abridgment of labour. He may stimulate attention and awaken curiosity, and suggest new combinations, and indeed new aspects of the truths acquired; but they still must be acquired by the pupil's patient yet spontaneous industry, which can no more be dispensed with or superseded by the teacher's combinations and arrangements, than a *catalogue raisonné* can answer for a library, or a glass case, with its shelves and pigeon-holes, supply the place of the specimens which ought to fill it.

If this be so, a want of interest in the study of Church History, not as a part of every modern theological curriculum, but as a favourite subject of professional and general reading, must be fatal to its influence and cultivation; and assuming, as we may do without much offence to any whose concurrence we are anxious to secure, that this is a result by no means desirable, especially in this age and country, where precisely such correctives of ignorant conceit and narrow bigotry are needed, we propose to offer some suggestions in relation to the probable causes of the existing state of feeling, which will be at least one step towards the discovery of a remedy.

The cause cannot be a want of interest in history, as such; for, in one form or another, it commands more readers than all other subjects; a fact sufficiently attested by the experience of

"the trade," as it is technically called, and by the records of all lending libraries. Nor can it be the want of something to awaken curiosity and interest the cultivated mind, in the peculiar nature of the subjects treated; for they are the very subjects as to which men's intellects and passions are most easily excited, when presented in a certain way, and which, in fact, do interest the great majority of sensible and well-informed readers, under any other shape than that which they assume as part and parcel of Church History. Discussions and intelligence, connected with church organization or with points of doctrine, are by no means unacceptable to multitudes of unprofessional readers of our public prints; while, to a more select and cultivated class of laymen, there is a peculiar attraction in the history of literature and opinion. Now, as these all enter largely, as constituent elements, into the structure of Church History, the almost universal want of taste for it must spring from something, not in the essential nature of the subject, but in the conventional and customary mode of treating it.

This goes at once to the root of the evil—if it be an evil—and enables us to state, in general terms, as the occasion of the prevalent distaste for this kind of reading, the neglected but unquestionable fact, that Church Historians have, for some mysterious reason, thought it necessary to depart from the usages of historiography in general, and to adopt a method as distinctive as the dialect and dress of the Society of Friends. That this has not arisen, by a natural or logical necessity, from the religious nature of the subject, is certain from the simple fact, that it is just as real a departure from the scriptural as from the classical models, which indeed, with all their minor variations, are entirely alike in that exquisite simplicity, which is always the fruit either of consummate taste or of divine inspiration.

Without going much into detail, it may not be unacceptable or useless to state a few historical facts, as to the form or method of Church History. Its wildest, rudest, and least artificial form, like that of history in general, is the purely chronological or annalistic, the exact enumeration of events in the order of their actual occurrence, without attempting either to distribute or connect them. This is not so much historical

composition, as an aggregation of historical materials, to be wrought and moulded by the minds of others. The absence of all literary merit, in such cases, is not always made good by exactness and fidelity in point of fact, as is known from many of the medieval chronicles.

The first departure from this lowest species of historiography—we do not mean the first in time, for the examples just referred to are posterior by ages to Tacitus, Herodotus, and Moses—is the clothing of the calendar or table of chronology, in narrative costume, so as to admit of being read connectedly, but still without attempting to combine or group the homogeneous events, and still adhering to the order of time, as the only known law of arrangement, going back to the same topics as they reappear, however often, or however sudden the transition, till the series is exhausted. This, though not in its extreme form, is a fair description of the earliest Church Histories with which we are acquainted, and of which Eusebius is at once the most familiar and most noble type. This second stage, unlike the first, does not necessarily imply the absence of artificial and ambitious rhetoric, an attribute by no means wanting in the venerable Father of Church History, though still more frequent and offensive in some of his Byzantine continuators.

Next to this in quality, though not in time, is the pragmatic method of historiography, in which the topics are selected and combined with a deliberate view to some specific purpose, but without necessarily departing from the strictest accuracy as to facts. This mode, of which Polybius was long regarded as the author and great classical example, is supposed by many modern writers to be also exemplified in one of the four Gospels, that of Matthew, which is now very generally reckoned, not a mere chronological recital of events, but a historical argument, intended to establish the Messiahship of Jesus, by showing the coincidence between his life and the Old Testament prophecies.

It is only perhaps a more ambitious and elaborate variety of this same species that is honoured, by itself or others, with the questionable name of philosophical or scientific history. Or if there be a more decided difference, it is, that in the latter case,

the purpose which gives shape to the whole composition, is more abstract and recondite, an adaptation of the narrative, not to some practical design, but to the general principles or laws by which it is supposed the sequence of events is governed, and by which the form of their recital ought to be determined. Both these modes of composition, however available for good in competent and faithful hands, are evidently liable to great abuse, not only from the *mala fides* of a Baronius or a Pallavicini, but even from the honest zeal of a Sarpi, much more from the self-deified infallibility of a Hegel. It is, therefore, likely that the general suffrage of intelligent and unbiassed men, in full possession of the knowledge necessary to a sound decision, would be quite unanimous in rejecting both extremes of this ascending series—that of a rude inelegant simplicity, as well as that of artificial and extreme refinement.

What we have now said has been often better said before, and is as true, in its essential parts, of one kind of history as of another. We have introduced it only as a basis, or a fulcrum, or an entering wedge—or any other metaphor of equivalent import that the reader pleases—for the main fact in this history of historiography, to which we wish to call attention, and in which we hope to find a key to the mysterious distaste with which the friends both of History and of the Church so frequently regard Church History, as if the combination of these factors—to employ the modish modern term—were like some chemical mixtures which evolve a product wholly unlike both ingredients.

The fact from which we undertake to draw so much is closely connected with the very birth of Ecclesiastical History, as a modern science. It is a very interesting circumstance, that this branch of theological literature sprang not from the old trunk, Greek or Roman, but from the wild olive bough grafted in by Luther. Besides the bare fact of paternity or pedigree, which is intrinsically full of meaning, there are several collateral considerations coupled with it, and directly bearing on the end for which it is here cited. The origin of Church History, in its modern form, was not only Protestant and Lutheran, but, in the highest degree, controversial and polemical. In no case, probably, before or since, has the prag-

matical character been stamped so legibly on any history as on that noble monument of industry and learning reared by Matthias Flacius the Illyrian and his fellows, and for ages even popularly known by the name of the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*.* It was in fact the first Church History that deserved the name, and it derived a large part of its worth and power from the definite avowed design with which it was composed—that of proving the corruptions of the church of Rome and the consequent necessity of the Reformation. Besides the influence which such a purpose may have had upon the temper of its authors, and of which we are by no means disposed to complain, it had an influence upon the form and structure of the work, which we think has not attracted due attention. As the purpose of the writers was to show the changes for the worse that had occurred, it was important that these changes should be rendered singly as distinct as possible, and presented in the boldest and most prominent relief. This could hardly be accomplished by the ordinary methods of historiography, which call for some harmonious blending of the lights and shades, and some attention to the rules of perspective, in this as in every other kind of painting. But such a process, however agreeable to taste and usage, would have failed to answer the pragmatic and polemic purpose of these brave old partizans and champions. In the true spirit of reformers, therefore, they invented a new method, such as the world had never seen before, but such as it has seen too often since. For it is literally true, that from the days of Flacius to those of Schaff, this great thesaurus of invaluable documents and facts, which but for it would have been lost, has served not only as a spur to the ambition of all subsequent historians, and an exhaustless storehouse of materials, but as a literary norm and model, not to be sure in style or diction, but in structure and arrangement, even as to points in which the Magdeburg Centuriators differed from the whole world of historians besides, throughout all ages, from Melancthon up to Moses.

The grand peculiarity of this new method, thus entailed

* The real title is: *Ecclesiastica Historia, integrum Ecclesiæ Christianæ ideam complectens, congesta per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica. Bazel, 1559—1574. (13 centuries in 13 volumes.)*

upon Church History, we fear for ever, is the destruction of its unity, by breaking it up into a system of co-ordinate or parallel histories, or rather of lines radiating from a common source, and afterwards converging to a joint conclusion, but in the mean time quite distinct, or only so far connected as to make "confusion worse confounded." This innovation in historiography, the final cause of which has been already hinted, was effected by a system of rubrics or categories, under each of which the narrative was to be successively drawn out, so as to constitute a little independent history, connected with the rest by a federal rather than an organic union. But as the separate history of doctrine, of church government, &c., carried through a millennium and a half, was too much even for the patience of old Flacius himself, the continuity was broken by dividing the whole work into centuries, and then applying the Procrustean framework to each century in turn. By this arrangement the great work in question acquired not only its distinctive name, but a complex synthesis of vertical and horizontal subdivisions, not unlike those of a chess-board or a multiplication table.

The substantial truth of this description, and its relevancy to our purpose, would remain unshaken, even if it could be shown that subdivisions of the same essential kind had been often used in history before. Even granting that they had been, it was never on so great a scale; or, even granting that, it was never in a work destined to exert so powerful an influence on subsequent historians. The main fact of the case is, not that Flacius or his collaborateurs invented this device, but that they perpetuated and immortalized it, giving shape and complexion, more or less, to almost every book since written on the subject, and practically teaching men to think that the history of the Church is so specifically, nay, so generically different from every other history, not only in its facts, but in its principles or essence, that it cannot be written on the same plan, and as a necessary consequence, so far as the immense majority of readers is concerned, cannot be read on any plan at all. For we do conscientiously believe that this peculiarity of form, indelibly imprinted on Church History, by men of mighty intellect and prodigious learning, and of a noble zeal for

truth and godliness, but wholly swayed by controversial motives, and entirely destitute of anything like taste in composition or arrangement, has done more than any other cause whatever, to make this branch of history insipid, not to say repulsive, even to those who have a strong partiality for history in general.

We are well aware that one part of this statement would be charged with inexactness, not to say with falsehood, by the Germans and their indiscriminate admirers. We mean the statement that the method introduced, or rendered current, by the Magdeburg Centuriators, has been since retained by all church historians of any note, especially in Germany. In seeming inconsistency with this, we know that almost every German book upon this subject, even in the very act of giving due praise to the Centuriators, as sources and authorities, professes to repudiate their faults of method, and to go far beyond them in all that relates to form and structure. But profession and practice are not more invariably connected in the making of Church Histories than in the more common walks of life, and we must take the liberty of looking somewhat closely into this pretension of the late historiographers.

The plan of the Centuriators, as we have already seen, is complex, and includes two distinct methods of division, which might be presented to the eye by the vertical and horizontal columns of a table. One of these is the division into centuries, the other the division into heads or rubrics. The first may be called the Chronological, the second the Topical part of the arrangement. Although intimately blended in the actual structure of the work, these methods are entirely distinct and independent of each other, inasmuch as either of them might have been employed without the other; that is to say, each rubric might have been continued through the whole without distinguishing the centuries; or on the other hand, the history of each century might have been chronologically stated, without any classification of topics. It is the formal combination of these methods that gives character externally to the great standard work of which we have been speaking.

Now in reference to both these features of the plan, the later German writers claim to have made great advances on the

ground assumed and occupied by the Magdeburg Centuriators. Let us see in what this improvement consists. In the chronological arrangement it consists in having professedly discarded the division into centuries, and substituted for it a division into periods of unequal length, determined, not by arbitrary measurement, but by the salient points or epochs of the history itself. There is no alleged improvement in historiography, on which the German writers seem to dwell with more complacency, and fuller persuasion of its reality and value, than on this. It is no longer spoken of as something that admits of doubt or question, but as an admitted or established truth, to be assumed in every new advance towards perfection. It is in this spirit, although not precisely in this form, that the centurial arrangement is referred to, as an obsolete absurdity, by the two latest writers on the subject in this country, Dr. Schaff and Dr. Humphrey. This weighty and unanimous prescription, in behalf of the new method, makes it all the more incumbent upon those who venture to dissent from its conclusions, to inquire into the specific grounds on which they rest for their validity.

The favourite objection to the old arrangement is, that it is arbitrary and mechanical. But so, to some extent, are all expedients to assist the memory, not arising necessarily from something in the very nature of the subject, but the fruit of "art and man's device," however rational and well contrived. Their being contrived at all, subjects them to the charge of being arbitrary, and, in some degree, mechanical, since every periodical arrangement that has ever been proposed is after all an artificial frame-work, which requires some effort of the understanding to insert it in its proper place, and still more effort of the memory to keep it there. The mere degree, in which it can be justly called mechanical or arbitrary, is not now in question. The essential fact is, that these qualities do not belong exclusively, even admitting that they do belong pre-eminently, to the old division into centuries.

Sometimes this vague charge is made more specific by alleging that the centuriel arrangement already presupposes all the various series of events, and sequences of causes and effects, to be simultaneously wound up at the end of every

hundred years; whereas the threads are of unequal length, and while one falls short of the century, another overruns into the next. Besides the false reproach thus cast upon the old arrangement, which professes to be only an approximation and a practical convenience, this plausible objection quietly ignores the fact, that the very same thing may be said with equal truth, though not of course true to the same extent, of every periodical division that can be imagined. However nearly such divisions may approximate to the ideal standard, it will not be seriously alleged, that any of them has succeeded in making all the threads of history coincident in their commencement and their termination, so that nothing overruns the mark or falls below it. That this is peculiarly the case with the centuries, because they are more numerous and uniform, is true, but may be made good by peculiar advantages of other kinds.

Another reason for believing that this boasted change in the chronological method of Church History is not so philosophical in principle or useful in practice as its advocates imagine, is the endless diversity of periodical divisions, which have been proposed to take the place of the exploded centuries. It seems as if there would be no end to the process of invention on the part of the prolific Germans, so that really there may be ground to fear that it will soon defeat itself by making all points salient, and every notable event an epoch. Instead of striving after uniformity, and trying to let well enough alone, each new competitor for fame in this department seems to think it necessary to attempt a fresh improvement in the period and epoch manufacture. The extent to which it has already gone, may be learned by a glance at Dr. Schaff's concise and clear account of the most important schemes, prefixed to his own ingenious schedule, which we look upon as much the most complete and beautiful of all these modern chronological arrangements. To avoid technical minutiae, we refer the reader to that passage, with the simple additional suggestion of a mode in which the information there afforded may be brought to bear, in a concentrated form, upon the question now at issue. For this purpose, let the reader take some noted event of ecclesiastical importance, and observe into which

division and subdivision it will fall according to the several arrangements there described. We must also add, in order to complete the statement there made, that Kurtz, in the latest of the many forms through which his valuable history has passed, not contented with the changes he had made already in the periodological arrangement of the subject, makes another, by establishing the year 692 as a great epoch, with an evident assurance that instead of adding a new element of strife to the existing chaos, he has brought the whole affair perceptibly and measurably nearer to perfection. Now the practical question to be solved is, how are we to choose between these various schemes of periodology, and after we have done so, how are we to keep the chosen scheme in mind, amidst the constant variations, not of others only, but of the very man, perhaps, by whom it was discovered and revealed at first.

In opposition to this picture of the discord which prevails among the periodologists, it may be said, that there is now a very general agreement as to the division of the whole subject into three great parts, the Ancient, the Medieval, and the Modern; and that this agreement vindicates the new school of historians from the sweeping charge of endless and incurable diversity. We answer, first, that some of those who thus agree as to the three divisions, in defining the limits of the first and second, differ by two centuries. Neander, for example, makes the middle age begin at the close of the year 590, Kurtz in 692, Hase in 800! Yet they all agree in the general assumption of three great divisions. We answer, in the next place, that this general division, far from being the invention of the new school, is, even in its modern form, as old as Mosheim, and is perfectly consistent with the old division into centuries, by grouping which it is in fact obtained. Apart, then, from this obvious and general division, which is common to all recent schemes and methods of Church History, we hold that the interminable variations of the modern periodology are proofs that it is founded upon no just principle, but in its measure as "mechanical and arbitrary" as the old centurial arrangement, which, with all its stiffness, has the merit of being just what it pretends to be; and at the same time, from its very uniformi-

ty, is perfectly intelligible, readily available, and easily remembered.

A further confirmation of these views may be derived from the notorious fact, that even those who clamour loudest for the Periods and against the Centuries, are after all obliged to make the latter the substratum of their own arrangement, so that while they parade periods of their own invention in the running title, they tell us in the body of the page that such and such events belong to such and such a century, and even indicate the characteristic features of whole centuries, as such; so that instead of superseding the old method by a new and better one, they spoil both by mixing and entangling them together.

Besides all this, we have another serious objection to the disuse, whether theoretical or practical, or both, of the centuri al arrangement. It is this, that it inevitably tends to widen the already yawning chasm between ecclesiastical and civil history. It seems, indeed, to be regarded by the modern German school as an advantage to increase this separation, and so far from seeking to avail themselves of epochs and divisions previously familiar, they endeavour to avoid such synchronisms, and to plant their stakes as far as possible from those already in the ground for other purposes. Even in the History of Doctrine, which is really a large part of Church History, they seem to make a merit of drawing lines of demarcation wholly different from those already drawn in other parts of the same general field. This preposterous passion for variety and novelty has no doubt been fomented by the artificial and excessive division of literary labour in the German school, which, while it tends to make the treatment of each minor subject more exhaustive, at the same time tends to rob the whole of uniformity and unity. And this is not a mere esthetical defect or fault, but a practical aggravation of the evil into which we are inquiring, that of too great a diversity between the forms and methods of ecclesiastical and other history. No wonder that the general reader, even the most cultivated, feels himself repelled from this great subject, when he finds that at the entrance he must leave behind him the

familiar and time-honoured methods of remembering dates, with which all his other historical studies are associated.

Our conclusion, then, as to the modern chronological improvements in the method of Church History, is, that they are, to a great extent, illusory or only nominal, and, so far as they are real, rather injurious than useful to the clearness, unity, and beauty of the compositions, whose distinctive form and structure are determined by them. The true use of these numberless and endless periodologies is not to shape the history itself, but to indicate its salient points, and aid the understanding and the memory, by furnishing an adequate number of convenient epochs. There is no more need of cutting up our books to match them, than there is of marking the meridians or parallels of latitude by furrows in the soil, or fixing the imaginary lines of the terrestrial globe by hedges, ditches, or substantial walls. The taste which would incorporate all such divisions into the very structure of a history, is similar to that which used to make, and often still makes, the title page of books a table of contents, if not a laudatory puff into the bargain. The proper place for such contrivances is in the index or synoptical table, not in the body of the book itself.

We venture, somewhat timidly, to add, that in this, as in many other points relating to the outward part of literary labour, we regard the Germans as still far behind the very nations who depend upon them for things more substantial. To evince this, we need only refer to the continued practice of some German writers, preposterously copied by their slavish imitators here and elsewhere, of dividing the same matter into large and small type, often without the least discoverable principle to regulate the process; or the still more objectionable habit of appending all additional matter to the text as notes, instead of working it into the appropriate portion of the text, as the best English writers, and the French, almost without exception do. This practice, frequently occasioned by the stated periodical revision of the lectures, out of which most learned German works are made, is sometimes carried to a length almost incredible to English readers; every afterthought, however unimportant or essential, being thrown into the margin in a manner perfectly mechanical, and utterly unworthy of the intellect and

learning of the author. Another instance of inferiority in taste as to externals, more immediately connected with our present subject, is the almost puerile gradation of divisions, subdivisions, and sub-subdivisions, which even the most celebrated German writers seem to think conducive to the clearness and completeness of their books, but which only serve to make them repulsive to the eye and burdensome to the memory. Let any one compare such a nest of puzzles, with its endless systems of concentric circles, to the simple series of consecutive chapters, in which Gibbon or Thiers presents a complex history to the reader's eye, with perfect ease and clearness, and without the least confusion or asperity. The two things are as different as a public building, so symmetrically planned and ordered, that the stranger can scarcely lose his way if he would, and one in which he is directed or restrained at every step by sign-boards, hand-bills, barriers, and other marks of division, which may all be theoretically in the right place, but, so far as comfort and convenience are concerned, are very clearly in the wrong one, being much better suited to the architect's design, or to the map of the building hung up in the vestibule, than to the interior of the house itself. Even Dr. Schaff's volume, the literary excellence of which is so generally and justly praised, would have commanded still more admiration, if its formal structure, no less than its words, had been translated out of German into English.

We may be thought, however, to have lost sight of the end which we proposed to accomplish, that of showing that the later Church Historians have adhered unduly to the model set before them by the Magdeburg Centuriators; whereas we have really been showing that they have departed from it for the worse. But this is true only of the chronological part of the arrangement, in which they have indeed exchanged one simple, well-known, and effective method, for a number far more complex, and at variance with each other. In the topical arrangement, on the other hand, they have adhered, with still more unfortunate results, to its essential principles, although they are entitled to the praise of having simplified its outward form. This improvement lies in the reduction of the number of distinct heads or categories to a smaller number, and in the more

symmetrical adjustment of these few to one another. The essential principle retained is that of carrying the history through each of these divisions under every period, and then recommencing with another topic. So far from being relieved by the alleged chronological improvements before mentioned, the inconveniences of this arrangement have been aggravated. For if the history is thus to be divided into shreds or slices, the more they are limited in length the better; for the sooner then can we return to the point of departure, and connect the various shreds together. It is far less tiresome, after going through the history of Church organization during some one century, to go back and enter on the history of its doctrinal disputes or changes, than it is to go through the same process in relation to a period of several hundred years. With all that is attractive in Neander's great work, there are probably few patient, persevering readers, who have not felt something like a faintness of spirit, when, after reading a whole volume on the controversies of a certain age, and notwithstanding the instruction and delight afforded, feeling pleased that they have finished it at last, they find, on taking up the next part, that they are to go back to the same distant, half-forgotten starting point, and travel over the same ground in search of something else before neglected; that after having gathered all the flowers through a hundred or a thousand miles, they are to start afresh and gather all the pebbles, and then make the journey for a third time, catching all the butterflies. If history, as some have represented it, is really a mighty river, down which the historian is conducting a company of travellers, how distressing is the very thought of first descending one bank, then the other, then the middle of the stream, then the channels upon either side, throughout the whole course, from its rising to its estuary! How much more delightful, and more useful too, to make but one descent, surveying both banks and the stream itself, passing from one side to the other, with irregular, but, for that very reason, less fatiguing changes, and receiving every moment the entire impression of the undivided landscape! The first named method may be best for the surveyor or the engineer, but surely not for the great crowd of voyagers in search of health and of general improvement. The

other may be difficult to manage well: but so is everything intended to secure, by complex means, a great harmonious result. If possible, it surely is worth trying. Let the Church Historian, in his own preliminary studies, act the engineer or the surveyor; but before he undertakes to pilot and to entertain a great mixed multitude of pleasure-seeking passengers, he ought to be prepared to take a less professional and more attractive course.

Dropping these figures, which we have not strength or skill to manage, let us briefly compare this favourite method of Church History with the general usage of historiography. Why has it been so much confined to the school of the Magdeburg Centuriators? Why do we find so little trace of it in classical or sacred history? How have the most eminent historians of other kinds been able to dispense with it? If the life of Washington or Bonaparte, each really the history of an age and nation, can be skilfully and powerfully written on the old and simple plan, without continually going back to start afresh and run a parallel to what we have already done; if, with a few insignificant exceptions, wholly or partly generated by this bad example, no one thinks of giving us the life of Washington, from end to end, first as a man, then as a soldier, then again as a statesman; if, should any one be able so to write it, no one save himself could read it; why is it utterly impossible to write about the Church and its vicissitudes, except in the peculiar form impressed upon the subject several centuries ago, by men whose strength lay not in taste and form, and that too for a temporary purpose, which has long since been accomplished? It is equally curious and provoking to observe, that the contemporary Germans, with all their characteristic scorn for old opinions, and spontaneous preference for what is new as to substantials, should philosophize and reason about this venerable relic of the Magdeburg Historians, as an axiomatic principle, to be assumed in all their reasonings and plans, without the least doubt or discussion of its truth or its necessity. We wish that, in America at least, while every lawful use is made of their researches and accumulations, a return may take place, in the mode of exhibition, to the primitive and

simple method sanctioned by the usage of the Bible, the Classics, and Historians in general.

But what is this method? Leaving out of view all peculiarities, personal or national, and looking at the great authoritative models just referred to, as a class, we have no hesitation in answering that the only genuine historical method is that which aims to exhibit the ingredients as elements of history, not in independent strata, but in one homogeneous composition; not as separate pictures, but as figures in the same; and this not merely with a view to more agreeable effect, but as essential to the highest intellectual and moral end to which history itself can be conducive; and which no detached and desultory inspection of the topics can secure, without a simultaneous and harmonious view of all together.

If it be still asked how these views are to be realized, and put in practice, we reply, first, by discarding all traditional, unnatural, and peculiar methods, and by bringing Church History back into connection with its kindred branches of the same great subject. In the next place, we suggest, as highly probable at least, that this is not to be effected by the use of any one expedient, any more than medical empiricism can be remedied by simply substituting one patent nostrum or quack doctor for another. What we most desire for this department of theology among ourselves, is freedom and variety of form with unity of substance; a wise dependence upon those who have gone further than ourselves in the discovery or illustration of historical truth, with an equally wise independence of the same men, as to things in which we are at least their equals. In realizing this idea, we should not regret to see different experiments conducted by the hands of native authors, not excluding those of foreign birth and education who have freely made this their adopted country. One such corrective might be tried by following the example, set already both in Germany and elsewhere, of giving history a more biographical or personal character, exchanging rigid chronological or topical divisions for the living individuality of great men, into whose lives contemporary history might easily be wrought, without either violence or undue refinement. Another equally desirable experiment would be to let the chronological arrangement

be entirely superseded by the topical, or rather absorbed in it; that is, by treating in succession the great subjects of history in the order of their actual occurrence; now a council, now a controversy, now a critical event, now a typical or representative man, without applying the same set of stereotyped rubrics to each period in succession. This would, it seems to us, approach most nearly to the form and usages of history in general; but as some might find it difficult to navigate the stream without a fixed point to steer by, we would also recommend an improvement on the Magdeburg method, which might still retain whatever advantages it really affords. This modification of the system would consist in substituting for the several co-ordinate topics of inquiry, one alone to which the others should be incidental and subservient. But which would be entitled to this preference? On this point, we propose to say a few words in conclusion.

We have said already that the later German writers have reduced the categories of the old Centuriators to a smaller number, and to better relative proportions. The crude mass has been boiled down, as it were, to a more manageable size and shape. According to the views of the best modern writers, Church History exhibits Christianity in three great aspects—as an Organization—as a Doctrine—as a Life; and as these three phases are produced by the revolving of the same orb in its orbit, we may add a fourth important topic, as included in all recent exhibitions of the subject. This is the area or sphere within which Christianity has operated. Under this head is included the extension of the Church, and, as a kindred topic, its relation to the world, society, and human government. This covers the whole history of persecutions, church establishments, and missions. Under the head of Christian Life is comprehended all that relates to its public or private manifestations, *i. e.*, to worship, and to Christian morals, or practical religion. Under the head of Doctrine is included the history of controversy and opinion, together with that of theological literature. Under the head of Organization are included the two topics of Church Government and Discipline.

Now, in order to determine which of these four phases of the subject is entitled to the preference as the leading topic of

Church History, we have only to inquire which is the least dependent on the others for its own existence or importance, and at the same time most essential to theirs. If this test be applied to the external relations of the Church, it cannot be sustained at all, for it is evident that these derive their very being from the Church itself, and that the Church itself might have existed as a self-contained or esoteric institute, without any such relations at all.

The same is true, though in a less degree, of Organization, *i. e.*, government and discipline, which derive their value from the ends which they secure, namely, purity of doctrine and holiness of life. We can conceive, indeed, of an organization existing for its own sake, without reference to any thing exterior or ulterior to itself. But no one will pretend that the Church, as depicted in the word of God, is such a system.

The choice must therefore lie between the two remaining topics of Church History, corresponding to the two great aspects of the Christian system as a Life and as a Doctrine. With respect to the relation between these, there has occurred a very marked change in the prevailing modes of thought and expression. It has become a favourite idea, with the Germans and their followers, that Christianity is not a Doctrine, but a Life; by which they do not mean, of course, to deny its doctrinal contents or substance as a system of belief, but simply to decide the question now immediately before us—what is the grand distinctive character of Christianity, to which all others may be made historically incidental? The answer given by the class in question is, that it is not a Doctrine, but a Life. This admits of two interpretations. It may mean that the Church has a personal life of its own, in which its members must participate. Thus understood, it is a mystical and dangerous conceit, to which we have sufficiently done justice upon other occasions. Or the words may mean that the great end of Christianity is, not to communicate the truth and stop there, but to engender and promote the spiritual life of its professors. This is true; but it is only true because it represents experimental or practical religion as the fruit or the effect of truth: and as the cause, whether primary or secondary, must precede the effect, it follows that the history of

Christianity, considered as a Life, presupposes its existence as a Doctrine or a system of belief.

On the other hand, this system of belief, though really designed to stand connected with an outward government and discipline on one hand, and with a religious experience and practice on the other, and to be maintained within certain definite external limits, and in certain relations to the world around it, is perfectly conceivable apart from each and all of these concomitants, and yet, as we have seen before, essential to the being, and, of course, to the historical description of them all. It follows, therefore, that the priority, in such a scheme as we have been considering, is due to this great aspect of the subject; or, in other words, that a complete Church History must be a history of the true faith, as rejected or received, expounded or corrupted, by the men to whom it has been sent, and as producing, in various degrees of purity, according to the mode of its reception, a system of government and discipline, adapted to preserve it and enforce it, and a definite religious life and character, both inward and outward, individual and collective, within certain limits, both of time and space, and under certain definite but varying relations to civil rulers and society at large.

If this result of our induction be a just definition of Church History, it suggests a very practicable method of determining its form and structure, by making it a history of Christian doctrine, and subordinating all the other topics to it, not as separate subjects of historical inquiry, but as elements of one unbroken narrative. It is true the Germans have made "*Dogmengeschichte*" a thing by itself; but that is no more a reason for denying it its just place in a system of Church History, than any man or number of men choosing to recount the history of Washington's administration, or his history as a statesman, without any reference to the rest of his life, would require or authorize his subsequent biographers to pass this most essential portion of their subject by in silence, or to slur it over as of small comparative importance.

We are glad to see that this correct view of the place due to the doctrine of the Church in the construction of its History, is recognized, not only by Professor Humphrey, in the excellent

address which has occasioned these remarks, but likewise, if we may rely upon the somewhat vague and irresponsible reports which we have seen of his inaugural discourse, by Professor Shedd of Andover, the two most recent additions to the corps of Church Historians in America. We use the title in the wide sense of historical instructors, whether from the chair or through the press, in which more permanent and extensive mode of influence we hope to welcome and to learn from both hereafter.

ART. V.—*Pamphlets issued by the Chinese Insurgents at Nanking*, to which is added a *History of the Kwang-se Rebellion*, gathered from public documents, and a sketch of the connection between Foreign Missionaries and the Chinese Insurrection; concluding with a Critical Review of several of the above pamphlets, compiled by W. H. Medhurst, Senr. Shanghai, printed at the office of the “North China Herald,” 1853.

THE attention of the Christian world has lately been directed to China in a greater degree than ever before, by the remarkable revolution now going on in that most populous of empires. We propose in the present article to give a brief synopsis of all that we know, from the sources of information within our reach, respecting the origin, progress, and character of that revolution which has convulsed a great nation, and threatens the overthrow of a once powerful dynasty. Definite and reliable information concerning the true character of this revolution, and the views of the insurgents, was first obtained by the visit of the English steamer “Hermes” to Nanking in May, 1853. Previous to that time, indeed, rumours were current among the Chinese at the ports open to foreign commerce, that the insurgents destroyed the idols in the places taken by them; but such rumours were not generally considered worthy of much confidence. It was also said that the leader of the insurrection, who adopted the title T'ienteh, was a professed believer in Christianity, and had been baptized in Hong Kong

by Mr. Gutzlaff. The information obtained at Nanking confirmed the truth of the rumours previously in circulation regarding their iconoclastic practices, and their belief in the doctrines of the Christian religion. It was then found, too, that the insurgent chiefs had set forth their peculiar religious and political dogmas in a series of pamphlets, copies of which were freely furnished to the officers of the *Hermes*. These pamphlets were translated by Dr. Medhurst, and published in the *North China Herald*. They have since been republished in a pamphlet form, in connection with other documents relating to the revolution. They are eleven in number, bearing the following titles:—1. The Book of Religious Precepts of the T'aiping Dynasty. 2. The Trimetrical Classic. 3. An Ode for Youth. 4. The Book of Celestial Decrees, and Declarations of the Imperial Will. 5. The Book of Declaration of the Divine Will made during the Heavenly Father's Descent upon Earth. 6. The Imperial Declaration of T'aiping. 7. Proclamations issued by Imperial appointment from the Eastern and Western Princes. 8. Arrangement of the Army of the T'aiping Dynasty, 9. Regulations for the Army. 10. A new Calendar for the third year of the T'aiping Dynasty. (1852.) 11. Ceremonial Regulations.

Besides these, they have printed the first twenty-eight chapters of Genesis, and it appears by the last accounts, that they have also printed Exodus, Numbers, and the Gospel according to Matthew. It appears to be their intention to republish the whole of the Old and New Testaments, using Gutzlaff's version.

Two hundred years have now elapsed since the present race of Tartar Emperors obtained possession of the throne of China. It was not until after a long and arduous struggle that they succeeded in bringing all the provinces into subjection. The resistance to their rule was prolonged by their attempt to impose upon the Chinese the Tartar costume. They required not only a change of dress, but the tonsure of the head, and the braiding of the hair in the form of a long queue. The people of the southern provinces, especially, long resisted this degrading badge of servitude; but northern valour and prowess at length prevailed, and the refined and polite Chinese were brought under the yoke of their more rude, but also more war-

like neighbours. The revolutionists now sweeping over the country restore the ancient costume, and wear the hair long, using neither the razor nor the shears in making their head-dress, but a more feminine implement, the hair-pin. The Chinese have never forgotten that they are under a foreign yoke, and secret societies have long been in existence, the avowed object of which has been the expulsion of the foreign princes, and the re-establishment of a native dynasty. In the mountain districts of the province of Kwangsi, are a number of tribes of hardy mountaineers, known collectively as the Meaoutsz, who still maintain their independence.

A long period of quiet domination has had the effect of gradually enervating the Tartar conquerors. The weakness of the government has long been manifest in various difficulties between the people of small districts and their local magistrates. Foreigners resident in the country were led years ago to anticipate the overthrow of the Tartar dynasty at no very distant period. If this weakness was so perceptible before the war with England, it became much more so after that war. Government officers were not slow to perceive this effect of their collision with their powerful adversary. Wurantai, Lieutenant-General of the Manchu garrison at Canton, brings the fact to the notice of his Imperial master in a memorial dated in May, 1851. We quote it the more readily because it gives the opinion of a man high in office near the seat of war, and a Manchu, as to the causes which led to the revolution. He says:—"In both the Kwang provinces there are large numbers of robbers and numerous confederated banditti, who upon every occasion, and at a moment's notice, flock together and create disturbances. This is all the result of their observation of the proceedings of the government forces, during the time they were employed in the affair with the barbarians. *Regarding them once as the tiger, they have of late regarded them as the sheep.* Besides this, among the tens of thousands of militia who were disbanded after the pacification of the barbarians, there were some bearing arms for purposes of their own. Of this description of unemployed vagabonds very few set about seeking any lawful calling, but large num-

bers banded together to commit robbery." *Chinese Repository* vol. xx. p. 495.

The operations of this war not only made manifest to the whole empire the inefficiency of the government, but increased very greatly its actual weakness by draining the public treasury. The people were encouraged more frequently to assert their rights with arms in their hands, and to resist the oppression of their immediate rulers—the local magistrates—who are the tax-collectors also. Numerous petty insurrections occurred, in which the people generally secured their point, and then quietly laid down their arms.

The immediate occasion of the outbreak which has led to consequences so serious to the present rulers of the empire, was religious persecution. The Christian religion has been persecuted before in China. The motives which have led to such persecution have always probably been political rather than religious. The hostility has been directed against foreigners and foreign influence, rather than against Christ. Religious rancour seems not to be one of the traits of Chinese character. They are characterized rather by indifference to all religion. It is to be hoped that this long unruffled apathy is about to give place to sentiments that shall produce a deep-seated upheaving of this inert mass. In the wonderful providence of God, China's curse will prove to be China's blessing. Opium has been, under God, the indirect means of opening the empire to Christian influences. The appetite of the Chinese for opium, and that of Western nations for tea, are of modern date, and would seem to have been designed for a special purpose. They have brought China into communion with Christian nations, and chiefly Protestant nations. By means of this intercourse with other nations, some rays of light have penetrated the moral darkness in which the nation is enveloped. The labours of Morrison and Milne produced a complete translation of the Bible. They were followed by others who acquired the language and engaged in similar labours. Tracts and portions of the Scriptures, prepared by them, were widely distributed from Canton. When practicable, advantage was taken of the literary examinations held triennially at that city, to scatter Christian tracts over the province by distrib-

uting them among the students attending the examinations. Canton being at that time the only port open to foreign trade, strangers from all parts of the empire resorted thither for commercial purposes. These often became not unwilling instruments of conveying the written instructions and exhortations of the missionary to remote places, to which he could not have personal access. The effects produced by this means were never supposed to be very great, and whatever they were, they can never be known till eternity shall reveal them. There can now be little doubt, however, that to a cause apparently so trivial, to means so utterly inadequate, may be directly traced this mighty wave of revolution and religious reform, which has swept the land with irresistible power.

In the latter part of 1852, a Chinese gentleman called on a missionary at Hong Kong, avowed his connection with the rebellion in Kwang-si, and gave some account of its origin. This account he committed to writing, and a translation is given in the pamphlet before us. From it and other sources we gather the following particulars.

Hung Siu-tsiuen in his boyhood gave proof of the possession of extraordinary talents. He made great proficiency in his studies, and when fifteen or sixteen years of age attended the examination for his first degree. While attending an examination at Canton, a man "with large sleeves and a long beard" gave him a book entitled, "Good Words Exhorting the Age." Dr. Medhurst thinks this was in 1833, and that the man "with large sleeves and long beard" was the native evangelist Liang Afah, then labouring in the employment of the London Missionary Society, and who at that time distributed large numbers of books to the students at the door of the examination hall. Hung Siu-tsiuen, like many others, carried his book home, ran hastily over its contents, and then laid it on the shelf. There it seems to have rested, unnoticed and unthought-of, for several years. At length, in the year 1837, Hung was brought down by a severe fit of sickness. During his convalescence he had a dream, or vision, in which he supposed himself taken up to heaven. He there received certain communications, in which there was something that reminded him of the long forgotten tract. He immediately brought the book

down from its resting-place, and carefully studied its contents. He found so striking a similarity between the doctrines taught in the book and what he had heard in his vision, that he at once concluded both were revelations from God. He acted in accordance with this belief, and began immediately to communicate what he had learned to others. He set forth his views both orally and in writing—sometimes in prose and sometimes in verse. Among his verses composed at that time we find the following:

“Confessing our transgressions against Heaven,
Our dependence is on the full atonement of Jesus.
We should not believe in devils, but obey the holy commands;
Should worship only the true God with full powers of the mind.
We should think on the glories of heaven,
And on the terrors of hell, and pity the wicked.”

“Besides the God of heaven there is really no God:
Why therefore do simpletons take the false for the true?”

One of Hung's first acts was to take the picture representing Confucius, which hung in his school-room, and throw it away. In this he was soon imitated by others, who had been convinced of the truth of what he taught; and it was not long before he succeeded so far as to induce a number of his neighbours to receive the new doctrine, and destroy the images which had previously received their idolatrous homage.

At this point there is a hiatus in the history, and we are not informed in what way the following years were occupied. Whether Hung's zeal flagged, or whether his efforts proved ineffectual in spite of his zeal, does not appear. He probably continued his labours in his school, endeavouring to recommend his new doctrines to others as he had opportunity. It would seem, however, that up to the year 1846 the number of those brought to submit to his teaching was not great. In that year we find him in Canton, for two months a guest of the Rev. J. J. Roberts, a diligent student of the Scriptures, and an applicant for baptism. He was accompanied by a friend, who remained however but a few days. Before Hung gave satisfactory evidence that he possessed the qualifications necessary for baptism, he left Canton.

Returning to Kwangsi, he preached more zealously, or at

least more successfully, than before. Many believed, renounced their idols, and met together for religious worship. By these meetings the suspicions of the authorities were excited. Some of those who were in the habit of attending the religious services were seized, beaten, and thrown into prison. No resistance was made to this persecution, until two of the new religionists were so far persecuted as to die in consequence of the cruel treatment to which they were subjected. Much sympathy was felt by the people for the sufferers, for they were known to be upright men, who had committed no offence to justify such severity. Thousands of sturdy arms were volunteered for the protection of this little band of worshippers. Their friends were perhaps all the more ready for this, in consequence of injury and oppression which they themselves, or their acquaintances, had experienced. "Tens of thousands of people," says the narrator, "were assembled for our protection. How could we but esteem these fathers and brethren as sent by Heaven, to whom the true policy would be to join ourselves?"

The above account is, beyond all doubt, in the main correct, for it is confirmed, as to all important details, by a document emanating from Chan Tientsioh, the acting Governor of the province of Kwangsi. It is dated in May 1851, and published in the *Peking Gazette*. We find a translation in the *Chinese Repository*, (vid. vol. xx. p. 498.) The Governor states that while he was at Wersiuen, for the purpose of repressing the seditious bands, he was informed of a club organized by Fung Yun-shan, Tsang Yuh-ching, and Lu Luh. Fung and Lu had been seized, together with the papers of the club, by a literary graduate named Wang. Lu died in prison, and Fung was released, in consequence of heavy bribes paid by Tsang. The Governor goes on to say:

"It appears that Fung is from the district of Hwa in Canton, and came to Kwei-ping hien in Kwangsi in 1844. He lived in Lu Luh's house, teaching youth, in 1845, and during the next two years in the house of Tsang Yuh-ching, in the same occupation. On the 28th December 1847, this graduate Wang, aided by the constables and headmen, arrested Fung, because that he and Tsang had been *propagating magical arts*

to seduce the people, and forming cabals and bands to destroy altars and images in the temples, and handed him over to the head elder, Tsang Tsu-Kwang. But his accomplices, Tsang Asun and others, rescued him by force."

The matter was brought before the prefect and district magistrate, but they acquitted Fung of "being a seditious person, and of all illegality," and only sent him to his native place, to be detained there. This did not satisfy the Governor. His excellency says:—"I examined Kü, the prefect, and Wang Lieh, who had before been district magistrate, to learn why they had not extirpated seditions, and supported loyal persons; and also, when this villain Fung was forming cabals during a number of years, and swearing persons into it, within a few miles of the city, in the house of Lu Luh and Tsang Yuh-ching, why he had heard nothing of it. When the graduate Wang had informed them of it, what hindered them from going to the village and personally examining, so as to be perfectly sure whether the altars and temples with their images had been destroyed or not, and whether the vagabonds possessed heretical books, in which Jesus, a false god (*sié Shin*) of the Europeans was spoken of, and had themselves seditiously worshipped, and honoured him; and whether too, Fung had himself written or taught these books in a guileful way, and had planned sedition in so doing?" Further on, the Governor descants on the state of the province at that time. He says: "I find that the rule of the officers in this whole province of Kwangsi has been very negligent. Indeed, I have seldom heard of or seen a place where matters have come to such a pass. It has thence resulted that this Fung Yun-shan in his perverse heart has not had the least fear of them, but privately returning to the province, has stirred up the rustic people, some of whom have suddenly come out in their seditious conduct, and we know not how many have secretly joined them."

Such is the Governor's account of the origin of this movement, and it agrees so entirely with the accounts derived at different times from the insurgents themselves, that no room is left to doubt that religious persecution was the immediate occasion of this rebellion. This Fung Yun-shan is the person who now figures at the court of T'ai-ping as the "Southern King."

That there were at that time causes of discontent in the province entirely distinct from the persecution of Hung and his followers, cannot be doubted. Local insurrections were frequent in different parts of the province. Whether these were the effect or the cause of the success of Hung's party, we have no means of ascertaining; but many of them were evidently independent of the insurrection excited by the persecution.

From the Peking Gazettes, as given in Dr. Medhurst's pamphlet, we have compiled a sketch of the progress of the revolution. In August, 1849, disturbances are reported in the village of Yung-fuh. In November of the same year, other disturbances were reported, and the district city of Sin-ning in Hu-nan was captured. The rebels, it is said, were immediately driven out, but in May, 1850, we find it still in their possession. Their chief assumed the title of "The Prince who tranquillizes the River Regions." The viceroy of Hu-kwang marched against the place, captured it, and sent the chief to Peking. In November, 1850, matters had assumed so serious an aspect that the Emperor called out from his retirement his old and faithful minister Lin Tsih-sü, so famous as the imperial commissioner who demanded the surrender of the opium in the hands of foreign merchants—the act which led to the war with England. Lin had retired to his native place in Fuhkien on account of his health, but obeyed the call of his master, and set out for the seat of war. After travelling eighteen days, he was too sick to proceed on his journey, and ended his days at Pu-ming, in the province of Canton. Li Sing-yuen was ordered to take his place.

About this time various disturbances were reported in the province of Canton. Several cities in the central parts of Kwangsi also were captured, and held for protracted periods. The scenes of these acts of violence were so widely separated, while in many cases also simultaneous, that they could hardly have been under the control of any one directing authority. An imperialist officer, speaking of them in a memorial to the throne, says: "Should the several gangs unite themselves in one body, their extermination would be even a more difficult task than at present." These disturbances, then, were probably in many instances isolated acts of robbery, rather than

rebellion. Hung Siu-tsiuen probably had no connection with them, though they all tended to aid him, by distracting the attention of the authorities, and causing the dispersion of the imperial forces over a wide extent of country. His forces, too, were doubtless augmented by the remnants of the bands dispersed by the attacks of the imperial troops.

At what precise time Hung Siu-tsiuen ceased to aim merely at security from local oppression, and determined to set up the standard of a new dynasty, does not appear, but it must have been some time in the year 1850. In 1851 it was given out that the insurgent chief in Kwangsi had assumed the title of T'ienteh; but there is every reason to believe that this was the chief of another party, entirely independent of Hung. The latter assumed the title, T'ai-ping wang, or King of Peace.

During the year 1850, the insurgents made rapid progress. City after city fell into their hands, and they seem to have maintained themselves within their walls as long as it was convenient, or suited their own plans, in spite of the efforts to dislodge them. We find them in the course of this year occupying Wu-siuen and Kwei-ping, district cities of Kwangsi, about two hundred miles from Canton. Their position there gave them the command of the Pearl river in this part of its course, and enabled them to control the trade of the interior with the city of Canton, and to levy a tribute on all articles passing to and from that port. Here the insurgents long maintained themselves, sending at the same time expeditions to distant places, in which they were generally successful, though meeting with occasional reverses.

On the 12th of April, 1851, the viceroy Lí Sing-yuen died in the camp, having first delivered his seals of office to Chau T'ien-tsioh. This is the person who in the following month wrote the despatch quoted above, giving an account of the origin of the insurrection.

On the 27th of August, 1851, Hung Siu-tsiuen captured the superior district city of Yung-gnan, in the eastern part of the province of Kwangsi. The Peking Gazette mentions the name of Hung Siu-tsiuen for the first time, in connection with the capture of this place. The other cities were taken by subordinate or by independent chiefs. A number of chiefs are men-

tioned in the Gazette, whose names do not now appear among the officers of T'ai-ping wang. One named Ling Shih-pah held possession of Lo King, in the province of Canton, from August 1851 to September 1852. Another, named Yen Ping-yau, held several cities in the north of Kwangsi.

Hung retained Yung-gnan until until the 7th of April, 1852, when, according to the Gazette, it was recaptured by the Imperialists. It is more probable that it was voluntarily abandoned by the insurgents. It is said that three thousand of the rebels were slain, and their general, Hung Ta-tsiuen, was taken prisoner. Two Tartar generals and sixteen inferior officers also fell in the engagement.

Hung Ta-tsiuen was sent to Peking, where he was sentenced to be cut to pieces. Before the execution of this sentence, he made a confession, in which he declared that he was a fellow-conspirator with Hung Siu-tsiuen, and had assumed the title, T'ien-teh. After this date, we hear no more of T'ien-teh, and it may be true, therefore, that this was the person who assumed that title. It is evident, however, that T'ien-teh was the head of an insurrectionary movement. It is equally evident that Hung Siu-tsiuen has been, from the first, at the head of the movement of which he is now the chief. All the proclamations issued from the earliest date are in his name, and the whole history shows that he has never acted in a subordinate capacity. The only way of reconciling these facts is to suppose that T'ien-teh headed a separate movement, and had no connection with T'ai-ping. Such a supposition is entirely in accordance with what we know was the state of the province at that time. This is stated to be the fact, too, on the authority of a son, or adopted son, of one of the insurgent princes or kings, who has lately been baptized and received into the communion of the church by the Baptist missionaries at Shanghae. He gives good evidence, it is said, of being a sincere and humble follower of Christ.

On leaving Yung-gnan, the insurgents directed their course northward, and entered the province of Hunan. On the 2d of May they took Chin-chau. On the 15th they attacked Kwei-ling, the capital, but abandoned the siege on the 19th of the same month. They made their quarters at different times in

several of the district cities. They then proceeded toward the north, and laid siege to Chang-sha, the capital of Hupih, on the 11th September. They were followed at a safe distance by the imperial troops, under Sae Shanga, a Tartar general, who had been a minister of State. He was soon afterward degraded, because he allowed the rebels "to do just as they pleased." Sii Kwang-tsin, Governor-General of Kwang-tung and Kwangsi, was appointed his successor.

The siege of Chang-sha was prosecuted during a period of eighty days, but without success. On the 30th of November they abandoned Chang-sha, and on the 13th of December took Yoh-chau, an important town situated at the junction of the Tung-ting lake with the Yang-tsze kiang. The insurgent army had now the broad surface and rapid current of the "Son of the Ocean" to carry them to Nanking. This was now the goal to which they directed their steps. They felt strong enough to abandon their former cautious warfare, and boldly push forward through the midst of their enemies to the seat of empire.

The Emperor Hien-fung now began to tremble for his throne. He fulminated anathemas against the robbers. He exhorted, encouraged, and punished his officers. So often did it become necessary to deprive generals of their rank, that they could not be spared from the field, and the sentence of degradation was generally accompanied with the reservation, "let him be retained in his command." The imperial forces were everywhere struck with panic, and fled on the approach of the enemy; in many cases without making even a show of resistance. In fact, the imperial grand army was left behind, and did not seem anxious to overtake the foe. The insurgents moved down the Yang-tsze, and on the 23d December we find them at Han-Yang, and at Wu-chang, the provincial city of Hupih. These two cities, lying at the mouth of the Han river, on opposite sides of the Yang-tsze, constitute one of the most important commercial marts of the interior of the empire. At Wu-chang, the insurgents met with a vigorous resistance, but took the city by storm on the 12th January 1853. For the loss of this city, Governor Sii was ordered up to the capital for punishment. He was sentenced to be beheaded; the sentence to be carried into execution in the autumn of 1853.

General Heang Yung, who had before been degraded and restored, was now degraded again.

The insurgents tarried at Wu-ch'ang only long enough to collect supplies and money, of both which they procured abundance. The Viceroy of Nanking now sailed up the river with a large force, to meet the enemy, and arrest their progress. He did not, however, succeed in retarding their onward course. Kiu-Kiang, Gnan King, and other important towns on the line of the Yang-tszy, fell in rapid succession into their hands, and were abandoned to the following—though not pursuing—imperialists. On the 8th of March, the insurgent host appeared before the walls of Nanking.

On the 10th of March, the Emperor at Peking announced his intention of presenting special prayer, with fasting, to the Supreme Ruler. In making the announcement, he blames his ministers for wrong measures, and acknowledges his own sins against High Heaven. He implores the forgiveness of his sins, while he supplicates for peace in behalf of his suffering people.

On the 19th of March, the insurgents, having effected a breach in the wall by means of a mine, took the city of Nanking by storm. The whole Tartar population, estimated at 20,000, was put to the sword. Chinkiang-foo, an important place at the intersection of the grand canal with the Yang-tszy, forty-seven miles from Nanking, was taken on the 31st of March. A large imperial force arrived from the north a few days subsequent to the fall of Nanking, but has not been able to accomplish anything for the recovery of the city. Immediately on obtaining possession of Nanking, the insurgents began to strengthen the fortifications, with a view to make it the seat of the new dynasty. It will probably be made their permanent capital.

About the end of May we hear of an insurgent army at Fung-yang, within six hundred miles of Peking. At what time this army set out from Nanking we are not informed. It laid siege to K'ae-fung-foo, in Honan, but did not capture it. Crossing the Yellow River at that place, they proceeded rapidly toward the north; and though unsuccessful in some of their sieges, not in any case very protracted, they do not appear to

have sustained a single defeat in the field. Their onward progress at least has not been seriously checked. They are often indeed reported by the imperial generals as having "fled and made their escape," but unfortunately for His Majesty, Hienfung, they always "fled" in the direction of Peking. They soon "trespassed on the imperial domain," and overran the province of Chih-li. On the 30th of October, they reached T'ien-tsing, the seaport of Peking, and at the head of the grand canal. It is a strongly fortified city, and its defence was of the utmost importance to the capital; yet it has fallen into the hands of the insurgents. Peking cannot long withstand their assaults. The march of this army in the face of numerous foes, to so great a distance from their associates, was a bold measure, and shows their confidence in their strength, and their contempt of their opponents.

On the 18th of May, Amoy was seized by a band of men connected with the secret societies, and on the 7th of September, Shanghaie was taken in the same way. Both these bands profess subjection to T'ai-ping, but there is no evidence that he has ever recognized them. Amoy has been retaken, but Shanghaie is still in possession of the rebels.

Such is the history of this remarkable revolution—of its beginning. But who can say what shall be the end? Its most extraordinary feature is the religious element which enters into it. It is not only a Revolution, but a Reformation. It aims not only at the overthrow of an ancient dynasty, but at the subversion of an ancient religion. Taking its rise in religious persecution, the religious element was not swallowed up in the political when it assumed the latter form, nor did success diminish the religious enthusiasm with which the movement began. This feature of the revolution is so unexpected—we had almost said incredible—that it has been looked upon by some with great doubt and suspicion. Many are slow to believe that there is any thing good in the religious part of the movement. It is thought in some quarters that the insurgent chiefs have assumed the profession of Christianity as a cloak to further their designs. This supposition is obviously contradicted by all the facts of the case. It is evident that the profession of Christianity was long prior to their first conception of

the idea of rebellion. It is not easy to understand, either, how they could imagine that the assumption of the Christian name would favour their design of seizing the supreme power. Would they not have rather regarded it as an insuperable obstacle to the accomplishment of such an object? For such a purpose, among such a people, to assume Christianity as a mere cloak, without any belief in its verity, would be strange indeed. Had they asked the assistance of foreigners, on the ground of their Christianity, there would have been room for such a suspicion. But they have never shown any desire for such assistance. Had they been hypocritical deceivers, aiming to accomplish mere projects of ambition, they would have endeavoured to conciliate the prejudices of their countrymen. But they have not done so. On the contrary, they have set themselves in avowed and uncompromising hostility to the traditions of the empire—to the recondite speculations of its learned philosophers, and also to the most revered opinions, the most rooted superstitions, and the most solemn and universally practised religious ceremonials of the whole nation. They at the same time denounce and oppose the prevalent vices of their countrymen, and inculcate a system of rigid morality—the morality of the Bible. Moreover, they do what deceivers would not be prone to do, they make the Bible the standard of truth. They print it, and freely distribute it, and require it to be taught to their followers, and in their schools. They have even made a knowledge of its contents necessary, it is said, to a literary degree.

At the same time, it is true that they have fallen into some serious errors. Whether many or any of them are truly converted men we do not know. But when we consider how much of their knowledge of Christianity has been derived from books, we cannot but think that some of their writings give evidence of the teaching of the Spirit of truth. Time alone, and a more intimate acquaintance, can enable us to judge of their real character. We shall, however, endeavour to place before the reader the means of forming a judgment for himself, so far as can be done from their books.

The first question to be considered is, "What is their rule of faith? Do they, or do they not pretend to a new revelation?

In examining their publications we see no evidence of a claim to any such special revelation as would furnish a title to speak with divine authority as a religious teacher. There is nothing in the books to lead us to suppose that any of the chiefs lay claim to such authority—nothing that would suggest a resemblance to Mohammedism or Mormonism. The Bible alone, and common sense, are appealed to in thieir reasoning on religious subjects. Hung Siu-tsiuen himself does indeed profess to have had some communications directly from God, and fancies himself to have been on one or two occasions taken up to heaven. Other communications are said to have been made by the “Heavenly Father and the Celestial Elder Brother Jesus,” to the whole assembled army. These communications, however, all have special relation to the conduct of the present war. The religious instruction communicated is incidental and subordinate. Hung regards himself as having received a special commission to exterminate the Tartars in China and assume the throne himself, and he believes himself guided by the Heavenly Father in his military operations. This idea he evidently endeavours to impress on his followers, and he no doubt sincerely believes it himself. We subjoin one of these supposed divine communications as a specimen:

“On the 14th day of the 3d moon (19 April) of the Sin'k'ae year (1851) in the village of Tung-heang the Heavenly Father addressed the multitude, saying, ‘Oh! my children, do you know your Heavenly Father and your Celestial Elder Brother?’ To which they all replied, ‘We know our Heavenly Father and Celestial Elder Brother.’ The Heavenly Father then said, ‘Do you know your lord* and truly?’ To which they all replied, ‘We know our lord right well.’ The Heavenly Father said, ‘I have sent your lord down into the world, to become the Celestial King: every word he utters is a celestial command; you must be obedient; you must truly assist your lord and regard your king; you must not dare to act disorderly, nor to be disrespectful. If you do not regard your lord and king, every one of you will be involved in difficulty.’”

The most remarkable instance of divine interposition is that

* The “lord” here refers to the chief of the insurrection.

detailed in the pamphlet which records the Heavenly Father's descent upon earth. In this it is related that one of the chiefs meditated treachery, and his treachery was revealed by the Heavenly Father to his associates. The culprit was summoned at night to the house of the Eastern King. There the Heavenly Father came down and closely questioned him as to his plans and his accomplices, just as a *man* would conduct such an examination. There was, however, no visible appearance of the Heavenly Father. The traitor at first denied his guilt, but perceiving at length from the nature of the questions that his examiner knew all his intentions, he confessed his guilt, and was sentenced to be cut to pieces. The whole army was much impressed with this display of omniscience, and offered pigs and oxen to the Heavenly Father as thank-offerings.

The object of this book is evidently to produce the conviction that the revolution is under the special protection of God, and to impress upon the army a wholesome dread of the certainty of detection in case of treachery. It is obviously a piece of deception, wholly without excuse. By whomsoever this scene was got up, the head of the insurrection must be held responsible, as it could hardly have been done without his sanction, and it is not likely that he could have been deceived. In the circumstances of danger in which they were placed, it is not surprising that men with their previous training and habits in regard to deception, should have yielded to such a temptation when they thought it advantageous to their cause, and when perhaps circumstances had occurred which rendered something of the kind, in their opinion, necessary. They might perhaps justify the means by the end, and regard it as a mere military stratagem. We cannot, however, but regard it as of evil import, showing as it does a moral obliquity not easy to be reconciled with the possession, in any measure, of Christian simplicity and honesty. It does not follow, however, that Hung and his associates are not sincere believers in the truth of Christianity, and sincerely desirous of extending it among their countrymen.

Their views of the being and attributes of God are as correct as could be expected from men with no better opportunities of learning the truth. His omniscience, omnipotence, and

omnipresence are distinctly stated and dwelt upon. They frequently speak of Him as the Creator and sole Governor of the world; and their views of divine providence are unexceptionable. They speak of God as the disposer of all events according to his own sovereign pleasure. Their religious views are more particularly brought out in the two books entitled "The Book of Religious Precepts," and "The Imperial Declaration of T'aiping." In the former we have the ten commandments with comments, together with prayers to be used on several occasions. The latter is the production of Hung Siu-tsiuen himself. The elevation of its style, and the general correctness of its sentiments, prove its author to be a man of no mean ability. Their views of God will appear from the following extracts. We would premise that in transcribing we substitute the word "God," "gods," where Dr. Medhurst in his translation has written "Spirit" or "spirits." The former is obviously the meaning of the author, as Dr. Medhurst himself admits by writing the word God or gods in brackets. They give the first commandment thus:—"Thou shalt honour and worship the Great God."

In the comment the author says:—"The great God is the universal Father of all men in every nation under heaven. Every man is produced and nourished by Him: every man is also protected by Him: every man ought therefore, morning and evening, to worship Him with acknowledgments of his goodness."

In the other works mentioned the following sentiments occur:—"Taking a general view of the men of this present world, I consider that though they amount to great multitudes, they are all created and produced by the great God. Having been produced by God, they are also supported by God. For every article of food and clothing they must depend upon the great God, who is the universal Father of all mankind. Life and death, happiness and misery, are all determined by Him. Whatever men eat or wear is produced by Him. When I look up to heaven, I perceive that the sun and moon, the stars and planets, the thunder and rain, the wind and clouds, are all the wondrous effects of his mighty power. When I survey the earth, I perceive that the hills and fountains, the rivers and

lakes, with the birds and beasts, plants and fishes, are all the marvellous productions of his mighty energies; all plainly exposed to view; all easy of discernment. For this he may be considered the true God." Again he says:—"We would also ask you, if the great God at the beginning had only created heaven and not earth, what place would you have had to stand on, and what fields would you have had to cultivate? Certainly none whatever. We would further ask you, when you have been made the recipients of God's favour, in making the heavens and the earth for you, if he had not likewise made the ground to yield the mulberry, the hemp, the rice, the wheat, the millet, and the pulse, together with plants and trees, fire and water, gold and iron; or if he had not made the water to produce fishes and prawns, the air to contain the flying fowl, and the hills the roaming beast, together with domestic animals, and such like, what would your bodies have had to wear, or your mouths to eat? What materials would you have had wherewith to provide your breakfast and supper, and what implements would you have had for your daily use? None whatever. * * * Finally, we would ask whether all the inhabitants of the world could for one hour or one minute exist without the favour of the great God? Certainly they could not exist. Seeing, then, that the inhabitants of the world could not exist for one hour or one moment without the favour of the great God, it appears clear beyond all contradiction that the great God protects and preserves all men. And if it be so clear that the great God protects and preserves all men, why do you, forsaking Him, set up your idols, and go and pray to them for protection, for food and for clothing?"

On the subject of the Trinity their views do not seem to be very clear, though the doctrine is distinctly enough stated. In one place it is expressed in a metrical doxology.

They speak of Jesus, however, in a way that implies inferiority to the Father. They deny to him the title *Ti*. This has been from the remotest ages applied to the emperor. The insurgents, however, do not appropriate it to any mere human ruler. Writing on this subject, they say:—"Even the Saviour Jesus, the first born Son of God, is only called our Lord. In heaven above and earth beneath, as well as among

men, none can be considered greater than Jesus: and yet Jesus was not called Ti."

The necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit for changing the heart is distinctly acknowledged. In one of their forms of prayer this petition occurs:—"I also earnestly pray thee, the great God, our Heavenly Father, constantly to bestow on me thy Holy Spirit and change my wicked heart."

In reference to the unity of God, they leave no room to mistake their views. They denounce in the strongest terms the folly, stupidity, and wickedness of idolatry, and, in arguing against it, employ much such arguments as a Christian missionary would employ. In one instance the idolator is supposed to object, that though it be true that there is but one Supreme God, yet he must have ministers to assist him, and inferiors to execute his will, just as human rulers must have such assistance. The answer given to this is, that human rulers always *appoint* the persons who are to assist them, and without such appointment no one can act in the emperor's behalf. If, then, it were true that the Supreme Ruler needs others to assist him, no one could act on his behalf unless appointed by him. But so far from having appointed the idol gods worshipped by idolators, he has expressly forbidden men to worship them. The writer goes on to argue, that if God required no aid to create heaven and earth, he surely could not require any assistance in governing them. The idolatry of China is ascribed to the "lying fables and unfounded stories" of the priests of Buddha and Tau; stories circulated by them merely to fill their own pockets through the folly of others. They are aided in this by "the devilish serpent, the King of Hades." The ancient religion of China, they say, was not corrupted by such falsehoods. They give the impression that the ancients worshipped the true God; but in this they are hardly sustained by the historical records of the country. Idolatry prevailed in China from the earliest period of which the ancient records furnish any account, though it was not of so gross a kind as that subsequently introduced.

These arguments are rather sternly and summarily enforced by the utter demolition of the idols in the places captured by the insurgent armies. It is said, too, that they have in some

instances slain the idolatrous priests. We believe, however, that if this has ever been done, it has been on account of some resistance or treachery on their part. It has not been their general practice, though no doubt a priest who, after warning given, should persist in his idolatry, would be very summarily dealt with. This method of overthrowing idolatry does not accord with our notions of religious liberty; but when we remember the despotic character of the Chinese government, and the Biblical examples of a similar course, we need not be surprised that the insurgent leaders should have felt called upon to adopt this course. They do not compel any one to adopt the Christian faith. All they insist upon is abstinence from idolatrous acts of worship. Their demolition of the idols may have, moreover, a powerful effect in convincing the people of the folly of idolatry. It is an argument palpable to the senses, if these idol gods are so utterly powerless for their own protection, all must see at once the absurdity of trusting in them as if they were capable of protecting others.

The doctrine of universal depravity is recognized and enforced by the insurgents; and with it the necessity of salvation by Christ, and of sanctification by the Holy Spirit. The way of salvation is set forth in all its main features with a clearness sufficient to lead an awakened inquiring soul to rest upon the only sure foundation. We cannot but hope that the Spirit of all grace, who has caused so much precious truth to be thus proclaimed to great multitudes, will make it effectual to lead some souls to a saving knowledge of Him who is the way, the truth, and the life. It is not for us to "limit the Holy One," or prescribe to him how he shall carry on his own work.

One of the tracts holds the following language:—"Who has ever lived in the world without offending against the commands of Heaven? But until this time no one has known how to obtain deliverance from sin. Now, however, the great God has made a gracious communication to man, and from henceforth whoever repents of his sins in the presence of the great God, and avoids worshipping false gods, practising perverse things, or transgressing the divine commands, may ascend to heaven

and enjoy happiness for thousands and myriads of years, in pleasure and delight, with dignity and honour, world without end. But whoever does not repent of his sins in the presence of the great God, but continues to worship false gods, practising perverse things as before, and going on to transgress the divine commands, will most certainly be punished by being sent down to hell, and suffering misery for thousands and myriads of years, in sorrow and pain, with trouble and anguish, world without end. Which of these is the best, and which is the worst, we leave it to you to judge."

Thus it appears that the doctrinal views of these men are, on most points, entirely in accordance with the teachings of the Bible. While maintaining these views, they also reject with the utmost contempt the vain superstitions universally received and acted upon in China, as well by the rulers and the literati as by the illiterate rabble. Astrology, necromancy, witchcraft, the art of divination in all its forms, have ever maintained a strong hold upon the Chinese mind. Each day has its ruling star, and the star exerts a happy or a baleful influence over the events of its day. Hitherto the imperial almanac has noted the character of each day throughout the year in reference to its influence on certain important acts of common life, such as marriage, burial, laying the foundation of a building, or setting out on a journey. All this the insurgents have thrown to the winds. In the preface to their almanac they say:—"All the corrupt doctrines and perverted views of preceding almanacs are the result of the devil's cunning devices to deceive and delude mankind. We, your majesty's servants, [it is the five princes who are speaking,] have therefore set them aside. For the years, months, days and hours are all determined by our Heavenly Father. Thus every year is lucky and favourable, every month is lucky and favourable, and every day, as well as every hour, is lucky and favourable. How can they be classified as good and bad, and what can be the use of selecting one period above another? Whoever truly venerates our Heavenly Father, the Supreme Lord, and the great God, is under the protection of Heaven, and can engage in his duties whenever he thinks proper.

Every season, therefore, may be considered as prosperous and favourable." Speaking of the same subject in another place, they say:

"The fifth kind of wrong is witchcraft and sorcery.
Magic arts deceive the multitude and are a breach of Heaven's commands.
Life and death, sickness and calamity, are all determined by Heaven.
Why then deceive the people by the manufacture of charms?
Incantations to procure luck, vows to fiends, and services to devils,
Fastings and processions, are all of no avail."

They have adopted an entirely new calendar, making the year to consist of 366 days, divided into twelve months of thirty and thirty-one days alternately.

The most remarkable feature of Chinese idolatry, and that which has ever had the strongest hold upon the minds of the people, is the worship of ancestors. We find no mention of this in the books of the insurgents. We believe, however, from what is said of idolatry in general in these books, and from information derived from other sources, that all such rites are prohibited by these reformers.

The observance of the Sabbath is enjoined in the books, and the day is kept as a day of rest. Public religious services are held on that day, but we have no account of the nature of those services. In their calendar the Sabbath is marked as falling on the days designated by the constellations Fang, Heu, Mau, and Sing. These days, according to the correct Chinese notations, always correspond with the Christian Sabbath; but by some unaccountable mistake, the insurgents have made all the days as marked by the names of the twenty-eight constellations to fall one day earlier than the day of the same name in the correct notation. We say the *correct* notation, because this cycle of twenty-eight days has been reckoned in a continuous series from time immemorial, and the insurgents must have dropped a day. The result of this mistake is, that they observe Saturday as the Sabbath. The error, however, is an astronomical one.

Of the character of their religious observances but little is known. Dr. Charles Taylor visited Chinkiang in June, 1853, and was present at their morning worship. He describes the service as simple, solemn, and earnest. It consisted of the

chanting of a hymn, accompanied by musical instruments, during which all remained seated, and a prayer offered by the person conducting the service, all kneeling. A kind of ritual has been prepared, containing a few prayers for particular occasions. These prayers are entitled—A Prayer for a Penitent Sinner:—A Prayer to God for Morning or Evening:—Thanksgiving to be offered at Meals:—A Prayer in the time of Sickness and Affliction. There are also prayers for birthdays—on occasion of constructing a hearth, building a house, piling up stones, or opening up ground—and for funeral occasions. In the last we find the following petition:—"There is here present the soul of thine unworthy servant, such a one, who on a certain day, month, and hour, departed this life. Having placed the body in a coffin, put on mourning, and conducted the funeral to the place of burial, I reverently prepare animals, wine, tea, and rice, offering them up to thee, the great God, our heavenly Father, earnestly beseeching thee, of thy favour, to admit the soul of thine unworthy servant, such a one, up into heaven, to enjoy abundant happiness with thee."

This prayer for the soul of the departed is probably the result of ignorance merely—not of any definite view as to the state of the dead. Of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead they are silent. The offering of wine, tea, and rice, appears to constitute a part of all their services, a portion being placed on the altar or table for each of the persons of the Trinity. This arises from defective instruction, in connection with the rites to which all Chinese are accustomed. Considering these circumstances, and the ritual which they found in the Old Testament, it is not strange that they should have adopted such sacrifices as a part of their worship.

Of the existence of such an organization as the Christian Church, with regularly authorized ministers, the insurgents seem to be entirely ignorant. It is said that the officers are expected to act as religious teachers. The highest officers, it seems, give regular instruction in the Scriptures to their immediate subordinates, and they in their turn to those immediately under their supervision, so that instruction is provided for the whole army.

Of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper they are entirely

ignorant; and they have very crude and incorrect ideas of baptism. All who are admitted to their brotherhood, it is believed, are required to be baptized by some one of their number; but baptism is, they think, to be frequently repeated by the person himself, as a means of washing away sin. It is alluded to in the following passage:—"When the prayer is over, let him [the penitent] take a basin of water, and wash himself clean, or if he perform his ablutions in a river, it will be still better."

The insurgents adopt the ten commandments as their moral code. These they interpret rigidly, as may be seen by their comment on the seventh commandment. They say—"The casting of amorous glances, the harbouring of lustful imaginations, the smoking of foreign tobacco, (opium,) or the singing of libidinous songs, must all be considered as breaches of this command." Opium-smoking, gambling, divination, wine-drinking, and even the use of tobacco are forbidden; and the prohibition is not allowed to stand as a mere form on the statute-book; it is rigidly enforced. For opium-smoking and adultery, death is the penalty. The officers of the English steamer *Hermes*, in May, 1853, found a man on trial for the latter offence; and in December, those of the French steamer *Cassini* saw the heads of men who had been executed for the former.

It has been said that the chiefs allow themselves a plurality of wives. This may be true, though there seems to be no sufficient evidence to establish the fact. If it be so, this alone would not be enough to convict them of hypocrisy, as it may be done in ignorance.

Several of these pamphlets are occupied with details concerning the organization and discipline of the army. It would appear that the most rigid discipline is maintained. One of the features of their discipline is the entire separation of the men and women. In the city of Nanking, the number of women is said to be 480,000. They are confined strictly to their own quarter of the city, and are divided into brigades of 13,000 each. These are again subdivided into classes of twenty-five each. It is stated on the authority of a deserter from Nanking, that each of these classes is provided with a teacher,

and all are required to learn to read the books prepared for them. On the same authority it is said that the men receive no pay, but are abundantly provided with all that is necessary for their comfort. All these arrangements are but temporary, to continue only during the state of war. When the new dynasty is fully established, other arrangements are to be made, and then the warriors may be united to their wives again. The number of men in Nanking, capable of bearing arms, is said to be between five and six hundred thousand. It is surely a wonderful power that can effectually control such a multitude of men and women, so as fully to carry out arrangements that place them under such restraint. What mysterious influence is it that leads such a host to submit to this rigid control? We know of no parallel in history.

It is evident from the above survey of the teachings of these insurgents that they have acquired a large amount of Bible truth, mingled with some serious error. When we remember in what way they have received their knowledge of these doctrines, our surprise is not that there is so much error, but so much truth. Yet they have much to learn, and it is to be feared they will not be very docile pupils. That God designs to use this revolution for effecting great changes in China cannot be doubted; and there is every reason to anticipate that those changes will be favourable to foreign intercourse, and to the propagation of the Christian religion. Whether the immediate effects will not in some respects prove injurious, we pretend not to foresee. The hand of God, however, is so manifest in the movement, the results already accomplished are so wonderful, and so much truth has been promulgated, that we cannot but hope for results, eventually, that shall rebuke our apathy and want of faith.

The success of the revolution as a political movement can hardly be considered any longer doubtful. What has already been done has been accomplished with so much ease, that we cannot suppose the Tartar forces can now offer any effectual resistance. Nanking was visited in December 1853, by the French war steamer Cassini, and the impression made upon the minds of the officers by all that they saw, was that of an irresistible host, animated by a common enthusiasm. But

whatever be the result politically, a great religious movement has assuredly commenced in China. The hearts of multitudes have been deeply stirred. The cross of Christ has been held up before the minds of myriads of men, in a way that could not fail to secure in some measure their attention. We believe that the truth of God, so far as it is contained in these publications, and especially as it is set forth in his own holy word, published and distributed by the insurgents, will not be permitted to return to him void. It is a token for good that so much care is taken to give the Bible to the people. It is not the least remarkable circumstance connected with this reformation, that there is no tinge of Romanism in it. Though Rome has for centuries had her priests, and her thousands of converts, scattered through the country, God has not permitted this great movement to be polluted by her touch. We have here a reformation springing up in the heart of China, where no Protestant missionary ever trod, taking for its basis the word of God.

The Church of Christ should cry mightily to God for a happy result from the events now taking place. We know not what will be the issue. When the old government is overthrown, it may not be easy to establish a new one. Our hope is in God. He seeth the end from the beginning, and will do all things well.

Before closing this article, we may be permitted to refer briefly to a subject which has excited some solicitude, and which is alluded to in the pamphlet before us. It is generally known that for some years the missionaries in China have been divided in opinion respecting the proper term to use in translating the Scripture terms for "God," or "gods." One of the terms proposed is *Shangti*, the other is *Shin*. To the former it is objected that, as used by the Chinese, it designates a particular being—one of their own false gods. If used by missionaries, therefore, as experience proves, it would generally, or at least very often, be understood as referring to that false god. There is also a philological objection to its use as a translation of *Elohim* and *εός* in the Chinese version of the Bible, on the ground that it cannot, like those words, be ap-

plied to worshipped beings generally. To the other term it is objected that it means "spirit," and not "God." It is applied, indeed, to the worshipped beings of the Chinese, but those beings, it is contended, are "spirits," and not "gods." It is replied, that since these beings are in all respects similar to the beings designated in the Scriptures by the words *Elohim* and θεος, they must be regarded as gods, and the Chinese word by which they are designated is the one corresponding to those Scripture terms. That word, as all admit, is *Shin*.

The practice of such a body of men as the insurgents, cannot be overlooked in settling such a question. It seems that in speaking of the true God, they generally use the term *Shangti*. They use it, however, as his distinctive title, in the sense of Supreme Ruler, or rather, perhaps, as a proper name, since they speak of it as "his venerable name," and they never use it in any other way. But when they speak of false gods, or of all gods, true and false, as in the sentence, "Thou shalt have no other God besides me," they invariably use the word *Shin*. Dr. Medhurst translates the word "spirit" or "spirits," but generally writes the word "god" also in brackets, to show that the insurgents use it in that sense. If, then, these intelligent native writers be taken as a guide, the term *Shangti* cannot be used to translate *elohim* and θεος when they refer to false gods, while the word *Shin* may with propriety be used to translate those words, whether they refer to the true God, or to false gods. We shall, therefore, hope to see the controversy on this subject soon brought to a happy termination, and the ministers of Christ going forth through that vast empire, proclaiming, in words not contradictory of each other, the great truths which are able to make men wise unto salvation.

* ART. VI.—*Infidelity; Its Aspects, Causes, and Agencies;*
being the prize essay of the British Organization of the
Evangelical Alliance. By the Rev. Thomas Pearson, Eye-
mouth, Scotland. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.
1854. Pp. 620, 8vo.

PLUTARCH cautions his reader to be well on his guard, that in order to escape robbers, he do not plunge into an impassable chasm; that, while escaping from superstition, he do not fall into the power of unbelief, by leaping over that which lies between them, viz., true piety. There are many who see no other choice than between the robbers and the chasm: but the true believer finds a safe path, and avoids both the one and the other. The truth lies midway between superstition and infidelity. These are the two great opposing powers which it meets with in the world. Though apparently opposite, they have the same source. They are but the different poles or manifestations of one evil principle. They generally appear at the same time, and always betray a secret sympathy with each other. At different periods in history, the one seems to have grown up and overshadowed the other; but they have really co-existed, each being the prolific cause of the other. The human mind and the human race passes easily from superstition to unbelief. Religious opinion, and, indeed, philosophical opinion, oscillates between these two extremes, and has scarcely yet attained its equilibrium, or found the centre. “The worldly tone of the inner life suppresses religious feeling entirely, and then turns to unbelief; or, mixing itself up with that feeling, gives to it an interpretation of its own, and thus turns to superstition. The desperation of unbelief surrenders the troubled conscience a prey to superstition; and the irrationality of superstition makes religion suspected by the thoughtful mind.”* And this description is not more true of the individual than of the race. The process is constantly going forward. The history of religious opinion is very much a history of these transitions. Men are seen to pass from believing too little to believing too much, and then from believ-

* Neander’s Church History, p. 13.

ing too much to believing too little. The forces of unbelief and superstition are not unfrequently, therefore, combined against the truth. Starting from the same point, they recede in opposite directions around the circle, until they meet, and unite their forces against an intelligent faith, and against the written word. It is not peculiar to the present age that the truth should be assailed at the same time by both these powers. It would be strange if they were not found leagued together. And when we consider the giant power with which each is clothed, the hold each has upon our fallen race, and the rapid strides which they have made, or claim to have made, what multitudes have been taken by the robbers, or plunged into the chasm, it is not wonderful that the friends of truth should be somewhat apprehensive as to the result. Though confident that the truth must ultimately triumph, they may well fear the present danger. At least it is well that they should so fear as to arm themselves for the encounter, and avert, so far as may be, the danger which they apprehend.

It is important that we should turn our minds to the point at which the real danger lies. An adroit foe will ever send out his forces and feign an attack which he does not intend to make, while he brings his real power to bear at a very different quarter, and bends his energies to make a successful breach where there is no adequate defence. It may be so at the present day. The form in which superstition now threatens the truth, and with which alone the truth has any serious conflict, puts on a bold front. Owing to the aggressions which it has made in England, and to some extent in our own land, we are in danger of giving it more importance than it really has. We clothe it with a power which it does not possess. We yield too readily its boastful claims: and while we labour to resist its attacks, we are leaving unguarded, perhaps, the point of real danger. At least we are in danger of having our attention too much confined to that which makes a threatening appearance, but has little real power. There are three considerations which go to show that the truth is in much greater danger from a subtle infidelity, than from a bold and boastful superstition.

In the first place, the numerical increase of these powers is

very different. The most reliable statistics prove that Romanism does not increase to any extent, either absolutely, or relatively to other religious bodies. The recent census in England brings out the fact, that there were but about two hundred thousand Romanists found in their churches, during the Sunday on which the census was taken. And though this does not probably give a fair estimate of its power, for the adherents of Rome are not ordinarily found in their places of worship, in the same proportion to their entire number as the members of other religious bodies, it does yet prove that their power is not so great as they had claimed, or as the friends of truth had feared. The census of this country shows that Romanism, notwithstanding the immense immigration, has scarcely kept on a level with the increase in Evangelical Churches. It bears a less proportion now to the entire population than it did some years since. So that in England and in the United States, the two countries in which it professes to have made its most important conquests, its increase has been very small, if it has gained anything. On the other hand, it has been losing many from among its old and most steadfast adherents. There is good reason to believe that in Italy, as well as in Ireland, there is a great change taking place in the habits of thought and the character of the people; that multitudes who have not already shaken off its fetters, are fast coming to that point; and that when the light shall have penetrated further, and those who are now groping their way towards it, shall have come out into the open day, the revolution will be sudden and complete. On any broad view of the case, superstition, so far from increasing its power, is actually going to decay. The state of things with infidelity is very different from this. In some one of its forms, it is making accessions to its numbers, both from within the Church and without. In some lands, the apostasy has been fearful, and for a time well nigh universal. We cannot, indeed, gather statistics to show this, for infidelity conceals itself from view. It has no places of worship, for it scarcely recognizes any being to whom worship is due. It publishes no statements of its progress or numbers, except as these are uttered by over-bold advocates, who reveal, perhaps unintentionally, what they claim and hope for. It manifests

its power, however, in the efforts it puts forth. We infer its strength and increase from the means which it employs to disseminate its views, and the untiring energy with which it employs them. It comes in learned and elaborate works; it enters the field of exegetical study; it appeals to the imagination, as clothed in the forms of poetry; it is taught in novels in which the story is used as the vehicle of its sentiments; in essays, in lectures, and by oral addresses; it has its emissaries in the shop and factory; it breeds amid the dens of vice which infest our cities. Young men follow its oracles, and hang upon their lips as if they were indeed what many of them claim to be, prophets and seers, who stand as the oracles of truth. It boasts, no doubt, of much more than it has really accomplished; but it can scarcely be doubted that it is on the increase, daily gathering its forces for that final conflict between faith and unbelief, "the progress of which constitutes the deepest theme of history."

A second consideration, which diminishes the danger from the superstition of the present day, in comparison with that which we may fear from unbelief, lies in the nature of these two systems, the one standing before us in a tangible, organized form, the other being invisible and subtle. We know the forces of Romanism, the resources upon which it relies, and its method of attack, and we are so far prepared to meet it. Its pomp and show, its display of numbers and strength, attract our notice. It never leaves us in ignorance of its victories. It publishes, and placards, and obtrudes upon our notice in every way, each change in its favour, as if the friends of truth were called upon to tremble, because some one here and there has been lured into its fold by the splendour of its ritual, or by its deceitful promise of rest, as children are attracted by a gaudy toy, and weak minds, or minds impatient of investigation, impose upon themselves, and take the promise for the reality. And though it is proud in its assumptions, and boasts itself as if it had laid its hand upon the very citadel of the truth, it is not to be feared as if it were an unknown and untried foe. It is not so with unbelief. It is invisible in a great measure, and the invisible is always the most fearful. It works beneath the surface. Thousands of minds may be in-

sensibly corrupted as to their principles, without its being known. The seeds may be planted long before they germinate and produce their fruit. Men are commonly unbelievers in heart long before they announce it, either in the form of words or actions; possibly long before they are conscious of it to themselves, at least so conscious of it as to admit it in a distinct assertion. Men are far gone when they can say, without a blush of shame, and a secret trembling at the fact, "We are infidels." This is pre-eminently true of those who have been educated believers, and who know in some sense the value of that which they have lost. They are shocked at the result which they have reached, and of course are loth to admit it. For a time they tremble when they find themselves loosed from their ancient moorings, drifting upon the sea of unbelief, blown about with every wind, and ready to be engulfed by the yawning waves. It takes time for them to recover their self-possession—to acquire a courage which will enable them to look the result in the face, and admit what they have found to be true of themselves. We become aware of the ruin when it is almost beyond reparation. Infidelity, therefore, in its very nature, and the mode in which it progresses in the world, is not so likely to arouse our fears as superstition, although the danger may be equally near, and the work which it does is far more disastrous.

There is still a third thing which leads us to believe that the great and immediate danger arises from the progress of unbelief. All the mental habits and tendencies of the age expose us more to its assaults. There is little probability that the superstitions of the Middle Age can be reimposed upon the minds of men. There are few who will submit to be bound in the fetters which the Reformers cast off; and fewer still who will voluntarily return and put their necks beneath the yoke. It is not impossible, indeed, that the world should recede from the light, and walk in darkness. There is no absolute certainty that such may not be the result. We are not sure that the habits of thinking, the modes in which truth is sought, the patient and careful investigation which lies at the foundation of all true science, and which science tends to produce, the freedom with which men pursue their inquiries without regard

to authority, the independence which the mind claims for itself in its speculations, give us actual security from such a result, but they unquestionably render it very improbable. Men are not disposed to yield the prerogative with which God has endowed them, of thinking for themselves. It is not easy to erase from the soul the conviction, that in the matter of its religion it has the right and privilege of a direct and individual approach to God. The sense of responsibility for its faith as well as practice, which grows out of this conviction, is well nigh indestructible when it has once been awakened. And yet these convictions must be removed, men must be brought to abandon that which they hold most dear, and all the mental habits of the race must be changed, before the world can be brought back to the bondage from which it has been released;—a revolution, which, as all history shows, never takes place suddenly, but through long processes, and by imperceptible degrees, like the geological changes which have passed upon the surface of the earth, or like those changes which are still going forward in the relative positions of the land and sea. If the world ever returns to its bondage, it will be by a path which leads through the wastes of unbelief. The change will come as a reaction from infidelity, just as the older forms of infidelity were a reaction from the superstitions of the Middle Age. Men will choose the robbers, who, though they strip them of all that they hold dear, may yet spare their lives, in preference to the leap into the chasm, which is certain death; just as some of old, escaping from the robbers, took without thought the fatal leap. And if there were no middle path upon which a man could walk securely, there are few who would censure such a choice; for it were far better, doubtless, to bow to the authority which that corrupt Church claims, and to worship God, (though he should be worshipped in partial ignorance,) according to her command, than to deny our religious nature altogether, and be without God in the world; or, what amounts to the same thing, fall down and worship ourselves. There is no important difference between the man who denies that there is a God, and him who calls himself divine; for religion, in any intelligible sense, is alike impossible in both cases. Both are at the bottom of the chasm, although the fall

may be rather more stunning in one case than the other. The danger from Romanism lies chiefly in this, that it may be resorted to as a refuge from the desperations of unbelief, as some form of superstition has ever followed in the wake of infidelity.* We are not saying that Rome has not a fearful power; or that the Church should not resist her progress as a most fearful calamity to the cause of truth and righteousness; or that her efforts should be less vigorous than they are; but that the chief danger lies in a subtle unbelief, which in its various forms, falls in with the tendencies of the day, and is sapping the religious principles and convictions of men, and which, if not checked, will sweep away the faith of many, and leave them to whatever false system may offer satisfaction to the quenchless aspirations and emotions of our religious nature. We think that the mind of the Church should be turned towards this foe; that while she strives to guard the truth from the perversions of Rome, she should guard it, at least with equal watchfulness and zeal, against the desolating forces of unbelief; and that both from its nature as laying waste every thing that is good in its track, and from the whole tendency of our mental and social condition, this latter is the more immediate, impending, and fearful danger, and of course calls upon us to meet and resist it, in whatever form it may appear.

The essay of Mr. Pearson is important to this end, inasmuch as it tends to bring before the minds of those who are set for the defence of the truth, the real nature, and to some degree the magnitude, of the danger to be apprehended. Its object seems to be rather to describe the character, and the variety, and number of the enemy's forces, than to furnish the armour with which they can be met. And this is a valuable aid. It requires considerable reading to keep even with the advancing tide and ever-changing form of unbelief. Infidelity has a wonderful plastic energy. It adapts itself readily to the demands and character of the age. While it remains the same in substance, it changes its form with every varying circumstance of

* We see this result already in Germany. Some have passed over and given in their adhesion to Rome. It is altogether probable that others will follow, unless there should be a more powerful revival of true religion, of which there are signs of hope. It is not wonderful that between the two, good men should sympathize more with Rome even than with Strauss, Feuerback, and Bauer.

society. It attaches itself to everything which may give it plausibility, and gain for it easier access to the minds of men. It is sure to come up in a new shape, and baptized with a new name, with every crisis or revolution in society, and with every new form of philosophical speculation. Error or unbelief is never self-sustaining. It betrays its weakness by seizing upon some partial truth for its support. It always sets out with such a truth as its starting-point. It always lays this foundation upon which to rest the superstructure it is building. And as the Bible is a many-sided book, as its truths come into contact with men, and society, and systems of philosophy, at various points, at each of these points, sometimes contemporaneously, but more often in succession, infidelity manages to hang its objections, and by an ingenious misstatement or perversion of the truth, gains for itself an apparent ground upon which to rest, and a form which is apt to deceive the unsuspecting. As these social changes are going forward with unprecedented rapidity, and men are pushing their investigations in all directions with unwearied energy, and sometimes with far too bold a spirit, as if there were no limits beyond which it became them to tread with reverence; as the human mind seems to be teeming with new plans, and thoughts social, political, and philosophical, are worked out into clearer and more intelligible forms; it is not wonderful to find infidelity availing itself of this state of things, and putting on a new form, that it may gain new adherents, and assailing those fortresses of truth which it had found hitherto impregnable, by new methods, and exulting, as it were, with fresh hopes of success. Indeed, the friends of truth, in this respect, are like those who defend a broad and open land against a wily foe, who are called to protect this point, and then the other, but each, it may be, from its peculiar situation, by a very different process. It might require courage and skill, but that courage and skill under a very different application. The foe might be the same, but the outward form in which he appears, and the modes of attack, might vary. It is thus with the unbelief of the present age. It is unwearied, restless, and changing. Modern infidelity, therefore, may denote very different things to different persons. It needs to be accurately defined and described. That which

was modern a few years since has become obsolete. Abandoned and laughed at by its own friends, some bolder or freer thinker has struck out a new path, and the whole host are now following hard after him. A new star reigns in the ascendant. Whoever, therefore, will patiently follow error in its devious course, wade through the works in which it appears, in which a little that is new is mixed up with much that is stale with age, and rightly discriminate what is modern from what is ancient, what objections have been answered a thousand times to the world's satisfaction, from those which yet require to be answered, performs a good service to the cause of truth, and deserves well of her friends. And this is the work which the author of this essay has done with a good degree of success. It is chiefly descriptive rather than argumentative.

In some respects, we wish that the author had given us a more profound and thorough refutation of the errors which he describes, or that he had reduced the size of his essay, so that it could have been placed within the reach of the multitudes who are in danger, to whom the poison comes in so much cheaper a form than the antidote. There are obviously two classes of works required in this controversy with unbelief, especially in the present day, when the error is brought down into a popular form and penetrates every class of society, from the highest to the lowest, from the most cultivated to the most ignorant, alike infests the walks of literature and the sinks of pollution and crime. It is no longer the retired thinker alone who is carried away by his own speculations, lost in the fog in which he has enveloped himself, and shut out the light of truth, but these retired speculations are brought down to the comprehension of all, and sent forth to do their destructive work. We need, in the first place, profound and philosophical refutations of the system of unbelief; works in which the error shall be met in its very source. We must not only trace the stream to its fountain, but cast into the fountain that salt of patient and Christian thinking, which shall cause it to send forth sweet instead of bitter waters. Connected, as infidelity always is, with systems of philosophy, it must be shown that these philosophical systems from which it springs, are false, and then a true system must be substituted in its room; or

that they are but partially true, and then the true must be separated from the false, so that the features upon which infidelity grafts itself shall be seen to be not true; or that though the system itself is true in all its essential features, the infidelity which is attempted to be grafted upon it, is an excrescence, that it holds with the philosophy by no necessary, or logical, or vital connection. Its pretended supports must be taken from under it, so that it shall be left to stand upon its own basis, or indeed not to stand at all. We are convinced that the core of the controversy lies here; that laying aside the moral causes of unbelief, the great cause lies in philosophies constructed in a wrong method, or based upon false principles, or embracing false results, because of an imperfect analysis of the powers and faculties of the mind, and a partial view of the facts upon which all true philosophy rests; that the power which these systems exert cannot be broken until men are brought to receive a true philosophy; and that the prevailing forms of infidelity will not, therefore, be entirely removed until this is done. The older deism of Collins, Bolingbroke, and Tindal, fell with the philosophy upon which it rested before the profounder investigations of Reid. The materialistic infidelity of Condillac and Cabanis expired with their philosophy, although it may well be questioned whether it has not given place to a still more destructive unbelief, rising out of a philosophy which, though far more pretentious, comes little nearer the truth. And the same process must go forward still. We may satisfy ourselves, and perhaps the larger part of men, of the utter groundlessness of modern infidelity by other methods than this. We may prove it bad by its fruits, which would certainly be no difficult task; we may array against it the primitive and indestructible convictions of our moral nature; we may show its inconsistency with itself; but to remove the ground upon which its advocates rest, to take away the force of the argument which they press so often, that their system is the result of close and logical thinking upon the undeniable teachings of our reason, and of course cannot be opposed by our moral nature, if the author of both be a beneficent being; to take away this standing place, we must have a more comprehensive and truer philosophy, which shall

commend itself to the unbiassed judgments of men, as grounded upon a careful and searching analysis, upon the widest induction of facts, and at the same time strictly logical in its processes. The true limits of the powers of the human mind and of the field of its knowledge must be fixed, which in itself would overthrow the very position on which their infidelity rests; for it rests upon the assertion that the human reason can know and comprehend the Absolute, and is in itself, therefore, the source of all moral and spiritual truth. One such work, or a work which should even in a small degree approximate to it, and contribute something towards such a result, would be of incalculable value to the cause of truth. It is scarcely necessary to add that such a philosophy would unavoidably be humble and Christian in its tone. For the very first fact which strikes us when we look within, and ever remains prominent among the facts of consciousness, is that we are limited and dependent; and that humility, therefore, ought to be and is a fundamental condition to successful investigation. It might claim with propriety what the Edinburgh philosopher claims, and perhaps not without truth, for his own scheme: "The foundation of our philosophy is humility. For it is professedly a scientific demonstration, of the impossibility of that wisdom in high matters which the Apostle prohibits us even to attempt; and it proposes, from the limitation of the human powers, from our impotence to comprehend what, however, we must admit, to show articulately why the secret things of God cannot but be to many past finding out. Humility thus becomes the cardinal virtue, not only of revelation, but of reason; and philosophy is found to be the most useful auxiliary of theology."*

We need, on the other hand, a class of works which shall contain the results of such thinking, in a popular form, and then sent forth from the press in such a shape that they should come within the reach of every man, however limited his resources, who stood in danger of being lured into unbelief, or who was anxious to satisfy his doubts, and to find the truth. For the class of men who stand most in danger are just those

* Sir William Hamilton's Discussions, p. 588.

who have neither the leisure nor the power of attention and thought, to read with advantage profound discussions. They are the artizans, mechanics, and young men in business; and, going further, they are the ignorant, those who are without property, the dwellers in the narrow streets and packed houses of our cities, the day labourers at the forge and in our factories. (For infidelity in its more modern forms differs in this respect from its previous manifestations, that it seeks to carry itself into every rank of society, and applies its formulas with no small influence, to every question in life.) These are the men who need to be informed. And this must be done, not by costly works, but by smaller essays, or tracts, put within the cheapest rates, and expressed in terms level to the comprehension of the lowest ranks, in the common language of uncultivated men. In this respect, the friends of truth might well learn a lesson from her foes. For we could scarcely overstate the efforts which infidelity is putting forth in this field, nor the artfulness with which its appeals are addressed to the ignorant, and to those who suffer misfortune, or groan under the inequalities of life. There is no rank in society, among whom passion and prejudice have more unlimited sway, in which infidelity is certain to produce such disastrous results. It is this which clothes it with such fearful power. No man who thinks, can anticipate without trembling, the time when these masses shall become thoroughly impregnated with the principles of infidelity; principles which are not only destructive of all religion, but lead to the violation of all the sanctities of life—and then have their passions aroused by the artful appeals of their leaders. It is just here, therefore, that the great, immediate danger lies, and this is the point which we are called to guard, at any expense and effort, and by all that we hold most dear.

The book before us belongs to neither of these classes, but occupies a position between the two. The author starts out with the obvious truth, that infidelity, in its essential feature, is a negation, rather than an affirmation; that it consists in a denial of the common faith of the Christian world. Under this general denial, he enumerates the several forms "of Atheism, in which the negation is complete; Pantheism, or the

denial of the Divine Personality; Naturalism, or the denial of the Divine Providential Government; Pseudo Spiritualism, or the denial of the Divine Redemption, (including as it does, the doctrines of the Trinity, Atonement, and Spirit's influences); Indifferentism, or the denial of Man's Responsibility; and Formalism, or the denial of the power of Godliness." Under each of these heads, the author gives a historical view of that particular form in which infidelity has manifested itself, from the introduction of the Gospel, to the present day; and then follows the history either by a statement of arguments in favour of the truth, or by some remarks which show the practical workings of the system to be bad; or that its objections lie against Providence as well as the Bible; and thus indirectly furnish a proof that the system described is without foundation. With most of the information contained in this part of the volume, our readers are already familiar, from previous articles on this general subject.*

It is no doubt true that the older forms of infidelity, though proved untenable, and abandoned by their advocates, have numerous adherents among us still. The pestilence which carries desolation through the land may have passed away, and yet sporadic cases may appear, here and there, and of the most deadly type. But the most recent, and perhaps the most prominent form of unbelief, is that which goes under the name of Spiritualism; by which is meant the theory which asserts that whatever revelation of "moral or spiritual truth God makes to man, must be from within, and not from without." It substitutes as our authority the "moral sentiments," or "religious intuitions," or "spiritual insight," or the truths of our "religious consciousness," for an outward revelation of truth addressed to our minds in distinct propositions. It denies the possibility of a book-revelation within this field, or, what amounts to the same thing, the possibility of a revelation at all, in the strict sense of that word. It does not question the genuineness of the Bible, but claims that the spiritual truths, of which its authors were conscious, were conveyed by them in forms, and through conceptions, which were the most unfortu-

* Biblical Repertory, January 1839, and January 1840.

nate; that the spirit is lost in the letter; and that we may, therefore, deny every thing which is distinguishing of Christianity, its doctrines, and the evidence upon which it rests, and still remain Christians—still hold fast to the essence, which a few of the present day have had the skill to separate from the “degraded types,” and “unfortunate conceptions,” under which it has been buried for centuries. As described by its advocates, this “Christianity, (*i. e.*, this spiritualized essence,) is dependent upon no outside authority. We verify its eternal truth in our soul. It bows to no idols, neither the Church, nor the Bible, nor yet Jesus, but God only. Its redeemer is within, its salvation is within, its heaven, and its oracle of God.” These spiritual truths underlie all religions, as they lie in every soul, and each man has the power, not only of receiving them when revealed, but of discerning them for himself. There is therefore “but one religion, as there is but one ocean.” Fetichism, Paganism, and Christianity, are but different and clearer developments of the “Absolute religion.” “Religion is the same—not similar, but just the same—in every man, differing only in degree.” “Of course, then, there is no difference but of words, between revealed religion and *natural* religion; for all actual religion is revealed in us, or it could not be felt.” Or as described in slightly different terms by another of its advocates: “What God reveals to us, he reveals *within*, through the medium of our moral and spiritual senses.” “Christianity has practically confessed,” (when or where?) “what is theoretically clear, that an authoritative *external* revelation of moral and spiritual truth, is essentially impossible to man.” And as this would not be a sufficiently broad basis to sustain the structure which is to be reared, it is claimed that these truths of “spiritual insight” are in open contradiction with the doctrines of the Bible. “If the Spirit within us, and the Bible without us, are at variance, we must either follow the inward, and disregard the outward law, else we must renounce the inward and obey the outward.”* Who can doubt which side of the alternative these men who are gifted with such wonderful insight would choose? It would be strange if they should not follow the inward light, which shines

* See the chapter on Spiritualism, and the Eclipse of Faith.

upon them so clearly; although the world has agreed with remarkable unanimity in calling that light darkness. We cannot but admire the modesty with which these men announce their discoveries. Certainly some little vanity might be pardoned in men endowed with such spiritual vision; who have been raised up as great prophets and seers to *reveal* to the world the delusions under which it lies. We say *reveal*, because these men claim to do for their fellows what they deny to be possible for God to do for them. They make a book-revelation of moral and spiritual truth.*

There are two invariable symptoms of this form of unbelief. It has an abhorrence of all evidence or proof, and makes strenuous opposition to creeds and formulas of faith. These are an abomination to it. It cannot abide a proposition so stated as to admit of proof or refutation. It cries out against a creed as if it were an instrument of torture to the soul. It deals with sentiments, feelings, the glorious truths which come out so clearly when we look within, but truths which do not admit of expression in the forms of words, with undefinable intuitions, with the teachings of consciousness—teachings, indeed, which lie beneath the consciousness of most. Its advocates are seers—sayers more properly. They never reason, but utter. And if you are not convinced, if the utterance does not make a response in your own soul, all that can be said is, that you are still, with the mass of the world, in darkness, living under the “unfortunate conceptions” which conceal the pure idea. It is in vain to reason with a man to convince him that he has a “spiritual insight,” which he declares, after an honest search, he does not possess. One might as well reason with the blind, to convince him that he sees. Connected with this opposition to all proof, or argument, and creeds, it makes great pretensions to a comprehensive charity. It is indifferent what a man’s “spiritual insight” reveals to him, provided he holds that this is the only source of moral and spiritual truth. Its charity has an enormous capacity. It swallows everything, and that without a grimace or effort. Fetichism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, Christianity, “are all

* *Eclipse of Faith*, p. 73.

the same religion, differing only in degree." The good and the bad, provided they live according to the teachings of their "spiritual insight," are alike worthy and alike safe. Or, to use their own terms, "Many a swarthy Indian, who bowed down to wood and stone; many a grim-faced Calmuck, who worshipped the God of storms; many a Grecian peasant, who did homage to Phœbus Apollo when the sun rose or went down; yes, many a savage, his hands smeared all over with human sacrifice, shall come from the East and the West, and sit down in the kingdom of God." The man who can utter such sentiments, and dignify them with the name of charity, without a blush of shame, has certainly gone far beyond our insight. We cannot strain our vision so as to see how that which is false can by any process be viewed as true, or that which is diabolical can be justified as virtue.

It is not difficult to trace this system to its source. It follows directly from the pantheistic philosophy, although it does not always appear in connection with it. The process in which it originated is this. A broad distinction is drawn between the powers and functions of the understanding and reason. The office of the understanding is simply to give form to the knowledge or facts which come to us through other sources. It is the constructive faculty of the mind. The reason, on the other hand, is the organ of truth. It is not constructive, but intuitive. The understanding deals only with truths and facts already within the mind; reason perceives truth; understanding furnishes the forms, but never the material of our knowledge; reason has a direct intuition of the material; it is the organ by which the mind not only possesses or forms those primitive universal and necessary convictions which all men have, but by which it has also a direct and immediate intuition of spiritual or supersensual truth; indeed, a direct beholding and comprehending of the Absolute. And this reason, it is said, is not personal, but impersonal, and dwells alike in every man. Reason is thus deified, or the human and divine reason is the same. If all this is so, then two things follow, upon which this whole scheme rests; first, that there can be no revelation of truth in the form of doctrine, or truths formally and logically expressed, but that all truth must be revealed in the

form of religious intuitions; and second, that the reason, or religious consciousness, being the same in every man, every man has the power of discerning, without external aid, all these truths for himself. Hence their often asserted position, that religion is one and absolute.

The connection between this system of unbelief and the pantheistic philosophy, may perhaps be stated more clearly in another way. This philosophy, as is well known, starting far back in the depths of our nature, in which it seeks for some certain standing-place; starting in some simple assertion which most would readily admit—which, indeed, is partially true—proceeds, step by step, to build up the system by the most rigid processes of reasoning, until it comes out with the conclusion which destroys the distinction between God and the creation; making the world but a process or evolution of Deity, and the human mind, as the intelligent part of the creation, that in which God comes to a consciousness of himself. The soul, therefore, must have all truth within itself. An external revelation becomes impossible. All things are a necessary and unending process. Men are a part of Deity. And hence we hear certain members, though all do not go so far, speaking of their leaders as God-inspired men, and claiming the same inspiration for heathen sages as they concede to the apostles and prophets, or even to Christ himself.

It will be seen that this scheme involves two points, and but two. First, that all revelation of spiritual truth must be from within, or through the intuitional consciousness, and that each soul is sufficient for itself; and secondly, that these results of spiritual insight or the intuitive powers, are at variance with the doctrines of the Bible. It is necessary that it should maintain both these positions, in order to give it the least show of strength.

We do not propose to enter at any length into the argument here. It would require more time and space than we have at our command. It may be urged, however, against this scheme, that it proceeds upon an entire misconception of the nature of religion. It makes religion a feeling, an intuition, a sentiment; instead of a principle, a belief of the truth, and an obedience to it. It views it not only as a life, but as a life to

the exclusion of doctrine and duty; as if, indeed, there could be any intelligible spiritual life apart from a belief and love of the truth, and a practical obedience to it in the life. We can frame no conception of a spiritual life, which does not involve faith, love, and duty. If there is this higher life of the soul, it must have a vital connection with the truth, and that truth so expressed that it be understood in order to be felt. But the moment that spiritual truth, in its logical or doctrinal form, or what is equivalent, a form in which it can be apprehended and received by the mind, is seen to be a necessary element in the spiritual life, that moment this scheme falls to the ground. For then a revelation becomes possible without as well as within, *i. e.*, becomes possible, because necessary to the existence of the spiritual life. Hence it is that we hear this unceasing cry about creeds, and confessions, and evidences.

It may be urged again, that the distinction between the logical and intuitionist consciousness upon which some of its advocates rest, is pressed too far. For while there is ground for this distinction between the reflective and intuitive faculties, there is danger, lest the distinction be applied to an extent which facts will not justify. Man is a "complicated unity." All the powers of his nature, though they may be separated in analysis, work together, and for each other. We should be slow to admit that the understanding has no other office than to give form to the phenomena which come through our senses, or to the "higher truths or laws" which come through the intuitions of reason. "It is one and the same indivisible mind, which is the subject of religious thought and emotion, and of any other thought and emotion. Religious truth, like any other truth, is embraced by the understanding—as indeed it would be a queer kind of truth that is not—is stated in propositions, yields inferences, is adorned by eloquence, is illustrated by the imagination, and is thus, as well as from its intrinsic claims, rendered powerful over the emotions, the affections, and the will."*

A third thing which bears against this scheme is, that it is inconsistent with the truth of history or the recorded expe-

* *Eclipse of Faith*, p. 309.

rience of men. Its advocates differ very widely among themselves. They are not agreed what are the truths which lie so clear to the spiritual vision. One asserts that his insight leads him to believe in the immortality of the soul, another stands in doubt, his vision does not clearly decide, and still another asserts stoutly that the soul is not immortal. It would be hard to gather out a confession of faith, or any number of truths to which they would subscribe. And if it could be done, it would be seen that they stand on nearly the same ground with the older Deism, and are fairly open to all the arguments by which that system has been often and thoroughly refuted. And this want of argument among themselves prepares us for the admission, that the state of men in the world is not such as their theory requires. This absolute religion, which is claimed to be one and the same, does not prove to be so, even its friends being judges. It would be so, it is said, if all the "proper conditions were fulfilled." But practically the conditions are not observed. "The conception which men universally form of God is always imperfect, sometimes self-contradictory and impossible." Or, according to another, there are various principles which mislead and seduce the spiritual faculty, and so prevent that unanimity which might otherwise have been attained. A beautiful commentary this upon the sufficiency and validity of that internal revelation which supersedes the necessity of any revelation from without! The insight must be clear, indeed, which leaves the vast majority of men in error, and error which is consistent with the grossest conceptions of God. The truth is, when we seek for this absolute religion, it cannot be found. Beyond the influences of the Bible, men walk in the thickest darkness on all the questions which concern their origin, their present condition, or their future destiny and hopes. The utmost which they can gather from this boasted spiritual illumination is uncertainty. They get but faint and distant glimpses of the truth. And even those who live within the influence of this external revelation, and yet deny its authority and necessity, are not greatly in advance of the heathen. They enjoy the reflected light of that truth whose direct and life-giving beams they might share if they would. They have clearer intuitions, because of the

Christian influences by which they are surrounded, but they too are oppressed with the most painful uncertainty. All history confirms this. And besides this failure to reveal what man needs to know, and what the human race has been perpetually groping after, "seeking after God if haply they might find him;" what are we to conclude as to the authority of this inward revelation, when even those who announce it differ so widely among themselves? How is a man to know whether his inner eye is clear—whether he actually sees what he thinks that he sees? On what ground is he to come to a certainty? And without certainty on questions like these, the soul cannot rest. Is every man to follow his own light without question, or is he to compare it with the results which others have reached, or with some fixed standard? and if so, what? What right has one man to set up his "spiritual faculty," or the truths which he thinks he has discerned, as a standard for other men, or for humanity? To whom shall we go for the one and absolute religion? And if it fail thus to give either light or certainty, as history and experience, the very sighs and hopes of the ancient sages, the groans and tears of humanity in pagan ignorance, seeking rest and finding none, the uncertain answers which come back from the soul when questioned even in a Christian land—all unite to teach us, what becomes of its boastful claims? We are aware that an argument of this nature might be constructed against the Bible; but it would be invalid, because the Bible teaches that man is not in his normal condition; that he needs the light which it claims to give; and that men walk in darkness, because they will not come to the light.

A fourth thing which disproves this theory, is, that there is no such variance as is claimed to exist between the teachings of our inner nature when fully and fairly stated, and the teachings of the Bible. There is the fullest harmony between them, so far as the inner revelation (if we may use this term, although it appears a clear misnomer,) can be compared with the outward, and beyond that point the inward leads us to expect just what the Scriptures reveal. Natural religion not only harmonizes with revealed, but leads us to anticipate, in some degree, what that revealed religion shall be, *i. e.*, it leads

us to hope that the questions to which it gives rise, and to which it furnishes no satisfactory answer, shall there find their answer, that the great problems which meet every reflecting soul, shall receive a clear solution. The clearest spiritual intuition which meets every one when he turns his eyes within, is, that man is not in his normal condition, that his nature has undergone a dreadful fall. The doctrine of sin and depravity is the teaching of natural as well as of revealed religion. It is not so clearly seen, but still sufficiently evident to bring it within the class of truths which belong to the "revelation within," that God is just, and that sin, therefore, must be punished if he govern the world. We do not appeal simply to the consciousness of men to establish these intuitions, but to every religion which has arisen among men, which embraces them, and indeed offers a remedy. The light within gives us reason to hope, if it be not the remnant of an original external revelation, that though God is just, he may be approached by sinful men, through some mediation in the way of sacrifice or atonement. Every false religion embraces this also. We may add that every man comes to the conviction—a strange conviction on the supposition that this theory is true—that he is helpless and ignorant, needs light from some external source, needs indeed just that which the Bible reveals in the doctrine of the Spirit's influences. All these intuitions which serve to prepare the way for an external revelation, or to awaken the sense of want in the soul, are just as clear and universal as are the truths which belong to "spiritual insight" as their source. But surely no one will pretend that there is any contradiction between these truths and the doctrines of the Bible as to the fall and redemption. There is much more in the Bible than could have been conjectured from the "inward revelation;" but so far as it goes, there is a perfect harmony between them. The most fundamental position in their theory proves to be without support. It falls before the slightest examination. We say the most fundamental position, for if we should grant what they claim, that there is an interior illumination through which every man could gain a distinct and certain knowledge of the elementary "moral and spiritual truths," which we may grant for the sake of the argument, although all

experience proves the claim to be unfounded; there would yet remain the possibility and necessity of an external revelation to satisfy the deeper questions which the soul ever asks, as to how God may be reconciled to sinful men, and man be restored to his primitive and normal state. And that the Bible furnishes professedly the answers to these questions—answers which we have seen accord well with the fairest conjectures of natural religion—is in itself a convincing proof that it is *the revelation from without*, which is necessary if men are ever to be saved from the present fearful ruin.

And besides all this, if their theory be true, and they will be consistent with themselves, it will lead them inevitably to deny that there is a personal God, who governs the world. For if every man receives from within all “moral and spiritual truth,” and every other truth which relates to our being, or to the government of God, is to be tested by these intuitions; to be received or rejected according as each man thinks that they agree with his intuitions or not; then it will follow, since the same objections lie against the revelation which God makes of himself in his works of creation and providence, as against the Bible; since there is sin in the world, and inexplicable suffering, under his providence, that they must embrace either Pantheism, in which moral evil, with all its results, is regarded as a necessary step to a higher good—a link in the endless chain; or Atheism, which denies the being of God, and leaves us to explain sin and misery as the parts of an inexorable fate under which we live, and shuts out of course from the soul all hope either of relief or cure.* It appears to us, therefore, that what the prophet said of the degenerate and idolatrous race to whom he was sent, may be fairly said of these modern infidels: “Your fathers have forsaken me, saith the Lord, and have walked after other gods, and have served them, and have worshipped them, and have forsaken me, and have not kept my

* See Eclipse of Faith, 148, 149. The author of this work puts the advocates of this theory in this dilemma, from which escape seems to us impossible: “Either the supposed truths of their spiritual theory are known to all mankind or not; if they are, surely their books, and every such book, is the most impudent in the world; if not, these authors did well to write, supposing them to have truth on their side; but then that indicates the possibility and utility of a book-revelation;” or, as he elsewhere proves, leads to the absurd conclusion, “that that is possible with man, which is impossible with God.” p. 292, 88, 89.

law, and ye have done worse than your fathers, *for behold ye walk every one after the imagination of his evil heart, that they may not hearken unto me.*"

We had proposed to call the attention of our readers to a still more recent form of infidelity, which assumes the title of "Secularism," and holds for its fundamental principle that the truths of the present world are the only truths of which we are or can be certain. But a system which virtually denies man's religious nature, buries beyond the prospect of resurrection all his most sacred hopes and aspirations, and degrades him very much to the level of the brute, can never prevail to any extent, nor exert any great power even over those who profess to receive it. It has no claim therefore to special notice. The reader may find it described and refuted in an Appendix to this Essay.

We come now to the second point of the Essay, in which the author proceeds to describe the causes which have been most efficient in the production of the results before described. They are found to be in general, "the moral state of men," which inclines them to resist the evidences upon which the truth rests, and to resist the truth itself, which in its nature and tendencies runs counter to their depraved inclinations; and in particular, "speculative philosophy, social disaffection, the corruptions of Christianity, religious intolerance, and the divisions of the Church." Each of these causes is dwelt upon at considerable length, and with great ability; although perhaps, relatively to each other, too much stress is laid upon the divisions of the Church, and too little upon the tendencies and results of the speculative thinking of the age. We are inclined to think that too much of the unbelief of the world is laid at the door of the Church. It is quite too common a charge against her, on the part of those who oppose her progress; and quite too readily granted on the part of her friends. Every intelligent man must be conscious that he is imposing upon himself, when he pretends to justify his own persistency in sin by the imperfections of Christians, or his denial of the Bible, because the Church has been sometimes stained with impurity, and rent by divisions. He must be conscious that the ground upon which he pretends to rest is not the real ground; and that

in pleading it, he is only attempting to cover up or excuse what he has not the courage to avow. It is rather the occasion, therefore, than a real and efficient cause of unbelief. It is an afterthought raked up to justify what the unbeliever feels to be without reason or excuse. We pass from this part of the work with a single remark further; that while our author does not profess that his enumeration is exhaustive or complete, and there may be therefore other causes which are at work to produce the same end, he has yet selected the prominent causes, which are operating with tremendous efficiency, and in some instances, never with greater efficiency, than at the present day. We regard this part of the essay as likely to prove more valuable than the first.

Having thus defined its causes, we are brought to notice the agencies of which infidelity makes use. It propagates itself through the press, the clubs, the schools, and the pulpit. It is obviously of the greatest importance that the Church should know not only the nature of the foe, and the causes which have given it birth, but with what weapons it carries on its warfare. Few are probably aware of the extent to which each of these agencies is employed by the enemies of the truth. It is clearly shown, we think, that the power of the press is used with equal, if not greater effect, against the truth, than for it. We feel unwilling to admit that it preponderates on the side of unbelief; but the array of facts which our author presents in regard to France and England, is startling, if not such as to carry conviction to most minds. We see not why the case should be greatly different with us. There are three great forms in which the press is employed for this purpose; the periodical press, including the daily and weekly journals, and the larger monthlies and quarterlies; the light literature which is current and so widely read; and the more laboured attempts to sustain their principles, in philosophical discussions or essays. The most alarming feature of the first class, is the studied indifference which it maintains upon all subjects which touch upon spiritual religion, or even upon those doctrines which are the common faith and heritage of Christians. There are few journals in which common questions are discussed in a decided Christian tone. The great

social and political questions are discussed and decided mainly upon the low grounds of expediency. It has somehow come to be felt, by what authority we know not, that the great practical principles of the Bible are to be kept separate from political problems, as if a nation's religion could be excluded from all the fields of its activity, or as if such an attempt could be successful, without leading a people into infidelity. We regard the remarks of the author as just and important. It is time that these questions were taken out from the limits of mere worldly prudence, and settled by an appeal to the conscience of the people, and the higher and more indestructible parts of our nature. In addition to this silent influence against a practical Christianity, there are alarming issues which are inculcating infidelity. The author shows that the weekly papers which have the largest circulation, "are or were of an irreligious and demoralizing character." "A respectable London publisher states, that while cheap religious periodicals have made limited progress, either in number or interest, the corrupt printing press has been unceasingly at work." "The present circulation in London of immoral unstamped publications, of a half-penny to three half-pence each, must be upwards of 400,000 weekly." "Besides this, there are the importation of French novels, and prints of such a character, that they could once be obtained only by stealth, but are now sold openly where other periodicals are kept for sale." Our author divides them into three classes. First, the avowedly infidel, which have for their object, as described by themselves, "to induce the people to shake off religious belief, to cut the cable by which theology has a hold on practical affairs, and to let it float away to the undefined future to which it belongs." They circulate at an extremely cheap rate, and are read by the young men gathered in shops and factories.

A second class are those which are polluting; works which pander to the vilest passions and lusts of men. Mr. Mayhew, in his "London Labour and London Poor," says that one sheet-seller "assured him that his master alone used to get rid of 10,000 copies of such work on Saturday nights and Sunday mornings, the principal customers being young men."

A third class, which is properly described as labouring in

the same cause, whether intentionally or not, is the latitudinarian or neutral press, which is filled with light reading, re-publications of French works; a constant reiteration of the idea, either open or concealed, that men are not responsible for their belief. We speak with some confidence when we say, that this class is very large, in our own country. And no one who has observed the intentness with which such papers are read, and the very wide circulation which they attain, can doubt that they are powerfully at work undermining the principles of men, and preparing them to embrace any system of error which may present itself as plausible to their minds, or promise to free them from the restraints of the Bible. The larger part of these papers go into families which take but the one, and are commonly read from beginning to end, and by all the family. They are filled with some sickening love-story, or some thrilling tale, in which all the sympathies of the reader are artfully enlisted in favour of some desperate criminal; or in which, what is still worse, characters who are living in open and shameless vice, and constantly uttering the most corrupting sentiments, are yet so clothed as to please the imagination or fancy of the reader, and secure his approbation. The usual religious sentiments of such papers are either mawkish sentimentalism, or such as break the way to an open rejection of the gospel.

If we come to the larger monthlies and quarterlies, the state of things is very much the same. The Westminster Review, it is well known, is in the hands of an infidel publisher and editor. Its leading religious articles are designed to favour the more modern unbelief. The larger number of the literary quarterlies of our own land, manage to maintain an entire indifference upon all questions of Evangelical Religion. We demur to this attempt to exclude religion from fields of human activity, first, as we have said, from all social and political problems, and then from literature. What Arnold said of the press in his day was never truer than at present: "We do not need articles on religious subjects half so much as articles on common subjects written with a decidedly religious tone."

If we turn from this field to another, we shall not see much

that bids us hope. There are constantly issued in our cities, publications which are powerfully destructive in their tendencies. We cannot better define the class, than to describe one which came to hand not long since. It offered itself as a gospel to the poor, and then proceeded by an appeal to Scripture—introducing our Saviour himself as the great reformer—to establish these two principles: that the poor have an equal right to the possessions of the rich, exhorting them to bide their time, but to be in readiness to take what belonged to them when the time should come, or when opportunity should offer; and secondly, that marriage was an unjust and tyrannical institution, and ought to be destroyed. All this was done, not in the bare form in which we have stated it, but in the most plausible method, and with a style calculated to persuade men of the sincerity and purity of its author. At the same time, there was no concealing of the principles taught. Every thing was brought down to the comprehension of the most illiterate, and the whole accompanied with a glossary, in which every unusual word was explained in terms common to all. We read such a book, and their name is legion, with a kind of wonder that society still exists, or that there is so much virtue remaining in the world. The wonder is, that men are not more corrupt than they are. We feel ourselves driven back to faith in the restraining grace of God, even for temporal security. And these works are put out in such a form that they come within the reach and means of any who choose to read them. There is good reason to believe that their circulation is not confined to cities, but widely extended throughout the land, scattered like seeds of death. It has been affirmed by the Edinburgh Review, as quoted by our author, that the total annual issue of immoral publications exceeds by twenty-nine millions the total circulation of most of the religious book and tract societies of England and Scotland, with some seventy religious magazines beside. It has been affirmed more recently, that the purely infidel press of London issued publications to the amount of more than twelve millions, during the year 1851. It is probably not better in our own land. Germany, it is said by one of her own citizens, is filled with a flood of pamphlets, novels and romances, making the

pantheistic philosophy popular, and of course infidelity has spread further and further. "The secret of wickedness has long sneaked about, but no one would credit, up to the year 1848, when truly we were convinced:" and we are daily receiving importations from that land.

Besides all this, there are a large number of works, literary, scientific, and theological, which are either openly opposed to the Bible, or contain principles utterly subversive of it. We have our philosophies of religion which recognize no revelation, properly speaking. We have exegetical works, infected more or less with the analogical principles of the German commentators. Translations from these authors meet with a ready sale. Literature contributes its aid to an extent unknown before. Books of essays, compilations of lectures, a certain kind of metaphysical and sentimental poetry which sees no distinction between God and nature; to some extent history also, filled with false views of providence, and the destiny of the race; all these are sent forth with the design of overthrowing the ancient faith in the Bible. Taking the whole field in which the press operates, we can hardly doubt that its preponderating influence, for the present, is against the truth, or indifferent to its interests—that that instrument which God has chosen, above all others, for the advancement of truth and goodness, has been strangely turned to work their overthrow.

We have presented these facts, collected chiefly from the *Essay* before us, that our readers might know from what source the danger comes. Infidelity is not so much to be feared from the strength of her positions or forces, as from the disguised and secret attacks which she makes. There never was a time in which philosophical formulas were applied to such an extent as at the present day. There never was a time when infidelity knew so much how to find its way among the masses of the people, or in which she put forth such vigorous efforts to carry out her knowledge into an actual result. It is these efforts to popularize itself, its artful appeals to the pride and vanity of men, which clothes it with such fearful power, and leads us to fear sometimes for the present, while yet confident in the ultimate triumph of truth and right, that we are to see a wider spread moral depravation than we

have yet seen; or that the desolations which ever follow in the rear of unbelief, and which we have seen afar off, may yet come upon us.

ART. VII.—*A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Church of England on the Validity of the Orders of the Scotch and Foreign Non-Episcopal Churches.* By W. Goode, M. A., F. S. A., Rector of Allhallows the Great and Less, London. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 683 Broadway, 1853.

THE question, whether the Church of England recognizes the validity of the orders of non-episcopal churches, is one which concerns it much more than it does them. They are not the worse for non-recognition. They are not thereby curtailed of any spiritual power or advantage. They enter no claim to be regarded by Romanists or Anglicans, as constituent portions of the Church visible and catholic. They can as well afford to have their church standing denied, as the United States could bear to have their national existence called in question.

The case is far different with the Church of England itself. To refuse to recognize those as Christians who are Christians; to refuse communion with those in whom Christ dwells by his Spirit; to unchurch the living members of Christ's body; to withhold sympathy, fellowship, and co-operation from those in whom Christ delights, and who are devoted to his service; to take sides in the great conflict, between true and false religion, between the gospel and ritualism, against the truth and against God's people, is a very great sin. It is the sin of schism which all churchmen profess to regard with special abhorrence. It supposes wrong views of the nature of the church, of the plan of salvation, and of the nature of religion. We do not wonder, therefore, that the evangelical spiritual members of that Church are anxious not only to free themselves from the imputation of this sin and

heresy, but to prove that the Church to which they belong is not justly chargeable with either.

This, to say the least, is not a work of supererogation. There is much to render plausible the charge in question. Not only is the schismatical principle of making episcopal ordination essential to the ministry, and a valid ministry essential to the being of the Church, to the efficacy of the sacraments, and to union with Christ, the avowed doctrine of a large and controlling portion of the Anglican Church in England and in this country, but that Church, as a Church, stands isolated in the Christian world. It is excommunicated by Rome, and it in its turn refuses official recognition of other Protestants. An Episcopal minister communing in a Presbyterian Church, would, in our days, be almost as rare a sight as a Romish priest communing with the Church of England. The difference between the relation of the Episcopal clergy to those of other Protestant Churches, and of the clergy of those Churches to each other, is palpable. Mutual recognition, in the latter case, is open, cordial, and undoubted; in the other, it is always dubious and hesitating, and often explicitly denied. That Church, therefore, as a Church, stands aloof. It has no practical communion with other Churches. It rebaptizes, in many cases, Presbyterian children, and reordains Presbyterian clergymen. It sends no corresponding members from its conventions, either state or general, to the Synods or assemblies of any other Church. It does not invite the ministers of other denominations to minister in its pulpits, or to take part in its religious services. It draws a distinct and broad line of demarcation between itself and all other Protestant bodies. We are speaking of the acknowledged and unquestioned *animus* and *status* of the Church as a body. We know there are hundreds of her ministers, and thousands of her people, who have none of this spirit, and to whom the exclusiveness of their ecclesiastical canons is a burden and an offence. We know that many cases have occurred in which this exclusiveness has been triumphed over, and Episcopal churches *lent* to Presbyterian ministers. We know, too, that this isolation of the Church of England is inconsistent with the avowed principles of her own standards, and contrary to the spirit and practice of her Re-

formers and immediate successors for a hundred years. Nevertheless it is a fact. There must therefore be something in her constitution which tends to exclusiveness, and which leads her thus to stand aloof from the great body of evangelical Christians. This can hardly be merely Episcopacy; because the Moravians, and some Lutheran Churches, are episcopal, and yet are completely identified with other Protestant communions. Neither can it be either the use of a Liturgy, or its peculiar character; because other Protestant Churches have liturgies, and some of them less evangelical than that of the Church of England. The isolation of that Church is no doubt to be referred, in a measure, to the outward course of her history; to her having been framed and fashioned by the king and parliament, established by the law of the land, and made the exclusive recipient of the wealth and honours of the State. But besides these outward circumstances, there must be something in the system itself, some element essentially anti-protestant and exclusive, to which the effect in question is principally to be referred. This, we doubt not, is, in general, the subordination of truth to form; the making what is outward more important than what is inward. The question how a company of Christians is organized; what is their form of government; what their mode of worship; what their ecclesiastical descent, is of far more consequence in determining the question whether they are to be recognized as a Church, and to be communed with, and regarded as Christian brethren, members of the body of Christ, than either their faith or practice. If a body of professing Christians is organized in a certain way, it is a Church, no matter whether it is as heretical and idolatrous as Rome, or as ignorant and superstitious as the Greeks or Abyssinians. If organized in a different way, it is no Church, it has no ministry, no sacraments, and no part in the covenant of mercy. This is the legitimate consequence of the idea of the Church on which the whole Anglican system is founded. The Church is regarded as an external society, with a definite organization, perpetuated by a regular succession of ordinations. Of course, in searching for the Church, the search is not for truth and holiness, but for organization and succession. Hence, Rome is a Church, because she has pre-

lates and succession; the Free Church of Scotland is no Church, because it has no bishops. The one is indeed heretical, schismatical, and idolatrous, the mystical Babylon; the other, one of the most orthodox, exemplary, and devoted body of Christians in the world. Still, the former is our Latin sister, whose orders and sacraments are valid and efficacious; the other is an apostate communion, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and from the covenant of promise, forming no part of the Church catholic and apostolical. There is not only more of outward recognition, but of inward cordial sympathy and fellowship with prelatrical Churches, no matter how corrupt, than with non-episcopal Churches, no matter how pure. The form is made of more importance than the substance. Such is the necessary consequence of making the Church an external society, and prelatrical ordination essential to the ministry. This is the element which has been infused into the Episcopal Church of England and America, and which has produced its legitimate fruit in the isolation of that body from other Protestant communions. Though not original in its constitution, it is so congenial with it, that it has ever been adopted by a large portion of its members, and its influence can hardly be resisted even by those who see its unscriptural character, and are shocked by its legitimate effects.

There are certain radical points bearing on this whole subject, incorporated in all Protestant confessions, the denial of which is a denial of Protestantism, and the ignoring of which, on the part of any Church, necessarily leads that Church into an unnatural and anti-protestant position. One of these, as just intimated, relates to the idea of the Church. All Protestant Churches rejected the Popish doctrine, that the Church is, in its essential nature, an external society, and especially that it is such a society organized in any one definite form. Every confession framed at the time of the Reformation defined the Church as the body of Christ, to be the company of believers, the *coetus sanctorum*, the company of faithful men; or, as the doctrine is expressed in the Westminster Confession, "The Catholic or universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect, that have been, are, or shall be gathered in one, under Christ, the head thereof, and is the

spouse, the body, the fulness of Him who filleth all in all." By this is meant that the body to which belong the attributes, prerogatives, and promises pertaining to the Church, consists of true believers. And this is only saying that the characteristics, prerogatives, and promises, which, according to the Scriptures, belong to Christians, pertain not to the nominal, but to the real disciples of Christ; and whatever of absurdity and evil is consequent on confounding the distinction between nominal and real Christians, is inseparable from making the external Church, a body of professed believers, the possessor of the attributes and prerogatives of the true Church. The great corruption, apostasy, assumption, and tyranny of Rome consisted in appropriating to herself, as an external society, the attributes and powers of the body of Christ; and the leading Protest of those who rejected her authority was directed against that all-comprehending assumption, and consisted in the affirmation that the true Church was composed of true believers, and that every man united to Christ by a living faith was a member of his body and an heir of his salvation, no matter what his external ecclesiastical relations might be, and despite of all that pope, prelate, or presbyter, might say or do.

This is one fundamental principle of Protestantism. A second, scarcely less important, is, that the visible Church catholic consists of all those throughout the world, that profess the true religion, together with their children, and that particular churches consist of any number of such professing Christians, together with their children, united together for the maintenance and protection of the truth, and mutual watch and care. A particular church may be one worshipping assembly, or any number of such congregations collectively considered as united under some one tribunal.* The obvious meaning of this definition of the visible Church is, that as true believers constitute the true Church, so professed believers constitute the apparent or visible Church; and consequently, the

* Ecclesia visibilis est vel universalis, omnium Christianorum societas, nullo quidem federe externo juncta, ex iisdem tamen originibus nata, notisque communibus ab alienigenis diversa; vel particularis, singularis Christianorum societas, externo federe juncta.

question, whether any external organized body, or particular church, is to be recognized and treated as a constituent member of the visible Church catholic, depends on the question, not whether they are organized in this or that particular way, nor whether they are derived by regular descent from the apostles, but simply and solely whether they profess the true religion. The second great question, therefore, between Protestants and Romanists, in reference to this whole subject, relates to the *criteria* or marks by which we are to determine whether any particular church is really a constituent portion of the visible catholic Church. The Protestant confessions, without exception, declare the word and sacraments, or simply the word, *i. e.*, the profession of the true religion, to be that criterion.* As among nations there may be good and bad governments, that is, political institutions more or less in accordance with the principles of right and with the revealed will of God, yet every independent state, no matter what its political organization may be, whether a pure despotism or a pure democracy, is entitled to be received into the family of nations; so every organized body professing the true religion and associated for the maintenance of the truth, and for the worship of God, is entitled to be recognized as a part of the true visible Church. Protestants have ever acted on this principle, and they must do so, or forfeit their character and their spiritual life. The Churches of Switzerland, of France, of the Palatinate, of Saxony, of Holland, of Sweden, of England, of Scotland, had each their own peculiar mode of organization or form of government; yet each recognized all the rest. If a body pro-

* The Protestant confessions generally make the word and sacraments the criterion of a Church, and sometimes, as in the Westminster Confession, it is simply the word. On this point, Turretin says:—"Quamvis autem in assignandis veræ ecclesiæ notis quædam in verbis occurrat diversitas inter orthodoxos, in reipsa tamen est consensus. Nam sive unica dicatur, doctrinae scilicet veritas et conformitas cum Dei verbo, sive plures, pura scilicet verbi prædicatio, cum legitima sacramentorum administratione, quibus alii addunt discipline exercitium, et sanctitatem vitae seu obedientiam verbo præstitam, res eodem reddit. . . . Porro observandum circa notas istas diversos esse necessitatis gradus, et alias aliis magis necessarias esse. In primo gradu necessitatis est pura verbi prædicatio et professio, utpote sine qua ecclesia esse non potest. Sed non parvum habet necessitatis gradum sacramentorum administratio, quæ ita ex priore pendet, ut abesse tamen ad tempus possit, ut visum in ecclesia Israelitica in deserto quæ caruit circumcisione; eadem est disciplina ratio, quæ ad tuendum ecclesiæ statum pertinet, sed qua sublata vel corrupta non statim tollitur ecclesia." Vol. iii. p. 98.

fessed the true religion, it was received into the sisterhood of Churches, whether it was Erastian, Prelatical, Presbyterian, or Congregational. The only Church which has stammered and faltered in this matter is the Church of England, which has always acted as though it was at least an act of condescension or concession, to recognize non-episcopal denominations as true Churches. The subjective reason for this faltering has been, the dread of detracting from the importance of the episcopate. If admitted less than essential, the fear was, it might be utterly disregarded. The objective reason, as before stated, is to be found in the doctrine so congenial to her system, that external organization enters into the essence of the Church.

The Protestant doctrine which makes the profession of the true religion the only essential criterion of the Church, is neither arbitrary nor optional. It is necessary and obligatory. We must hold it, and must act upon it, or set ourselves in direct opposition to the word of God. It arises necessarily out of the undeniable scriptural principle, that nothing can be essential to the Church but what is essential to salvation. This principle is held alike by Romanists and Protestants. It is because the former regard baptism and submission to the pope as necessary to salvation, that they make them necessary to the Church; and it is because Anglicans hold there can be no salvation without communion with bishops, that they hold there can be no Church without a bishop. So long, therefore, as Protestants hold that faith in the Lord Jesus Christ is the only indispensable condition of salvation, they must hold that faith is the only essential condition of the being of the Church. To make anything else essential is to alter the conditions of salvation; and to alter the conditions of salvation is the greatest act of presumption, folly, and wickedness of which sinful worms can well be guilty.

It follows necessarily from what has been said, that by "the profession of the true religion" as the criterion of the Church, is meant the profession of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. Unless the Bible teaches that the knowledge and belief of all the doctrines contained in the word of God, are essential to salvation, it cannot be assumed to teach that the profession of all those doctrines is essential to the existence of

the Church. No man believes the former of these propositions, and therefore no man can consistently believe the latter. We are bound to recognize as a Christian any man who gives satisfactory evidence of piety, and who professes his faith in the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, even though he be ignorant or erroneous as to non-essential points. In like manner, the question whether any body of Christians is to be recognized as a Church, does not depend upon its being free from error, but upon its professing the doctrines essential to salvation.*

It need hardly be said that in making the true religion the only essential condition of the Church, and in limiting the demand to fundamental doctrines, Protestants do not intend that other things are unrevealed or unimportant. They readily admit that much is revealed and enjoined in Scripture, which, though not essential to salvation, is necessary to the perfection of Christian character, and to the well being and purity of the Church. But as perfection is not necessary in the individual to substantiate his claim to be regarded as a Christian, so neither is a perfectly scriptural creed or form of government necessary to the being of the Church, or to the existence of an obligation on our part to recognize it as such.

If it be asked, what is involved in this recognition? the answer is easy. To recognize a man as a Christian, is to admit his right to be so regarded and treated; it is to feel and act towards him as a Christian, and to acknowledge that he has all the rights and privileges of a Christian. In like manner, to recognize a body of men as a Church, is, 1. To admit their right to be so regarded and treated. 2. It is to feel and act towards them as a constituent part of the visible Church catholic; and 3. It is to acknowledge that they have all the rights and privileges which belong to a Church of Jesus Christ. That is, that they have a right to receive members into the

* Romanists objected to this criterion of the Church, that the common people are not competent judges of doctrines. To this Protestants replied—*Agitur hic de examine non cuiusvis doctrinæ, et quæstionum omnium, quæ circa eam moveri possunt, sed tantum doctrinæ necessariæ ad salutem, in qua essentia fidei consistit, quæ perspicuè exstat in Scriptura, et potest a quolibet fideli percipi.*—*Turretin*, vol. iii. p. 106.

communion of the Church, or to exclude them from it; to administer the sacraments, to ordain and depose ministers, and, in short, to do everything which Christ has commissioned his Church to do.

If it be asked further, whether all other churches are bound to recognize and give effect to the acts of every body which they recognize as a sister Church, that is a very different question. It is the confusion of these two things, although so distinct, which alarms some conservative minds, and leads them to renounce the simplest principles of Protestantism. They fear that if they recognize a certain body as a Church, they must receive all their members, give effect to all their acts of discipline, recognize their ministers as their own, &c. This is a great mistake. We may recognize Austria as a nation, and yet not regard her sentence of banishment on one of her citizens for holding republican principles as binding on us. We may regard the Seceders as a Church, and yet not be bound to refuse communion with those whom they may excommunicate or depose for singing our hymns, or uniting in our worship. It is one thing to recognize the possession of certain rights by a particular body, and another to endorse the wisdom or the propriety of the exercise of those rightful powers in any given case. As we are not arguing, but simply stating what are the first principles of Protestantism on this whole subject, we cannot enter further into details, or attempt to specify the cases when one Church is bound to recognize the acts of another as though they were its own. This would require a treatise; our present object is far more limited. We wish merely to state those principles which have in fact led all evangelical churches to recognize each other as constituent members of the Church universal, and the neglect or denial of which has led to the isolation of the Church of England from other Protestant communions.

It is easy to see the intimate connection between the principles above stated, and the whole system of evangelical religion and doctrine. If any one form of external organization or mode of ordination be essential to the Church, it must be essential to religion; and if necessary to religion, it must be the exclusive channel of grace and salvation. This is the

essential feature of Ritualism. These two things are historically as well as logically related. To whatever extent any body make prelacy and episcopal orders essential to the being or well being of the Church, to the same extent have they also made them essential to piety, and regarded them as the channels of grace. It is not, therefore, anything merely adventitious to Protestantism, but something which arises out of its very nature, when it teaches that the profession of the true religion, or sound doctrine, is the only necessary condition of the being of the Church; and, therefore, that we are bound to regard as Christian Churches all those bodies which profess the true religion, no matter what their external organization may be.

A third distinctive principle of Protestantism relates to the ministry. On this subject all the Protestant Confessions teach,

1. That there is no such distinction between the clergy and laity as the Romish Church affirms. The former do not constitute a distinct class, separated by internal and indelible peculiarities of eminence from their fellow Christians, and exalted over them, not merely in office, but by inward grace.

2. Those Confessions teach the universal priesthood of believers; that through Christ all have liberty of access by the Spirit unto the Father; and consequently that Christian ministers are not priests intervening between the people and God, as though through them and their ministrations alone we can become partakers of the benefits of redemption. The people do not come to God through the clergy as their mediators, nor are they dependent on them for grace and salvation; and therefore it is not the vital question with them, whether their clergy have the true succession and the grace of orders. "Hinc patet," says the venerable Turrettin, "ecclesiam non esse propter ministerium, sed ministerium propter ecclesiam, et ecclesiam non pendere a ministerio; sed ministerium ab ecclesia." Vol. iii., p. 253.

3. Protestants unite in teaching that all Church power vests radically not in the clergy as a class, but in the Church as a whole. In other words, that the great commission by which the Church was constituted, by which its powers were defined and conveyed, and its duties as well as its prerogatives deter-

mined, was addressed and given not to the clergy as a class, but to the whole Church. The power of the keys, therefore, vests ultimately or primarily in the people; of which power they can never rightfully divest themselves. In the articles of Smalcald, Luther, expressing the common doctrine of Protestants, says: "Necesse est fateri, quod claves non ad personam unius hominis, sed ad Ecclesiam pertineant. Nam Christus de clavibus dicens, Matt. xviii. 19, addit: Ubiunque duo vel tres consenserint etc. Tribuit igitur principaliter claves Ecclesiæ, et immediate." In the same document, he says: "Ubiunque est Ecclesia, ibi est jus administrandi evan-gelii. Quare necesse est, ecclesiam retinere jus vocandi, eli-gendi et ordinandi ministros."

Turrettin, in speaking of the right to call men to the ministry, says: "Nostra sententia est, jus vocationis ad ecclesiam *originaliter et radicaliter* pertinere, apud quam illam depositum Christus." This he proves first, "*a traditione clavium*; quia ecclesiis data est potestas clavium, quæ in se complectitur jus vocationis. Patet ex Matt. xvi. 19, ubi claves regni cœlorum promittuntur Petro, et in ejus personâ toti ecclesiæ, et Matt. xviii. 18, Christus dat ecclesiæ potestatem ligandi et solvendi: Vol. iii. 251. Licet corpus ecclesiæ exercitium juris vocandi pastores commiserit Presbyterio ad vitandam confusionem; non ideo se absolute et simpliciter eo jure spoliavit, ut dicatur eo carere nec possit amplius in ullo casu eo uti. Quia ita commisit juris illius exercitium Rectoribus, qui nomine suo illud administrant, ut illud tamen originaliter tanquam sibi proprium et peculiare reservarit. Nec exemplum societatis civilis hoc pertinet, ubi populus ita resignat jus suum Principi, quem eligit, ut eo absolute et simpliciter exuatur. Quia longe hac in parte differt societas politica et sacra. In illa populus potest resignare absolute jus suum principi, illi se subjiciendo, ut Domino. Sed ecclesia jus suum non transfert pastoribus quoad proprietatem tanquam dominis, sed tantum quoad usum et exercitium tanquam ministris, qui illud administrent, non proprio nomine, sed nomine ecclesiæ. Ratio discriminis est, quod in societate civili, ubi agitur tantum de bonis temporalibus, nihil obstat quominus populus possit resignare absolute jus suum, imo expedit aliquando ad vitandam confusionem et anarchiam. Sed in ecclesia,

ubi agitur de salute, fideles non possunt sine crimine absolute se exuere jure illo, quod habent in media, quæ illi dantur ad promovendam salutem suam, quale est ministerium. Licet enim fides et pietas ipsorum non absolute pendeat a pastoribus, tamen exercitium ministerii, quod purum est et integrum, magno est ad pietatem adjumento, et contra fidei conservatio difficillima est in corrupto ministerio." Vol. iii. p. 260.

This doctrine, that Church power vests not in the clergy as a class, but ultimately in the people, does not imply that the ministry is not an office, as the Quakers teach; nor that it is not an office of divine appointment. Neither does it imply that any man may of his own motion assume the office, and undertake the exercise of its functions, any more than the doctrine that all power in the State vests ultimately in the people, implies that any man may assume the office of a magistrate of his own will. Neither does the doctrine in question at all favour the theory of the Independents. That theory rests mainly on two principles, both of which we regard as manifestly unscriptural. The one is that which the name implies, viz., that each congregation or organized worshipping assembly is independent of all other churches; and the other is, that the ministerial office may be conveyed and withdrawn by the vote and at the option of the people. The function of the people is not to confer the office, but to join in the exercise of a judgment whether a given person is called of God to be a minister, and to decide whether he shall exercise his office over them, as their spiritual guide.

But while the doctrine in question teaches neither Quakerism nor Independency, it is none the less one of the radical principles of Protestantism. The Reformers protested not less against the Romish doctrine of the ministry, than they did against the Romish doctrine of the Church; the two being inseparably connected. They protested against the doctrine that Christ gave the Holy Spirit to the apostles as a permanent class of officers in the Church, to be by them transmitted by the imposition of their hands to their successors, and through them conveyed in ordination to presbyters, imparting to them grace and supernatural power. According to this theory, the grace and power which constitute a man a minister,

and which authorize and enable him to execute ministerial functions efficaciously to the salvation of men, are derived solely from the hands of the ordaining bishop. Without such ordination, therefore, no man can be a minister. He can have neither the authority nor the power to discharge its functions. A failure in succession is of necessity a failure in the ministry, and a failure in the ministry is a failure in the Church. In opposition to all this, the Reformers taught that while the Holy Ghost is the fountain of all Church power, the Spirit is not given to the bishops as a class, but to the Church as a whole. He dwells in all believers, and thereby unites them in one as the body of Christ. To them he divides, to each severally as he wills; giving to one the gift of wisdom, to another the gift of knowledge, to another that of teaching, to another that of ruling. Every office in the Church presupposes a gift, and is but the organ through which that gift is legitimately exercised for edification. It is, therefore, this inward call of the Holy Ghost which constitutes, in a manner, a minister; that is, which gives him the authority and ability to exercise its functions for the conversion of sinners and the edification of believers. The fact that a man has this inward call, must be duly authenticated. This authentication may be either extraordinary or ordinary. The extraordinary authentication may be given either in the form of miracles, or in such a measure of the gifts of the ministry and such a degree of success as places the fact of a divine call beyond all reasonable doubt. No Protestant questions the call of Calvin and Farel to the work of the ministry, and no Protestant cares to ask for any authentication of that call beyond the approbation God so abundantly manifested. But in all ordinary cases the authentication of the inward divine call is by the judgment of the Church. There is a right and a wrong, a regular and an irregular way of expressing this judgment; but the main thing is the judgment itself. The orderly scriptural method of expressing the judgment of the Church, is through its official organ, that is, the Presbytery. Ordination is the public, solemn attestation of the judgment of the Church that the candidate is called of God to the ministry of reconciliation;

which attestation authorizes his entrance on the public discharge of its duties.

It is on these principles the Reformers answered the objections by which they were constantly assailed. When the Romanists objected that the Reformers had no valid call to the ministry, they answered, *ad hominem*, that many of them had been regularly ordained in the Romish Church: and as to others that they had the call of God duly authenticated both by the extraordinary manifestations of his approbation and by the judgment of the Church.

When it was further objected, that any man might claim to have the call of God, and thus the door would be open to all manner of confusion and fanaticism, as among the Anabaptists, they made two answers; first, that a great distinction must be made between an orderly and settled state of the Church, and times of general corruption and confusion. As in a State, in ordinary times, there is a regular and prescribed method for the appointment of magistrates, which it would be a sin and evil to disregard, but when the magistrates turn tyrants or traitors, the people resume their rights and appoint their magistrates in their own way; so in the ordinary condition of the Church all are bound to abide by the regular and appointed methods of action; but if the rulers of the Church become heretical and oppressive, the people have the right to renounce their authority, and to follow those who they see are called of God to the ministry.

When it was still further urged that this was to do away with the ministry as a divine institution, and to make it a mere creation of the Church, and supposed the people to have the power to make and depose ministers at their pleasure, it was answered, that the Protestant doctrine and practice were indeed inconsistent with the Romish theory of the ministry, which supposed that orders are a sacrament, that the Holy Ghost, conveying both authority and supernatural power, is communicated by the imposition of the hands of the bishop, and can be communicated in no other way. This rendered the Church entirely dependent on the ministry, by making grace and salvation dependent on an uninterrupted succession

of valid ordinations. But this view of the nature of the ministry was declared to be unscriptural and destructive. On the other hand, it was denied that the Protestant doctrine conflicted with any thing taught in the word of God on the subject, or with the practice and faith of the Church in its purest ages. It was admitted that the ministry was a divine institution; that ministers receive their authority from Christ, and act in his name and as his representatives; that the people do not confer the office, but simply judge whether a candidate is called by God to be a minister; that in the expression of this judgment, those already in the ministry must, in ordinary cases, concur; and that to them, as in all other matters connected with the word and sacraments, belongs as the organs or executive officers of the Church, the right to carry the judgment of the Church into effect, *i. e.*, to them belongs the right to ordain. At the same time, however, they maintained two important principles, perfectly consistent with this view of the ministry as a divine institution the appropriate organ of the Church for the examination and ordination of candidates for the sacred office. The one was that already referred to as so clearly expressed by Luther when he said, "*Ubi cunque est ecclesia, ibi est jus administrandi evangelii;*" and therefore, if we acknowledge any body of men as a Church, we must admit their right to take their own course in the election and ordination of ministers. We may believe, as the great body of Christians do believe, that there is a right and a wrong, a regular and an irregular, a scriptural and an unscriptural method of proceeding in this matter. But as no Protestant believes that any thing connected with such externals is essential to salvation or to the being of the Church, he cannot, on the ground of any such irregularity, refuse to acknowledge an organized body of the professors of the true religion as a true Church or their ministers as true ministers. Hence, although in the great Protestant body one class believed that bishops were the only appropriate organs of the Church in ordination; another considered the Presbytery was, according to the Scriptures, the appointed organ; and others, and they perhaps the majority, held that the *jus vocandi ad ministerium* vested jointly in the clergy, the magistrate, and the people; yet as all agreed in

the principle above stated, viz., that wherever the Church is, there is the right of administering the gospel, they universally acknowledged the validity of each other's orders.

The second principle, which secured unity and mutual recognition in the midst of diversity both of opinion and practice, is nearly allied to the one just mentioned. The Reformers distinguished between what is essential and what is circumstantial in a call to the ministry. The essentials are, the call of God, the consent of the candidate, and the consent of the Church. The circumstantials are, the mode in which the consent of the Church is expressed, and the ceremonies by which that assent is publicly manifested.* However important these circumstantials may be, they are still matters about which Churches may differ, and yet remain Churches.

While the principle was thus clearly inculcated that every Church could decide for itself as to the mode of electing and ordaining ministers, it was no less strenuously held that every Church had a right to judge for itself of the qualifications of its own ministers. Hence, the fact that a man was recognized as a minister in one denominational Church, was not regarded as proving that he had the right to act as a minister in the Churches of another denomination. We may admit a Baptist or Independent minister to be a minister, and yet, if he wishes to act as such in our Church, we have a perfect right, first, to be satisfied as to his personal fitness; and, secondly, that his call to the ministry should be ascertained and authenticated in the way which we believe to be enjoined in Scripture.

It is easy to see how the denial, or oversight, by the Church

* *Essentia vocationis*, says Turretin, consistit in triplici *consensu*, Dei, Ecclesiæ, et vocati. . . . Modus vocationis consistit in actibus quibusdam vel præcedaneis, vel concomitantibus, sine quibus vocatio confusa foret et inordinata, qualia sunt examen fidei et morum, testimonium probæ vitæ, benedictio, et manuum impositio. Quoad prius, cum essentiale vocationis possit esse in cœtu, ubi desunt pastores, certum est populum fidelem posse vocationem facere in casu summae necessitatis. . . . Sic non desinit vocatio esse plena et sufficiens quoad essentialia sine pastoribus. Quoad ritus et ceremonias vocationis, quæ non sunt de essentia vocationis, obtinere debent in ecclesia constituta, sed non semper observari possunt in ecclesia constituenda et reformato. Vol. iii. 261. Again, Duhn in ecclesia viget ministerium, illa debet quidem eo uti ad vocationem pastorum, nec pastores ordinarie instituere potest nisi per ministerium jam constitutum. Sed deficiente ministerio, vel misere corrupto, potest ipsa sibi ministros eligere, ad sui ædificationem, etiam sine ministerii interventu; tum quia hoc jus habet a Deo, tum quia omni tempore et loco tenetur ministerium conservare.

of England of the three great Protestant principles, to which we have referred, has led to her present isolated and anti-Protestant position. Regarding the Church as essentially an external organization, with a definite form of government, she is slow to recognize as Churches any societies not organized according to that model. The profession of the true religion is not sufficient to sustain the claim of any communion to be regarded as a Christian Church. As no man can be a Christian if not subject to a bishop, so no society can be a Church unless episcopally organized. The ministry is an office continued in the Church by a regular succession of prelatical ordinations, and therefore cannot exist when such ordination is wanting. It is the object of Mr. Goode's book to prove that such is not the original and genuine doctrine of the Church of England; that these anti-Protestant principles are foreign from her original constitution, and that her present anti-Protestant position is due to the perverting influence of the romanizing party within her pale.

The occasion for the publication of the treatise before us, was the printing a private letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained under false pretences, by a convert to Romanism. In that letter the Archbishop said, in reference to "the validity of the orders of the foreign Protestant non-episcopal churches," "I hardly imagine there are two bishops on the bench, or one clergyman in fifty throughout our Church, who would deny the validity of the order of those pastors, solely on account of their wanting the imposition of episcopal hands." This avowal caused a great outcry. The Tractarians were shocked to hear the primate of all England deny their fundamental doctrine of apostolical succession and grace of orders. A cloud of publications issued from the press, assailing the archbishop in terms such as those only could use who regarded him as a fallen archangel. The higher the reverence due to him if faithful, the greater the execration justified by his apostasy. Mr. Goode, so extensively and so favourably known by his able and learned work on the "Rule of Faith," here undertakes to vindicate the archbishop, and to prove that it is not "a doctrine of the Church of England, that episcopal ordination is *a sine qua non* to constitute a valid Christian minis-

try." His first argument is drawn from the fact, that under Henry VIII. the bishops and clergy put forth a document containing the very doctrine on which the validity of Presbyterian ordinations has been chiefly rested, namely, the parity of bishops and presbyters, with respect to the ministerial powers essentially and by right belonging to them. In the *Institution of a Christian Man*, put forth by the bishops and clergy, in 1537, we read as follows:

"As touching the sacrament of holy orders, we think it convenient that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, first, how that Christ and his apostles did institute and ordain, in the New Testament, that besides the civil powers and governance of kings and princes, (which is called *potestas gladii*, the power of the sword,) there should also be continually in the Church militant certain other ministers or officers, which should have special power, authority and commission, under Christ, to preach and teach the word of God unto his people; to dispense and administer the sacraments of God unto them, &c., &c.

"That this office, this power and authority, was committed and given by Christ and his apostles unto certain persons only, that is to say, unto priests or bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto, by their prayer and imposition of their hands.'

"And, speaking of 'the sacrament of orders' to be administered by the bishop, it observes, when noticing the various orders in the Church of Rome: 'The truth is, that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops.' And throughout, when speaking of the jurisdiction and other privileges belonging to the ministry, it speaks of them as belonging to 'priests or bishops.'

"Again, in the revision of this work set forth by the king in 1543, entitled, *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, in the chapter on 'the Sacrament of Orders,' priests and bishops are spoken of as of the same order."

Again, "In the autumn of 1540, certain questions were proposed by the king to the chief bishops and divines of the

day, of which the tenth was this: ‘Whether bishops or priests were first? and if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop.’ With the wording of this question we have nothing to do, and should certainly be sorry to be made answerable for it; but our object is to see what views were elicited in the answers. Now to this question the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) replied: ‘The bishops and priests were at one time, and were not two things, but both one office, in the beginning of Christ’s religion.’ The Archbishop of York (Lee) says: ‘The name of a bishop is *not properly a name of order, but a name of office*, signifying an overseer. And although the inferior shepherds have also care to oversee their flock, yet, forsoomuch as the bishop’s charge is also to oversee the shepherds, the name of overseer is given to the bishops, and not to the other; and as they be *in degree* higher, so in their consecration we find difference even from the primitive Church.’ The Bishop of London (Bonner) says: ‘I think the bishops were first, and yet I think it is *not of importance, whether the priest then made the bishop, or else the bishop the priest*; considering (after the sentence of St. Jerome) that in the beginning of the Church there was none (or, if it were, very small) difference between a bishop and a priest, especially touching the signification.’ The Bishop of St. David’s, (Barlow,) and the Bishop elect of Westminster, (Thirlby,) held that bishops and priests ‘*at the beginning were all one*.’ Dr. Robertson, in his answer, says: ‘Nec opinor absurdum esse, ut sacerdos episcopum consecret, si episcopus haberi non potest.’ Dr. Cox (afterwards Bishop of Ely) says: ‘Although by Scripture (as St. Hierome saith) priests and bishops be one, and therefore the one not before the other, yet bishops, as they be now, were after priests, and therefore made of priests.’ Dr. Redmayn, the learned Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, says: ‘They be of like beginning, and at the beginning were both one, as St. Hierome and other old authors show by the Scripture, whereof one made another indifferently.’ Dr. Edgeworth says: ‘That the priests in the primitive Church made bishops, I think no inconvenience, (as Jerome saith, in an *Epist. ad Evagrium.*) Even like as soldiers should choose one among themselves to be their captain; so did priests choose

one of themselves to be their bishop, for consideration of his learning, gravity, and good living, &c., and also for to avoid schisms among themselves by them, that some might not draw people one way, and others another way, if they lacked one Head among them."

In turning to the divines of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the formularies of the Church of England were finally constituted and established, our author quotes in the first instance the learned bishop of Exeter, Dr. Alley, who in his Prelections on 1 Peter read publicly in St. Paul's, in 1560, says:

"What difference is between a bishop and a priest, St. Hierome, writing ad Titum, doth declare, whose words be these: 'Idem est ergo presbyter, qui episcopus,' &c.; a priest, therefore, is the same that a bishop is, &c.'

"And having given Jerome's words in full, he adds:

'These words are alleged, that it may appear priests among the elders to have been *even the same that bishops were*. But it grew by little and little that the whole charge and cure should be appointed to one bishop within his precinct, that the seeds of dissension might utterly be rooted out.' (Alley's *Poor Man's Library*, 2d ed. 1571, tom. i. fol. 95, 96.)

"It could hardly be doubted, then, by one who held this, that if the circumstances of the Church required it, Presbyterian ordination would be valid.

"About the same period, namely, in 1563, we have a much stronger testimony from Dr. Pilkington, then Bishop of Durham:

'Yet remains one doubt unanswered in these few words, when he says, that 'the government of the Church was committed to bishops,' as though they had received a larger and higher commission from God of doctrine and discipline than other lower priests or ministers have, and thereby might challenge a greater prerogative. But this is to be understood, that *the privileges and superiorities, which bishops have above other ministers, are rather granted by men for maintaining of better order and quietness in commonwealths, than commanded by God in his word*. Ministers have better knowledge and utterance some than other, but their ministry is of equal dignity. God's commission and commandment is like and indifferent to

all, priest, bishop, archbishop, prelate, by what name soever he be called. . . . St. Paul calls the elders of Ephesus together, and says, ‘the Holy Ghost made them bishops to rule the Church of God.’ (Acts xx.) He writes also to the bishops of Philippos, meaning the ministers. . . . St. Jerome, in his commentary on the first chapter *Ad Tit.*, says that ‘a bishop and a priest is all one.’ . . . A bishop is a name of office, labour, and pains.” (*Confut. of an Addition. Works*, ed. Park Soc. pp. 493, 494.)

“Both these were among the bishops who settled our Articles, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

“Our next witness shall be Bishop Jewell, of whose standing in our Church it is unnecessary to add a word. On the parity of order in priests and bishops, he says:

‘Is it so horrible a heresy as he [Harding] maketh it, to say, that by the Scriptures of God a bishop and a priest are all one? or knoweth he how far, and unto whom, he reacheth the name of an heretic? Verily Chrysostom saith: ‘Between a bishop and a priest in a manner there is no difference.’ (In 1 Tim. hom. 11.) S. Hierome saith . . . ‘The apostle plainly teacheth us, that priests and bishops be all one.’ (ad Evagr.) S. Augustine saith: ‘What is a bishop but the first priest; that is to say, the highest priest?’ (In *Quæst. N. et V. Test.* q. 101.) So saith S. Ambrose: ‘There is but one consecration (ordinatio) of priest and bishop; for both of them are priests, but the bishop is the first.’ (In 1 Tim. c. 3.) All these, and other more holy Fathers, together with St. Paul the apostle, for thus saying, by M. Harding’s advice, must be holden for heretics.’ (*Def. of Apol.* Pt. ii. c. 9. div. i. *Works*, p. 202. See also Pt. ii. c. iii. div. i. p. 85.)

“But there is a passage in his writings still more strongly bearing on the point in question. Harding had charged our Church with deriving its orders from apostate bishops, &c. Jewell replies:

‘Therefore we neither have bishops without church, nor church without bishops. Neither doth the Church of England this day depend of them whom you often call apostates, as if our Church were no Church without them. . . . If there

were not one, neither of them nor of us left alive, yet would not therefore the whole Church of England flee to Lovaine. Tertullian saith:—‘And we being laymen, are we not priests? It is written, Christ hath made us both a kingdom and priests unto God his Father. The authority of the Church, and the honour by the assembly, or council of order sanctified of God, hath made a difference between the lay and the clergy. Where as there is no assembly of ecclesiastical order, the priest being there alone (without the company of other priests) doth both minister the oblation and also baptize. Yea, and be there but threec together, and though they be laymen, yet is there a church. For every man liveth of his own faith.’” (*Def. of Apol.* Pt. ii. c. v. div. i. p. 129.)

“It is needless to point out how much this passage implies.

“We proceed to Archbishop Whitgift.

“And first, as to the parity of order in bishops and priests, he speaks thus:

‘Every bishop is a priest, but every priest hath not *the name and title* of a bishop, in that meaning that Jerome in this place [*Ad Evagr.*] taketh the name of a bishop. . . . Neither shall you find this word *episcopus* commonly used but for *that priest that is in degree over and above the rest*, notwithstanding *episcopus* be oftentimes called *presbyter*, because *presbyter* is *the more general name*.’ (*Def. of Answ. to Adm.* 1574, fol. p. 383.)

‘Although Hierome confess, that by Scripture *presbyter* and *episcopus* is all one (AS IN DEED THEY BE *quoad ministerium*), yet doth he acknowledge a superiority of the bishop before the minister. . . . Therefore no doubt this is Jerome’s mind, that a bishop *in degree and dignity* is above the minister, though he be one and the self-same with him in the office of ministering the word and sacraments.’ (*Ib.* pp. 384, 385.)

“Secondly, as to the form of government to be followed in the Church. His adversary, Cartwright, like the great body of the Puritans, contended for the exclusive admissibility of the platform of church government he advocated; and, like Archdeacon Denison, maintained that ‘matters of discipline

and kind of government are matters necessary to salvation and of faith.' And this is Whitgift's reply:—

'I confess that in a Church collected together in one place, and at liberty, government is necessary in the second kind of necessity; but that any one kind of government is so necessary that without it the Church cannot be saved, or that it may not be altered into some other kind thought to be more expedient, I utterly deny, and the reasons that move me so to do be these. The first is, because *I find no one certain and perfect kind of government prescribed or commanded in the Scriptures to the Church of Christ*, which no doubt should have been done, if it had been a matter necessary unto the salvation of the Church. Secondly, because *the essential notes of the Church be these only; the true preaching of the word of God, and the right administration of the sacraments*: for (as Master Calvin saith, in his book against the Anabaptists): 'This honour is meet to be given to the word of God, and to his sacraments, that wheresoever we see the word of God truly preached, and God according to the same truly worshipped, and the sacraments without superstition administered, there we may without all controversy conclude the Church of God to be:' and a little after: 'So much we must esteem the word of God and his sacraments, that wheresoever we find them to be, there we may certainly know the Church of God to be, although in the common life of men many faults and errors be found.' The same is the opinion of other godly and learned writers, and the judgment of the *Reformed Churches*, as appeareth by their Confessions. So that notwithstanding government, or some kind of government, may be a part of the Church, touching the outward form and perfection of it, yet is it not such a part of the essence and being, but that it may be the Church of Christ without this or that kind of government, and therefore the kind of government of the Church is not necessary unto salvation.' (*Ib.* p. 81.)

'*I deny that the Scriptures do . . . set down any one certain form and kind of government of the Church to be perpetual for all times, persons, and places without alteration.*' (*Ib.* p. 84.)

The next testimony is that of Hooker, who says: "There

may be sometimes very just and sufficient reasons to allow ordination made without a bishop. *The whole Church visible being the true original subject of all power*, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than bishops alone to ordain; howbeit as the ordinary cause is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways. Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted unto spiritual functions in the Church. One is, when God himself doth of himself raise up any.... Another.... when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep."—*Ecclesiastical Polity*, vii. 14. See also iii. 11.

"In a former passage of the same book," says our author, Hooker "distinctly admits the power of the Church at large to take away the episcopal form of government from the Church, and says:

'Let them [the bishops] continually bear in mind that it is rather the force of custom, whereby the Church, having so long found it good to continue the regiment of her virtuous bishops, doth still uphold, maintain, and honour them, in that respect, than that any true and heavenly law can be showed by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear, that the Lord himself hath appointed presbyters for ever to be under the regiment of bishops;' adding, that 'their authority' is 'a sword which the Church hath power to take from them.'" *Ib.* vii. 5. See also i. 14, and iii. 10.

When we remember that Hooker is the greatest authority on ecclesiastical polity in the English Church, these extracts have special interest. They contain the clear assertion of the principle, which is, after all, the turning point between Protestants and Romanists, that all Church power vests ultimately in the whole Church, and not in the clergy, much less in the bishops. If the reverse were true, then the Church depends on the episcopate; derives its spiritual life through that channel as the only bond of connection with Christ. A corrupt bishop or presbyter could never be deposed or changed unless by others, who might be themselves corrupt. God, according to this theory, has not only left his sheep in the power of

those who, as the apostle says, may be grievous wolves, but he has, if we may reverently so speak, debarred himself from giving the gifts of the Spirit in any other way than through the line of apostolical succession. There was a time when a similar theory was held in reference to the state, and when men believed that the kingly office was instituted by divine command; that subjects could not depose their sovereign, nor change the succession, but were shut up to passive submission. But men have since discovered that the doctrine that civil power vests ultimately in the people, is perfectly consistent with the doctrine, that “the powers that be are ordained of God, and that whoso resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God.” This was a lesson which princes and people were slow to learn, and it is well for statesmen, who sometimes forget their obligations and speak with small respect of the clergy, to remember that this great emancipating truth was first effectually taught to the world by the Protestant ministry. It was not until they had avowed and acted on the principle, that although the ministry was a divine institution, and obedience to ministers, within their appropriate sphere, is a matter of divine command, yet as all Church power vests ultimately in the people, they have the right to reject any minister, even though an apostle, who preached another gospel, that the nations awoke to the consciousness of a like power with regard to their civil rulers.

Another most important principle here avowed by Hooker is, that nothing binds the Church but an express law of Christ; that any office the Church has created she may abolish. This he applies to the episcopate, though he labours to prove it was instituted by the apostles. But as it was instituted by them, according to his doctrine, not as something commanded and necessary, but simply as expedient, he consistently admitted the Church might abolish it. Of course these principles are utterly inconsistent with the doctrine, that there can be no Church without a bishop.

Our author proceeds to quote several of the bishops, and other writers of that period, who in their controversy with the non-conformists maintain the ground, that no one form of Church government is laid down in Scripture as essential or

universally obligatory. Thus Dr. Bridges, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, in his "Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England," 1587, says—if the form of government in the Church "be not a matter of necessity, but such as may be varied," then "there is no reason why we should break the bond of peace, and make such trouble in the Church of God, to reject the government that is, in the nature thereof, as much indifferent, as the solemnizing this or that day the memorial of the Lord's resurrection." p. 319.

In opposition to the same class, Dr. Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, then of Winchester, says, in his Admonition to the People of England, 1589: "Only this I desire, that they will lay down out of the word of God some just proofs, and a direct commandment, that there should be in all ages and states of the Church of Christ one only form of government." p. 61–63.

Dr. Casin, Dean of Arches, in 1584, in a work, "published by authority," asks: "Are all the Churches of Denmark, Swedeland, Poland, Germany, Rhetia, Vallis Telina, the nine cantons of Switzerland reformed, with their confederates of Geneva, France, of the Low Countries, and of Scotland, in all points, either of substance or of circumstance, disciplinately alike? Nay, they neither are, can be, nor yet need so to be; seeing it cannot be proved, that any set and exact form thereof is recommended unto us by the word of God."—*Answer to An Abstract of Certain Acts of Parliament*, 1584, p. 58.

Of course men who held that no one form of government is essential to the Church, could not maintain, and did not pretend, that episcopal ordination was necessary to a valid ministry.

Our author next appeals to the Articles and other Formularies of the Church of England, which were drawn up by the school of theologians, whose writings are quoted above.

The 23d Article: "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preacher, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's

vineyard." That this article does not teach the necessity of episcopal ordination, our author argues from the obvious import of the works, from the known opinions and practice of the authors of the 39 Articles, and from contemporary and subsequent expositions from sources of authority.

Again, in the 55th Canon of 1604, all the clergy of the Church of England are required to pray for the Church of Scotland, which was then, as now, Presbyterian.

The third argument of our author is from the practice of the Church. From the Reformation until the Restoration of Charles II., Presbyterian ministers were admitted to the cure of souls in the Church of England without re-ordination. At the Restoration a law was passed, requiring episcopal ordination in the case of all who were admitted to preferment in the English Church, and a clause to the same effect was introduced into the preface to the ordination service. This rule, however, as our author urges, proves nothing more than that, in the judgment of those who made it, the ministers of an Episcopal Church should be episcopally ordained. With the same propriety any Presbyterian might insist on Presbyterian ordination for all its own ministers, without thereby unchurching other denominations. Mr. Goode, therefore, insists there was no change of doctrine as to this matter at the time of the Restoration.

As to the previous admission of non-episcopal ministers to office in the Church of England, the evidence is abundant. In 1582 the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury granted a license to John Morrison to the effect—"Since you were admitted and ordained to sacred orders and the holy ministry, by the imposition of hands, according to the laudable form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland—we, therefore, approving and ratifying the form of your ordination and preferment—grant to you, by express command of the reverend father in Christ, Lord Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, to celebrate divine offices, to minister the sacraments," &c.—*Stryne's Life of Grindal*, Bk. 2. c. 18.

The High Church Bishop Cosin, writing from Paris in 1650, says:—

"Therefore, if at any time a minister so ordained in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to

receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England, (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance in *many other* before my time,) *our bishops did not re-ordain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they must have done, if his former ordination here in France had been void.* NOR DID OUR LAWS REQUIRE MORE OF HIM THAN TO DECLARE HIS PUBLIC CONSENT TO THE RELIGION RECEIVED AMONGST US, AND TO SUBSCRIBE THE ARTICLES ESTABLISHED."—(Letter to Mr. Cordel, in Basire's "Account of Bishop Cosin," annexed to his "Funeral Sermon;" and also in Bishop Fleetwood's *Judgment of the Church of England in the case of Lay Baptism*, 2d ed. Lond. 1712, p. 52.)

And the same testimony is borne by Bishop Fleetwood, who says that this was "certainly her practice [*i. e.*, of our Church] during the reigns of King James and King Charles I., and to the year 1661. We had many ministers from Scotland, from France, and the Low Countries, who were ordained by presbyters only, and not bishops, and they were instituted into benefices with cure. . . . and yet were never re-ordained, but only subscribed the Articles." (*Judgment of Church of England in case of Lay Baptism*, 1712, 8vo. pt. ii. *Works*, p. 552.)

Mr. Goode follows up these proofs with a series of quotations from the leading English theologians of a later date, all going to show that even those who took the ground of the divine right of episcopacy were far from adopting the principles of the Tractarian school, or from making episcopacy essential to the being of the Church. We think he has succeeded in proving his point, though doubtless many of his authorities might be, as they have in fact been, called into question. We know that Tractarians are famous for their *Catena Patrum*, quoting, as we think most disingenuously, detached sentences from the writings of men in support of principles which they expressly repudiated. We do not believe that our author is chargeable with any such offence. We, however, give the quotations selected from his pages on his authority, as our only object was to show how the evangelical members of the Church of England vindicate her from the anti-Protestant and schismatical principles of the modern Anglo-Catholic school.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Law and the Testimony: By the author of the "Wide, Wide World." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854. Large 8vo.

When we first learned from the preface of this large and beautiful volume the history of its preparation, we said to ourselves, here, at last, we have it, and from the gifted pen of one known through "the Wide, Wide World," a systematic synopsis of the inspired teachings of the Scriptures upon all the great subjects which man needs to know—a theology for the people, in the *ipsissima verba* of the Holy Ghost. So far as the work goes, it is done with great carefulness and labour; and is, as such a work could hardly fail to be, extremely valuable, as a contribution to sound doctrine, and to the scriptural exposition of the *loci communes* of theology. But we respectfully submit that the work is deficient on its practical side. The reader seeks in vain for any thorough exposition, or even recognition of the New Testament law of love, grounded on the relations of human brotherhood. The "first and great commandment," according to the divine classification of our Lord's own instructions, has received but a very meager treatment at best, and that almost entirely indirect, as compared with the full and satisfactory collations bearing on the leading topics of doctrinal theology: and the second "commandment, which is like unto it," so far as we can see, is wholly overlooked in the classification, on which the accomplished and earnest authors laboured. There are not even empty pigeon-holes, to show the lack of what has been unjustly cast as a reproach in the teeth of our theology—that its engrossment with doctrine has led to the practical oversight of duty and life. Every intelligent and warm-hearted Christian must feel this to be a great omission in a popular work like this, especially when a concerted and formidable assault has been made on the Church, because its teaching does not apply itself to the wants created by the social evils under which the human race is still groaning, in Christian as well as Pagan lands. We are at the furthest possible remove, as our readers know abundantly, from any sympathy with the popular depreciation of the importance of doctrinal truth. We hold the work in its present form to be valuable; but if we could get the ear of the respected authors, we should leave no argument untried to induce them to go through the Scriptures again, and draw out, and set in order the prac-

tical side of religion; showing how it applies itself to the relief of man, both in his individual and his social capacity; and how it anticipates and supersedes the countless, clamorous reform movements, which a vaunting but insufficient philanthropy would substitute for its benignant and heavenly lessons, and its divine and all-conquering Spirit. It would be difficult to name a work of the kind of greater interest and value than one constructed on the plan of that before us, and done with equal thoroughness and skill, which had for its aim to develope and arrange in the very words of God, the practical duties of true religion under its several dispensations, and especially as set forth under its final and perfect form by our Lord and his apostles. The authors have now given us an exposition of Christianity regarded as a system of doctrine; will they not go on and give us a companion for it, in an exposition of Christianity regarded as a *life*; its duties, individual, social, and political—springing, first, from the universal relation of human brotherhood, and, secondly, from that closer spiritual relationship, which is mediated among believers by the incarnate brotherhood of the Son of God.

The Sources of English Words: so classified and arranged as to facilitate the Expression of Ideas, and assist in Literary Composition. By Peter Mark Roget, author of the "Bridgewater Treatise on Animal and Vegetable Physiology," &c. Revived and edited, with a list of foreign words, defined in English, and other additions. By Barnas Sears, D.D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1854. Pp. 468, 12mo.

The author tells us he has been fifty years engaged upon the plan and execution of this book. We can easily believe it. Indeed the wonder is, that any man ever had the courage to undertake, or the endurance to execute it. To make a dictionary, herculean as that task is, is a trifle to this:—"A Collection of the Words of a Language, and of *all the idiomatic combinations* peculiar to it, arranged, not in alphabetical order, but according to the ideas which they express." "The purpose of an ordinary dictionary," in the language of the author, "is, simply to explain the meanings of words; and the problem of which it professes to furnish the solution may be stated thus: the word being given, to find its signification, or the idea it is intended to convey. The object aimed at in the present undertaking, is exactly the converse of this; namely, the idea being given, to find the word or words by which that idea may be most fitly and aptly expressed." This, surely, would seem to be a very mechanical conception of the process of composition; and to make sad havoc of the properties of style, and the lights and shades of thought. And yet one cannot doubt that there are many men, and more boys, who would

be materially aided by the book, just as there are many persons who would walk a great deal better with a wooden leg than with none at all. The device is intended, in other words, we presume, as an adjuvant to the undeveloped strength and resources of the learner, not as a substitute for them—at least in any of the higher and completer processes of composition; or, at best, it can only serve as a *tool* in the hands of genius, to augment the delicacy of the touch, and the perfection of the finish, not as a machine to take the place of human labour, and work out its results by the laws of mechanics. We feel bound, always and everywhere, to protest against the common tendency to regard thought and expression as essentially distinct things, and capable of separate culture; just as the body is different from the soul, or one's dress capable of improvement, apart from his person. Having entered our protest, we are ready to pay, in full, the debt due to the laborious projector and executor, and the learned editor and improver, of the volume before us.

Historical Development of Speculative Philosophy from Kant to Hegel.

From the German of Dr. H. M. Chalybaeus, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. By the Rev. Alfred Edersheim, Free Church, Old Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1854. Pp. 443.

The work, of which this is a translation, was originally a series of Lectures, delivered at Dresden, Germany, as long ago as 1835, and subsequently re-written and extended; and having for its object to expound the genesis of the prevailing systems of Speculative Philosophy, during the teeming period intervening between the time of Kant and that of Hegel. The cultivated audience to whom they were addressed, did not differ essentially, unless we except the national characteristics of the Germans with reference to philosophical studies, from that of thousands among ourselves. It may, therefore, be presumed, that a work which has passed through at least four editions in the original, will meet a corresponding want in its English dress.

The leading characteristics of the author are the thorough knowledge, at once comprehensive and minute, of the systems discussed, and the varying reactions between them; the cool candour and impartiality with which they are handled; and the perspicuity of the exposition, at least to those who have been trained at all to the use of the terminology peculiar to the modern philosophical schools of the Continent. Those who are in search of knowledge on this perplexed subject, without having time to investigate the original sources for themselves,

will receive great assistance from this careful, thorough, and perspicuous analysis.

A Christian Father's Present to his Children. By J. A. James, author of "The Christian Professor," &c., &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853. Pp. 416. 18mo.

Another volume of that sustained style of elevated Christian discussion on high and commanding topics, for which the author is now so well known, and so highly respected. The subjects embraced in the volume are those which weigh upon the heart of every thoughtful parent, and such as every Christian father would desire to lay, in all their solemn weight, upon the conscience of his child. If the style of the author displays an excess of elaboration and stateliness, it is compensated in a high degree by the dignified and serious earnestness of his address.

The Missionary of Kilmany: being a Memoir of Alexander Patterson, with Notices of Robert Edie. By the Rev. John Baillie, author of "Memoir of Rev. W. H. Hewitson." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854. Pp. 252. 24mo.

The reader familiar with the "Memoir of Dr. Chalmers," will recognize in this delightful but unpretending volume, a record of one whose religious impressions were the first fruits of the ministry of Dr. Chalmers in his settlement at Kilmany. The godly life of this humble, but remarkable man, became a blessing to the parish, to a degree that drew from Dr. Chalmers long afterwards the remark, "It emphatically may be said of him, 'he did what he could;' his labours have been more blessed than those of any man I know." Besides the stirring interest intrinsic in the life of such a man, it possesses a collateral interest in the light it throws upon the character and labours of Chalmers. If the book should awaken the latent sense of responsibility in the private members of our churches, by showing how much the humblest private Christian may accomplish, and then teach those whom it awakens to that responsibility how to win souls to Christ, like Alexander Patterson and Robert Edie, it will be a precious legacy indeed.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JULY, 1854.

No. III.

ART. 1.—*Present state of Oxford University.*

Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed to inquire into the state, discipline, studies, and revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford; together with the Evidence, and an Appendix. London: 1852. 760 pages, folio.

IT required no small degree of courage in Lord John Russell to move his Sovereign to command such an investigation as this; but he seems to have found seven men courageous and indefatigable enough to accomplish the work. We can only regret that a place in the board of investigation could not have been offered to Sir William Hamilton, the eminent professor of logic and metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh, whose papers in the Edinburgh Review, twenty years ago, were so influential in summoning attention to the abuses existing in the English Universities. Those articles, lately embodied in his wonderfully diversified volume of learning, entitled "Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform," show that much of the laborious research of the seven commissioners had been already accomplished by the single-handed Scotch professor, and the greater part of their conclusions anticipated. That no trifling toil is demanded for such an

undertaking, will be sufficiently evident to an American and Protestant, when he considers that the rubbish is an accumulation that began some centuries before the existence of his continent was known, or the Reformation attempted.

The actual commission, including in their number a bishop, a dean, two masters of colleges, and a professor, began their inquiry in October, 1850, and closed it in April, 1852. The Report which they then presented to the Queen, and which was at once communicated to Parliament, was founded on a large mass of evidence, furnished in answer to interrogatories addressed to as many of the officers and members of the University, and such others, as were likely to give useful information and judicious opinions. To these applications they received some very short and crusty returns. Not the royal sign-manual was potent enough to draw from several of the college dons so much as a polite answer to simple questions, even (as some did render their replies) under protest as to the authority for demanding it. They took the ground that the statutes of the respective colleges were made inviolable and unalterable by the most solemn conditions imposed by their founders—sometimes under awful anathemas against those who should propose or in any way consent to the slightest change—and these statutes these officers had sworn to obey to the uttermost. So it would be treachery and perjury for them to open their lips, even to make known the state of their revenues or the number of their students. But on this point there arises one of the most astounding disclosures of the inquiry. For while these functionaries are so scrupulous about imparting the slightest information that would open the way for the reform of abuses, or introduce improvements, they are daily living in the violation of many statutes, as express and stringent as those which they interpret to justify their contumacy to the royal commission. According to their own principles, their holding any office in the University or Colleges is *ipso facto* a breach of trust: for of the nineteen colleges, only four have been founded since the Reformation—beginning with Jesus College, in 1571. The chief object of the founder of Lincoln (1427) was to extirpate the Wycliffe heresy, by training up theologians. The first fifteen were not only built upon the Romish creed, but their

statutes, unalterable and *unaltered*, include in the oaths still taken by every official, from the chancellor to the bell-ringer, the observance of daily masses, prayers for founders' souls, the ejection of any Fellow who shows the Protestant taint—to say nothing of those laws which require that dinner shall be eaten in silence whilst the Bible is read, and that after dinner it shall be expounded, and that nothing but Greek or Latin shall be spoken within college walls; that chapel shall be attended five times a day, that Fellows shall never reside out of university, &c., &c. If those laws of the founder which forbid innovation may now be pleaded by tender consciences, surely one law is as irrevocable as another, and the Reformation cannot give absolution to the one more than to the other. Yet the pretence is, that the change of the national religion changed every thing in the statutes that was inconsistent with it; or that it is to be presumed that if the founders had lived to see the light of the Reformation, they would surely have ranked with the Protestants, and modified their academical organizations accordingly. Some confidence is placed in the power of the legal visitor to give a dispensation from inconvenient oaths. This is sometimes managed in a way worthy of St. Omer's. The Principal of Jesus College swears, in the latter part of his oath, that he will obtain no dispensation against his foregoing oaths, and against the ordinances of the college, and then he swears that he has never been married and never will marry while Principal. "It is the position of this oath," says one of the witnesses, "that gave colour to the idea that it was intended to be left open to future dispensation; and accordingly, upon the election of Dr. Hoare to the headship, the visitor, Lord Pembroke, decreed that it might be omitted at his admission, and that of all future Principals." At Corpus Christi, they get over it quite as ingeniously. "It is only implied that the president will be unmarried by his being required to be a priest (*sacerdos*)."¹ At the Reformation, a "*sacerdos* became marriageable, so that there is now no legal impediment." Some of the oaths, now imposed on fellows, fill five closely printed octavo pages, and if there shall be an obstinate resistance of the recommendation of the commission to abolish all that are vain and impious, we may expect to see the days of 1511 return, when it was a common

thing for a Chancellor to give license to the Regents to choose for themselves suitable confessors to absolve them from all offences, the chief of which, at that period, was perjury.

If the Oxford tract doctrine of retracing the mediæval paths should be applied to the University, the Regius Professor of Hebrew himself would shrink from the practical experience of the life of those days. For though little is done now for the education of the poor, the Colleges were once in fact, as they yet are in law, eleemosynary institutions. As late as 1572, distressed students were licensed to beg. Sir Thomas More writes of the "poor scholars of Oxford a-begging, with bags and wallets, and singing *salve Regina* at rich men's doors." The candidates for fellowships are often defined as "pauperes," "indigentes," "pauperes ex eleemosyna viventes." A visitor in 1284 rebukes his college, "Ye ought only to have received the indigent, as is shown in the eleventh chapter of the regulations, whence it appears that ye have no liberty to receive such as have sufficient to provide for their own necessities." In two colleges, the fellows are forbidden to keep dogs, for the reason that to give to dogs the bread of the children of men is not fitting for the poor, especially for those who live on alms. In those times the fellows were allowed for their commons one penny on week days and two-pence on Sundays, an annual suit of cloth, with six shillings and eight-pence to pay for making it. Fellows in priest's orders might receive, at the utmost, forty shillings a year. William of Wykeham, or Walter de Merton, not to say stewards of refectories nearer our own day and home, would look with astonishment at the "battels" of undergraduates as now made out in such savory items as those furnished incidentally in the evidence before us. The expense of reaching the first degree at Oxford is from four thousand to five thousand dollars. That is, assuming the academic year to be twenty-six weeks, and eighty-four weeks as the whole necessary time of residence during the (so called) four years which pass between matriculation and the bachelor's degree, the total expense will exceed a thousand dollars annually. This estimate refers to the commoners. The more aristocratical class of gentlemen-commoners, who keep their horses and hounds, go far beyond the highest of the sums

above-named, while the most careful economy, on the part of such as would maintain a respectable social position, requires not less than six hundred dollars for the little more than six months of the year of study. The system of living is nothing like our ways of boarding in or out of college, where the student pays a fixed sum by the week or term. He is charged daily for what is furnished at the college table, according to a price annexed to each article used, and on the sale of which the college menials are allowed to make a large profit. Thus the account, or "battels" for a week, is made out for each day separately, under such standing heads as these: 1. Bread, butter, cheese, toast, muffins, and coffee; 2. Beer, porter, &c.; 3. Meat, poultry, fish, soup, sauce and vegetables; 4. Pastry, jellies, pickles, and eggs; 5. Milk, cream, gruel, and whey; 6. Hire of sheets, table-cloths, towels, and oyster-cloths; 7. Coquus (*sic*) for plates, dishes, &c. for extra dinners and breakfasts; 8. Ditto for fast-night suppers, brawn, &c.; 9. Knives; 10. Candles; 11. Letters; 12. Janitors; 13. Butler, servitors, bedmaker, water plates and silver forks; 14. Famulantibus. Then we find in other battels such separate items as shoe-cleaning, decrements or charges for table-cloths, chapel-candles, candles for the staircase, coal-carrier, chimney-sweep, use of cruets, gate bill, tonsor, laundress, sconces, "knocking in," cleaning windows, and grates and carpets. The bill of fare issued from some of the kitchens of these recluses who are sent to college "ad orandum et studendum," is hardly exceeded in the cloisters of St. Nicholas and the Metropolitan in Broadway. Fifteen varieties of soups are set down at prices varying from three to seven pence the half-pint; twelve kinds of meat-sauce; all kinds of pastry; teas, coffee, and chocolate, by the pint; winding up with ale, porter, stogumber, (!) swig, bishop, sherry, punch, brandy, gin, rum, whiskey, per measure or bottle. The varieties of bread are sometimes charged under the name of *farina*, and the vulgar condiments of mustard, pepper, and salt, go under the fragrant title of *aroma*.

We find sometimes among the charges a stipend to the Bible-clerks (poor youth who have rooms and tuition free) for keeping a record of attendance at chapel, repeating the responses and reading the lessons. The furniture of the rooms is owned

by the occupants, and resold when they leave. Breakfast, lunch, and tea are taken by the students in their rooms; the dinner is in common. The rooms are rented according to situation, and they are allowed to be used by the students for wine parties, suppers, and dinners, which are supplied from the college kitchen, and at which the tutors, and probably higher officers, may often be found as guests.

With their knowledge of these facts, as examiners, it was hardly worth while for the Commissioners to address interrogatories in every direction to know the cause of the extravagance and dissipation of the students, and how it could be reformed. One apology for providing within the very walls of the University, the means of indulgence to such an extent as we have indicated, is that many of the young men have been accustomed to this style of living at home, and that they ought to have every luxury at command in their own apartments, if they can afford to pay for it. We do not know how the Professor of Moral Philosophy, or the lecturer on Aristotle can reconcile this argument to the common-sense judgment of the silliest undergraduate. Yet, one of the most judicious of the witnesses allows this standard:—"The least that a gentleman could give in his own house should be sufficient for a gentleman's son *in statu pupillari* to give." This *giving* means "where the usages of University life demand entertainments," a demand which, in American eyes, is one of the greatest curiosities of English college life. To establish such a scale in the opinion of that witness, "would strike at those expensive wines and desserts which are sometimes given by men who at home only dream of such things." Yet it seems to be almost unanimously admitted by the gentlemen who have given the results of their experience in their testimony under this commission, that the carrying into educational life the distinctions of wealth and rank is an evil which ought to be eradicated from the University system. We must make great allowances for habit, but it is hard to conceive, how, even in an aristocratic country, one class of students should be allowed—not for their money's sake, but in deference to their social rank—privileges both academical and sumptuary denied to the rest. Young noblemen wear a distinctive dress, take precedence of their superiors in scho-

lastic standing, are allowed to take their degrees on a probation shorter by four terms than commoners. And why, says Archbishop Whately, “should a man not be allowed a valet or a horse, who has always been used to such luxuries, and to whom they are not more extravagant luxuries than shoes and stockings are to his fellow-students?” The Commissioners reject this plea, and endorse the opinion of a Professor, that the gentlemen-commoners, taken collectively, are the worst educated portion of the undergraduates, and the one least inclined for study, and add, that there is a growing disapproval of the favoritism, even among the “best of families,” who frequently enter their sons as commoners that they may fare as plebeians. There is the same general concurrence among the best counsellors, in advising the abolition of the distinction of compounders, grand and petty, from ordinary graduates—the compounders being such as having an income of their own of a certain amount, are required to pay extraordinary fees, and thus, the possessor of 300*l.* a year is often more heavily taxed than the heir of an entailed estate of many thousands.

Indeed, there is throughout these opinions of the experienced scholars, a tone of liberality in favour of relaxing old conventional and conventional customs which we did not expect. The right reverend and well-endowed members of the Commission admit with respect into their report, such phrases as “the temper of our times,” and “the tendencies of the age;” and some of the witnesses go to an extent in suggesting modifications both social and ecclesiastical, which must stigmatize them in many high places as enormous latitudinarians. Some, even of these sons of Oxford, venture to speak of “the scandal of requiring youths of eighteen to sign the XXXIX Articles,” and to whisper that it may be allowable in a great seminary of learning to overlook the fact, that one capable of serving as a professor, or studying as a pupil, is not able conscientiously to embrace all the Articles of the Church of England, or to take oaths and vows inconsistent with the principles of other Churches, in which they have been baptized.—“Remove restrictions from the Universities,” says a reverend subrector and tutor of Lincoln, “and they will contribute their share towards popular education. America has been instanced only as the

most patent example of the defect of the higher cultivation to meet by a tangible fact the objections always brought to considerations of the class now insisted on, that they are fanciful and far-fetched. But in fact, the more popular notion of education has been making rapid encroachments among ourselves since the great alteration in our examination system, in Cambridge at the end of the last, here in the beginning of the present century.” The alteration alluded to, consists in the opening of the Universities to more practical branches of study than were formerly provided for—as the natural sciences. Sir Charles Lyell is very open and strong in his repudiation of all restraints on the freedom of study and on the social equality of students. He complains of the virtual exclusion of the middle classes of the community, and affirms from his own knowledge, that parents possessing ample means are deterred from sending their sons to Oxford, by an apprehension that they will contract from the social atmosphere of the place, notions incompatible with the line of life to which they are destined, although it may be one peculiarly demanding a liberal education. An Oxford graduate discovers at the end of a few terms, that such occupations as attorneys, surgeons, publishers, engineers, or merchants, are vulgar, and beneath the dignity of a Bachelor of Arts. Nearly all the answers on these heads of inquiry sustain the wholesome view expressed by a fellow and lecturer of Trinity, that mere artificial distinctions of every kind are relics of a period when the several ranks of society were not left to be discovered by tact, feeling and silent conventionalities, but were marked off by formal and tangible badges. “These are left off elsewhere, as inconsistent with the spirit of the present age; and it does seem strange that the last to retain them should be an institution dedicated to religion and learning, in which one would have thought they ought never to have been introduced in any age.”

The particulars of the extravagance and indulgence openly practised in Oxford, are given by a member of Christ Church, under the head of dining-clubs, running in debt to tradesmen, houses of ill fame, intoxication, tandem-driving, hunting, steeple-chases, and horse-racing. The dinner excesses are connected with clubs for the practice of archery, cricket, boating, &c.

The scenes which take place, and the songs which are sung at some of these dinners, held once a week, are pronounced by an official censor “a curse and a disgrace to a place of Christian education.” Novices are carried to these parties, made drunk, and at once initiated into a curriculum of vice. As in all other schools, the parents have a share of the blame for these occurrences. Some fathers insist upon their sons keeping up their practice as sportsmen and horsemen. Others are pleased with the idea of their boys mixing in what is called good society. Many make extravagant allowances of money, and require no account of its expenditure; and often when “a tutor ventures to communicate to a parent any suspicion of his son’s society, expenses, or habits, he is pretty sure to receive the snubbing reply, that the parent has questioned his son, and feels perfect confidence in his explanation.” We wish we could place *this* trait among the strange anecdotes for the amusement of American readers.

And yet Oxford is to this day eminently a church fixture. “The great bulk of those who actually resort to Oxford,” says the report, “are destined for the ministry of the Church.” Few physicians are now educated there; many are called to the bar who have not been members of either University; but the large proportion of those who have been so educated are from Cambridge. There are five hundred and forty fellowships; nine-tenths of these can be held permanently only by clergymen. The income of the fellowship is worth, on an average, £200; and this prize, often a perfect sinecure, requiring nothing but celibacy, is sure, in a state hierarchy, to keep up the clerical or monastic appearances. This is one of the characteristics of the modern Oxford, entailed upon it by the reluctance to make changes upon what was established of old, however long and entirely the original circumstances have been outgrown. At the foundation of the old Colleges in papal times, ecclesiastics were not only the celebrants of masses for the living and the dead, but were the civilians, the politicians, the men of all accomplishments. The College and the chantry were sometimes endowed together. These shadows of the middle ages darken many an observance in Oxford at this day, and give absurdity to many of its rules. There must be a large party there now,

who would rather revive than bury these relics of monkery. The statutes of Queen's College provide for certain tableaux which must commend themselves irresistibly to the mediævists. According to the unalterable laws of the foundation, the number of provost and fellows must be thirteen, to represent the Lord and his apostles; the seventy Evangelists are to be commemorated by as many poor boys, maintained by the provost and fellows, and to be employed, with shorn heads, as choristers; the doctors must wear crimson robes at dinner and supper, "for the sake of conformity to the Lord's blood;" thirteen beggars, deaf, dumb, lame, and blind, must be fed daily in the hall, as remembrancers of the benevolence of Christ; the provost and fellows are directed to sit on one side only of the table at meals, as in the pictures of the last Supper, and they must be summoned to table by the sound of a trumpet.

The students are forced (we use the terms of the report) to partake of the communion. The members of Halls, (five unchartered Colleges,) are required to communicate three times every year. Attendance on divine service is sometimes imposed as a penalty for offences. While the forms of the liturgy are daily gone through, the commission are surprised at the neglect of "the obvious mode of appealing to the moral and religious feelings of the students, by short practical addresses in the College chapels." Sermons in Latin are part of the ceremonial of opening the terms ; and according to a late annual "University Calendar," now before us, "in the prayer preceding the Latin sermon, at the beginning of each term, and likewise in that preceding the sermons on Act Sunday, the Queen's inauguration, and at both the Assizes, are introduced the names of the public benefactors of the University," and then follows a list of forty-six names, from "Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester," to "Francis Douce, Esq., " which are pronounced in this Protestant "*orate pro nobis.*"

But while there is so much ecclesiology in these venerable schools, there is a barren account of their theological instruction, and of their efficiency in supplying ministers to the Church. The report digests the evidence on this point as follows :

"Oxford still educates a large proportion of the clergy; but learned theologians are very rare in the University, and, in consequence, they are still rarer elsewhere. No efficient means at present exist in the University for training candidates for holy orders in those studies which belong peculiarly to their profession. A University training cannot, indeed, be expected to make men accomplished divines before they become clergymen; but the University must be to blame if theological studies languish. Few of the clergy apply themselves in earnest to the study of Hebrew. Ecclesiastical history, some detached portions excepted, is unknown to the great majority. The history of doctrines has scarcely been treated in this country. It may be safely stated that the Epistles of St. Paul have not been studied critically by the great bulk of those in orders. It is true, that the English Church has produced great divines, and may boast at this moment of a body of clergymen perhaps more intelligent and accomplished than it ever before possessed. But they might well acquire more learning. We hope that the theological school of Oxford may yet be frequented by earnest students, as of old; so that many among her sons may gain a profound acquaintance with the history and criticism of the sacred books, and with the external and internal history of the Church."

It does not appear to what hand—if but one—was assigned the drafting of the report; but the Secretary of the Commission was the Rev. A. P. Stanley, the able biographer of Dr. ARNOLD, and in the tone of what is said on the religious and theological character of Oxford, as well as in the general spirit of enlightened and liberal reform throughout the report, there is much to remind us of the aspirations and projects of that noble heart. His own spirit was so much beyond that which was prevalent in his day at Oxford, that it is well said by some one in the evidence, that if the appointment had been in the hands of the University, instead of the Sovereign's, Arnold would never have been a Professor there.

The theological chairs are the best endowed in the whole institution. The annual incomes of the Regius Professorships of Divinity, Ecclesiastical History, Pastoral Theology and Hebrew, the Margaret Professorship of Divinity, and the Boden Professorship of Sanscrit, range in value from near £850 to £1800; but it is roundly asserted that they "produce

no results commensurate with their emoluments." Some of the graduates repair for their theological course to the Episcopal schools of Durham and Wells. A degree is required as a qualification for orders, but there is no special training for that degree. A Vice-Principal of one of the Halls, in his earnestness on this abuse, says that nothing but the acquiescence in anomalies that is characteristic of Englishmen could have suffered such an evil to remain. "It is not too much to say," in his opinion, "that there is no country of Europe, Protestant or Romanist, in which so anomalous a state of things exists; every Church, Lutheran, Reformed, or Romish, but our own, provides that her ministers shall undergo two or three years of theological study and preparation before they enter upon their office."

The present Regius Professor of Divinity is Dr. Jacobson. His official income is equal to nine thousand dollars, (£1,800.) We have his own report of his labours, and it will not take long to make our readers acquainted with them. In the first place, he gives twelve public lectures. Their subjects are: 1, introduction to the study and some points of clerical duty; 2, 3, on some of the aids to arriving at the sense of Holy Scripture; 4, 5, on Creeds, particularly on the three in the Liturgy; 6, 7, on the study of Church History; 8, on the Continental Reformation; 9, on the English Reformation; 10, 11, on the Prayer Book; 12, on parish duties. This is the royal course of theology, and it is repeated three times a year. The burden of the incumbent was increased by statutes, in 1842 and 1847, requiring private lectures. These are given at least three times in the week, throughout the term, and therefore furnish abundant opportunity for eking out any deficiency in the public course. Accordingly, the Professor testifies, "my subjects hitherto have been the *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*, edited by Dr. Routh, and the Book of Common Prayer." On the public course, about two hundred and thirty have attended annually, during the two years before the date of his testimony; the classes for the same space of time, at the private course, numbered, from term to term, 13, 3, 6, 26, 16, 14. The Professor of Sanscrit receives a salary of \$4,250, (£850,) lectures less than a hundred times in the year, and has an average class of

ten students. The other theological Professors declined to furnish any statements. Of the success of the teaching, such as it is, we can form no accurate opinion, for of the only two public examiners who answer the general interrogatory, "In what subjects is failure most common?" one says, "Failures are perhaps most common in divinity;" and the other, "Failures occur seldom in divinity." Hints are more than once interjected, that a more thorough and systematic attention, on the part of the Faculty of Divinity, to the studies committed to them, would have saved the University from the controversy and reproach which certain events have of late years associated with the very name of Oxford. Much of the mischief may be ascribed to the fact that, whilst the 1700 clergy of the Establishment are more than enough for all its livings, a vast number are left with idle hands and heads. "To wait for a country living, and to obtain it when he is unfit for it, is the most common fate of the college fellow." So says a "Fellow and Tutor," and in this long waiting there must be some amusement to pass the time; and what more diverting than to excavate and restore the ecclesiastical Pompeiis and Herculaneums? The Tractarian controversy has introduced conflict into every department of the University's proceedings; so that it is charged in the evidence that even the Professorships of Political Economy and Poetry have been contended for, on the party grounds of that schism.

There is a diversity of opinion as to the expediency of making the University the place for graduating theological candidates. On the one hand it is maintained, that the exclusive study of Divinity—as in a theological school—is a great evil; that the mind should be liberalized and accomplished by pursuing other branches of learning at the same time; that the facilities of libraries, excitements of study, and opportunities of social refinement are greater at the seat of a large University, than in more retired places, among a few companions; and that an establishment bearing the name of University, and especially one so richly endowed for the purposes of theological teaching as Oxford, ought to make unnecessary any supplement to the course of a clergyman. On the other side it is argued, that it is better that the candidate for the church

should be removed from old scenes of idleness and dissipation ; that if he has been yielding to their influence, he should find in a new spot a *locus pænitentiae*; that he should have a space of breathing-time in a more retired air before he enters on his new and solemn calling ; that the real preparation for clerical duties is found in the life of a country parish, and that want of knowledge of the poor, rather than of books, is the more common defect to be supplied. The ground taken by the Commission is in favour of so improving the course at Oxford, as to make it unnecessary for candidates for the ministry to go elsewhere. Let us hear their reasons, and judge whether they have any force in favour of combining the strictly theological studies with some of the higher branches of College lectures—say on Natural Science, Civil History, and Law.

“The greatness of the institution acts, even as things are now, as a safeguard against the permanent occupation of its whole atmosphere by the opinions of particular schools and parties ; and if the energies of the University should be further developed, the admixture of other professions and other studies will tend to prevent the formation of that exclusively ecclesiastical character in the clergy, which, by dividing their views and interests for those of the laity, exercises a mischievous influence over the relations of the Church and the nation. The habit of investigating God’s works, and the operation of his laws, whether in the mental or physical world, or the study of the actual history of mankind would, we believe, do much towards correcting the narrow spirit in which theology is too often studied.”

As things now stand, it is as if each member of the senior class of an American College who had the ministry in view, were going forward to the “commencement” to graduate at once in the arts and theology. Instead of expecting them to enter a theological school for three or four years, he will have already heard the dozen lectures of the Regius Professor, studied and sworn to the Thirty-nine Articles, attended what is equivalent to a College Bible-class, and is ready for deacon’s orders. Even in the case of individuals who have no diploma to present, it seems as if there were nothing like a theological course required in the Church of England before ordination.

On turning to the life of the late Rev. Mr. Bickersteth, we find that though he left grammar-school for a place in the post-office at the age of fourteen, and never returned to his studies, but was occupied in business till his thirtieth year, yet, when at that period he determines to enter the ministry, he simply proposes to get a letter to the Bishop of Norwich from J. J. Gurney, or another person—"both of whom have considerable influence with him"—and to go to him "in about a fortnight, state my plans, and ask him if he can ordain me." Accordingly, on the introduction of the good Quaker, he had an interview with the Bishop, who, after dwelling on the importance of a University education, and that it could only be dispensed with in particular cases, prescribed to him a year and a half's study with a clergyman. To this Mr. Bickersteth (then in legal business) pleaded that he "had been accustomed to read a chapter frequently in the Greek Testament," and had given attention to other suitable studies, upon which the Bishop at once struck off more than six months of the probation; and finally ordained him in less than half of the term that remained. His examination consisted in stating "some of the great doctrines of the Bible, translating the Greek Testament, Grotius, and a Latin article, and writing a Latin and also an English theme."

To meet the existing deficiencies, the report proposes a distinct school of theology in the University, through which candidates for the ministry, after two examinations in the other departments, should be required to pass.

One of the diversities between the English institutions of education and our own, which often confuses our ideas of the former, is that the University by itself, and each of the nineteen Colleges by itself, is a separate corporation. There is not one, but twenty societies, faculties, (in our sense), charters, codes of laws. It is Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Dickinson, Charlottesville, and fifteen others in one city, besides the five Halls, the only common bond being that which unites them to the State and to the established religion. The University may be said to be composed of, or manifested by a corps of Professors, whose duty is to give public lectures on their respective subjects to as many members of the Colleges as may choose to

attend. There is no matriculation at the University by examination; this is required only at the Colleges. Each student enters some one College, and there his studies are conducted, not so much as with us, directly by Professors and in classes, as by College tutors, for whose examinations the great proportion of the students are daily prepared by *private* tutors. This monopoly of tutorial instruction is not according to the original scheme, but has grown upon the system in consequence of the absence of compulsion to attend the professional courses, so that tutors almost supersede Professors, as the Colleges in this respect absorb, or "swamp" the University. On the merits of the questions arising out of these designs and their accidents, which enter largely into the report before us, we will not enter, as our main object is the gleaning of facts. Let us look for a moment at the evidence scattered through this vast folio, as to what is actually accomplished by all the power concentrated in the whole institution.

As to the Professoriate, it is set down in the report as an unquestionable fact that the Professors are not now the teachers of the University; and that of all the functions of the academic body, that which was once, and which in the statutes is still presumed to be, the most important, might cease to exist altogether, with hardly any perceptible shock to the general system of the place. Part of this default is ascribed to the inadequate salaries. There are thirty Professors; and omitting the theological staff already mentioned, their revenues average only 150*l.* to each. Almost all of them complain that they have not separate lecture-rooms, nor adequate libraries, apparatus, &c., for their special departments. Their report of services and attendance is a melancholy record. Nothing but the literary luxury of a life in Oxford, and the leisure for study, can keep men of any enthusiasm from escaping from their chairs, when they have to tell such tales as most of them have laid before us. The Savilian Professor of Geometry, finding the attendance very small, "and often none," confines himself to one comprehensive course of from twelve to fifteen lectures. From 1830 to 1849 the class was never over *seven*—for three years it consisted of *one*—for four years of *none*—and in five other years no course was announced. The Professor of Moral

Philosophy, out of the 1300 students, had less than 50 on an average of four years. The Professor of Ancient History has 40 at his popular, 10 at his more elaborate lectures. Modern History in the first year of the new Professor, had 160—the second year 57. Botany draws 12. Astronomy 3. Geology 7. Mineralogy 5. “Nothing can at first sight be more disheartening to the student of natural science,” says one of those who speak from experience, “than to look around him in the University and find all in it apparently so dead to the value of such study.”

It is notorious that mathematics has been generally more regarded at Cambridge than at the sister University, but we were not prepared to find it in so low a place in the more classical institution. There are scarcely any prizes of scholarships or fellowships held out for competition; the mathematical chairs are inadequately endowed, and it is affirmed that there are, or were very lately, colleges in Oxford where no mathematical instruction whatever was supplied to the students. Students who have been eighteen months matriculated, are admonished that at an examination which takes place at that period, they must come up with a knowledge of arithmetic to—decimal and vulgar fractions, the rule of three and its application! In 1850, there were only twenty-one candidates for mathematical honours; of these, thirteen stood for a first class and but seven gained it. University College reports the Mathematical Lecturer as honoured with a class of three in Mechanics, two in the Integral Calculus, one in Optics, and one in Conic Sections.

The incumbent of the chair of Moral Philosophy does not withhold the expression of his conviction, that that branch of study is in a very unsatisfactory condition; and that the time given to it is, in most cases, thrown away.

There is not much to retrieve these discouraging statements, at least as to fruit, when we turn to the pride of Oxford—its classical scholarship. The present century has seen a great contraction of the circle of studies in this department. So late as 1827, a list of twenty authors for the test at examination was not uncommon; at present twelve are sometimes sufficient for the highest honours. Among those set down as

having almost disappeared from the University course, are Homer, Demosthenes, Cicero, and Quintilian. The favourites of the highest students at present are Aristotle, Plato, Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, Tacitus, Æschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal. This is still a great list, and is often well-studied, both philologically and in connection with the histories of Niebuhr and Grote. But Whately says “three or four easy Greek or Latin books” are all that is required in this branch, for a degree; and the Rev. Mr. Wall intimates poor work in the classical line, when he says of the requisition of an examination in the *literæ humaniores*—“If this prerogative given to Latin and Greek resulted in the majority of men in any useful knowledge of those languages—if it enabled them to write a commonly respectable piece of Latin—there would be something to say for it; but I am sure, that compared with the time and labour spent in ‘cramming up’ parts of a few Greek and Latin authors by the aid of translations, the labour of a man who breaks stones in the road is as profitable to himself, and much more profitable to others.” The intimate acquaintance with the Latin poets, so perceptible in the writings and biographies of the Oxonians of the beginning of the century, is confessed to be rare—and there are few who tread in the steps of Porson and Elmsley. It is a rule of the House of Convocation that the debate shall be in Latin. So few of this generation are competent for doing this fluently, that discussion is seldom ventured; some resort to written speeches. “If decent Latin writing should be insisted on,” remarks our examiner in reference to all studies, the number of failures would be more than quadrupled.” “Language, (as such)” says the Report, “can hardly be said to have formed a distinct subject of academical study.” Dr. Phillmore, the worthy Professor of Civil Law, complains that his stipend is a poor compensation for the function that devolves on him, of presenting the honorary degree of D. C. L., and of addressing the audience on other occasions of the kind, all which must be done in Latin. It is true the doctor’s income, exclusive of diploma fees, is under 100*l.*; but this seems to be fair wages, even for speaking Latin occasionally, when we take into consideration his assertion, that no public lectures on his branch have been heard for

more than a century ; and that though he has “ several times had it in contemplation ” to break the ice, he has as yet found no encouragement to do it. He tells us that when the Duke of Portland signified to him that he was to receive the office, he told him that if he could have found any person as competent as himself, within the University, he would have preferred it ; “ but that not being the case,” says the Professor with much naïveté, “ he could not expect or require me to abandon my profession in London ;” where he accordingly remains, and only runs down to Oxford once or twice in the year, to make his Latin speeches.

Among the suggestions which surprise an American student, as implying the absence of what he has been accustomed to identify with the commonest routine of college-duty, is that it would be a good thing to have examinations on what is heard in lectures. For thus, says Professor Vaughan—“ I have no doubt that if it were thought advisable to convey information through Professors’ lectures generally to the students, most of the supposed advantages of the catechetical system might be secured by examinations, at intervals, conducted on paper. It would be advisable, of course, that the Professor so conducting them should comment in some way upon the answers.” Equally strangely does the intimation sound in our ears, that possibly the very proposal of this extra pains to a class might deter some from appearing at the lectures at all !

We may here throw into our gossiping paper some of the levities which this grave blue-book presents, to illustrate the manner in which classical and other examinations are sometimes disposed of in other bodies than Presbyteries and Yankee schools. The anecdote is quoted from the life of Lord Eldon, that Mr. John Scott, who took his B. A. at Oxford in 1770, used to say, “ I was examined in Hebrew and in History. ‘ What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull ? ’ I replied, ‘ Golgotha.’ ‘ Who founded University College ? ’ I stated that King Alfred founded it. ‘ Very well, sir,’ said the examiner, ‘ you are competent for your degree.’ ” Ten years later Vicesimus Knox writes —

“ Every candidate is obliged to be examined in the whole

circle of the sciences by three Masters of Arts, of his own choice. The examination is to be holden in one of the public schools, and to continue from nine o'clock till eleven. The Masters take a most solemn oath that they will examine properly and impartially. Dreadful as all this appears, there is always found to be more of appearance in it than reality, for the greatest dunce usually gets his *testimonium* signed with as much ease and credit as the finest genius. The manner of proceeding is as follows: The poor young man to be examined in the sciences often knows no more of them than his bed-maker, and the Masters who examine are sometimes equally unacquainted with such mysteries. But *schemes*, as they are called, or little books, containing forty or fifty questions in each science, are handed down from age to age, from one to another. The candidate employs three or four days in learning these by heart, and the Examiners having done the same before him when they were examined, know what questions to ask, and so all goes on smoothly. When the candidate has displayed his universal knowledge of the sciences, he is to display his skill in philology. One of the Masters, therefore, desires him to construe a passage in some Greek or Latin classic, which he does with no interruption, just as he pleases, and as well as he can. The statutes next require that he should translate familiar English phrases into Latin. And now is the time when the Masters show their wit and jocularity. Droll questions are put on any subject, and the puzzled candidate furnishes diversion in his awkward embarrassment. I have known the questions on this occasion to consist of an inquiry into the pedigree of a race-horse."

Archbishop Whately, whose academical memory goes back more than forty-five years, is very sprightly in his remarks on the Higher Degrees. He declares he knew not what an Oxford man could answer, if he were asked whether the degree of M. A., and those in Law and Divinity, "do not convey, at least to *some* of our countrymen, some notion of merit or proficiency, more or less, of some kind? and whether any such belief is not *wholly* groundless? And whether, therefore, a University so conferring those degrees as to create, or keep up a false impression, is not guilty of a kind of fraud on the public? He goes on to testify as follows:

"When first I went to Oxford, and for some years after,

there was a regular public examination for the degree of M. A. But, in fact, it was not public, all the Undergraduates and Bachelors making it a point of delicacy never to attend, because several of those examined were men of middle age, and many clergymen. And it was soon found that no examiners could be induced ever to reject a candidate, however ill prepared. Hence, the whole degenerated into an empty form, and was discontinued. Then, a good many years after, a scheme was proposed for making the *Divinity* exercises something real. It looked well on paper; but I inquired ‘Suppose a candidate for the degree of B. D. or D. D. fails to exhibit the requisite proficiency; will the examiner reject him?’ I was answered, ‘We hope none *will* fail.’ ‘Well, but suppose some man *does*; what then?’ They were compelled to admit that rejection was a thing not to be thought of, considering that several of the candidates would be elderly men, and clergymen, and perhaps dignitaries. ‘Then you will see,’ said I, ‘that after a few terms the whole will become an empty form. As soon as it has happened—as, of course, it will—that a deficient candidate is allowed to pass, and then one a little more deficient, and another a little worse still, and so on, the exercises will be understood to be a mere form.’ I alluded to the story in the Spectator, of the Indian, Maraton, who went to the Land of Shadows—the Indian Elysium—to visit his deceased wife Garatilda. He found it surrounded by a seemingly impenetrable thicket of thorn-bushes, and for a time was at a loss; but he soon found that it was only the ghost of a departed thicket, the shadows of thorn-bushes; and he walked through without any difficulty. ‘Even so,’ I said, ‘this examination will have some effect till it is discovered—as it soon will be—that it is only a shadow.’ And thus it proved, on the experiment being tried. So it must always be with any examination which *all* are sure to pass.”

A Reverend Fellow of Balliol (which, though one of the smallest Colleges as regards its foundation, the Report pronounces to be certainly at present the most distinguished) takes a different view of these honours, and holds them very cheap, considering that after all they signify nothing. “I can see nothing but unnecessary indignity in examining senior men for higher degrees. If they were made Bishops or Deans, or in any other way exalted, because they were doctors, an examination for this degree would be desirable. ‘Doctor,’ applied

to a clergyman or a lawyer, is a very harmless dignity, and to confer it, if paid for, is a very fair way of raising money."

We hear the echo of many of our home complaints about the state of education. English boys do not enter and leave college at as early an age as ours. They matriculate at about nineteen, and a large proportion do not take their B. A. at Oxford before the age of twenty-two or twenty-three. Yet we read of disgraceful want of preparation both for admission and graduation; of superficial and hasty attempts to acquire too much in a short time, and of the disposition to hurry a young man through his studies that he may be making money. "Why are the great majority of young men sent to the Universities?" asks a *Prælector*. We can all join in the answer he gives to his own question—"Precisely for the same reason that, at certain periods of their life, they were breeched, then put into a jacket, then into a coat, and that when they leave the University they will go abroad. It is part of a *routine*. They are sent to the University, not because they are fit for it; not because they want to benefit by its libraries, and its lectures, but because it is a part of a young gentleman's course—it is the usual thing to do—it is respectable." Add to this the faults of what a Principal of one of the Halls terms the indirect discipline of the place—"The giving of the lectures in comfortable parlours, without any convenient means of taking notes; giving of fellowships to almost any qualifications rather than academical merit; the precedence allowed to gentlemen-commoners on the ground of wealth; that given to noblemen on the ground of birth—all this tends to convey the impression that the chief object of the place is anything rather than study; and young men are ready enough to treat the studies accordingly, as secondary to many other pursuits."

Besides the great libraries of Sir Thomas Bodley and Dr. Radcliffe, Oxford has nine smaller collections, which, with those attached to each College, make more than thirty in all. Here is a department of the educational and learned apparatus which, on this side of the water, we can as yet only envy. Those, however, may be grateful for their position, who can by two hours railway-travel have access to the collections of the Philadelphia (including the Loganian) Library Company, the

American Philosophical Society, the Academy of Natural Sciences, and the Astor Library. The Report quotes the complaint of one of the witnesses that "the literature of the United States is almost wholly unrepresented in the Bodleian, except by English reprints of some of the more popular authors," and notes among the valuable foreign periodicals which should be found in that or the Radcliffe, Silliman's "American Journal of Science." The general verdict is highly favourable to the manner in which the great libraries are conducted, the accommodations to readers, and the prompt and polite attendance of librarians. Dr. Greenhill gratefully enumerates sixteen particulars of the special advantages of the management of Bodley's.

Some complain of the rule forbidding the removal of books from the rooms, and one murmur exaggerates in this style about the Bodleian :

"It is impossible," he says, "to conceive a thing of which the actual use is more disproportionate to its possible benefits. If one is proof against cold, and against the distraction of visitors and others passing to and fro before his eyes, he may study there. When I became a B. A., I was romantic enough to think of working in the Bodleian. Although I protected myself, even to incumbrance, with clothing against the cold, I could not work there more than two hours at a time. I soon found that the time spent in going there, and returning, and in getting warm after I came home, and the unsteadiness of my work there, owing to the discomforts of the place, was all a loss to me. Books are meant to be read and not to be looked at, and even if by going out of the library they were occasionally damaged or lost, the Bodleian is rich enough to pay this small price for its increased utility."

This radicalism comes from the same source as the following argument against a matriculative examination. "If it is meant to find out what he *can* do, will anybody be excluded by it? Is there anybody who cannot do *something*? If a man by admission to the University acquired a license to *teach*, an examination would be most important; but as he only acquires a license to *learn*, I do not see the value of it."

Positive as the interdiction of removal of books may be, it

does not appear to be enforced at the Bodleian with as extreme a penalty as in Maynooth, where Sir Francis Head, during his "Fortnight in Ireland," saw the inscription—"Whoever takes a book out of this library incurs excommunication *ipso facto*."

It is as places for learned men as well as for pupils—for voluntary and recondite research—for quiet, studious retirement—we must look upon the great English Universities. They are called the two eyes of the nation, in reference to their permanent position in the body politic, and should, therefore, be the eyes of experience and proficiency. The Vice-Chancellor reminds the Commissioners that the Colleges have not been usually founded directly for the education of youth, "but for higher purposes." Among these are the promotion of religion and the support of the Church. Colleges have changed, (says the testimony) from learning to teaching bodies. In All Souls there are no undergraduate members; nor have there been, since its foundation in 1437. There is not room in the buildings for all the Fellows—though they number but forty; it having to be remembered on this side the Atlantic, that a Fellow does not room in a little closet, with a bed in one corner, and a ventilator over the door, but has a set or suite of apartments, and sometimes a double set. To the Fellows, Professors, Tutors, Graduates, besides scholars of all kinds and from all countries, who resort to the seats of learning—to these, the libraries, museums, and collections, the opportunities of converse with men wholly given to literary and scientific pursuits, must always constitute a part of their value to the nation and the world, independent of all that is done in teaching undergraduates.

The University Press, which divides with Cambridge the monopoly of Bibles and Prayer-books, produces a revenue of £8000. It sold its exclusive right to publish Almanacs for an annuity of £500. The other department of its publication business is called "the Learned Press," and has issued many costly works which would not otherwise have appeared; but Dr. Greenhill is disposed to believe that there is no establishment in Europe which, upon the whole, does so little for the promotion of literature, in comparison with the vast means at its command.

Notwithstanding the original statutes of some of the Colleges

prohibit music and musical instruments, as those of some others ostracise dogs, long hair, and cloaks, there is a Professorship of Music in the University. The prohibition must have referred to instruments or to music as a mere pastime, for in the days of chantries and “plain song,” and intoned litanies, some practice must have been necessary. That a ban should have been imposed on young gentlemen who might be so uncivilized as to scrape their miserable violins, and blow their gamuts and scales on flutes at all hours, regardless of the ears and nerves of their neighbours, must commend the example of the middle ages to any later academical era where such plagues may prevail. Sir Henry Bishop, the present incumbent, informs us that the foundation calls for a *Choragus*, or Music-master, as well as Professor. The late Dr. Crotch held both offices for fifty years. Sir Henry is not likely to break down under the burden of either salary or work, since Dr. Elvey has the Choragic branch, and the knight, with a stipend of fifty pounds, gives no lectures or lessons, and has only to examine the compositions of aspirants to the degree of Music Doctor, conduct the rehearsal of such as pass the trial, preside at the organ at the annual commemoration, and set installation odes, and similar nonsense, to music. The lot of the Choragus is harder, for out of a salary of £13 6s. 8d. he is bound to repair the instruments and find strings. The degree of Bachelor in Music is not taken till after seven years’ study, and the presentation of an approved piece in five vocal parts, with instrumental accompaniments. Five years’ additional study, and a score in six or eight parts, are required for the Doctor’s degree.

A few miscellaneous memoranda of statistics that will be naturally inquired for by many of our readers, must close our notice.

At the date of the Report, (April, 1852,) the number of students actually resident in Oxford was put down at 1300—a greater number than was to be found there at any other time in the last two centuries. The number of undergraduates, both resident and non-resident was 1400. The average matriculations from 1800 to 1813 were 267; from 1814 to 1840 the annual average was 364; from 1841 to 1850 it was 400. The number who have passed the final examination for B. A. has

during the last ten years, averaged annually 287—showing that not quite three-fourths of those who enter the University proceed to a degree. On the last day of 1850 the total number of “members of the University” was 6060; “members of Convocation” 3294; resident graduates of all ranks 300. These are low figures compared with 30,000, which tradition declares to have been the number of students in the reign of Henry III.

The ordinary income of the University (aside from the Press, the gain of which is only appropriated when the surplus becomes large) is about £7,500, and its expenses £7,000. The aggregate income of the Colleges from endowments alone is said to be not much less than £150,000. Yet in making this statement the Report adds the bold opinion, “the architectural magnificence of Oxford would be diminished, and many excellent men would suffer, and great opportunities of future good will be lost, if several of its richest Colleges were swept away; but little present loss would be suffered by the University, the Church, or the country.”

The matriculation fees of the University are on a gradually diminishing scale, according to the rank of parents, beginning with Prince, Duke or Marquis, and ending with Gentlemen—Clergymen, Plebeians—from 13*l.* 15*s.* to 1*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* Each undergraduate pays before each of the three examinations a fee, amounting in all to 2*l.* 18*s.* There are other annual taxes for libraries, police, &c., graduated according to academical rank, from 1*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* downwards. At graduation, the wealthy B. A. pays 30*l.*; ordinary persons 8*l.* 8*s.* M. A. costs them respectively 40*l.* and 15*l.* B. D. 20*l.* D. D. 45*l.* The highest fee is paid by a “Non-Resident, Accumulating, Grand-Compounding Doctor of Divinity; and this fee amounts to 104*l.*” It strikes us that for this price he ought to be entitled to write all those seven capitals at the end of his name. The British Government takes not less than 2400*l.* annually from this University alone, in the shape of stamp duty on matriculations and degrees.

Besides the University charges cited above, the College entrance-fee is between three and four pounds, and a charge at the first degree of between five and seven pounds, and various

annual charges. For tuition about 64*l.* is the amount paid during the sixteen terms of the course. To give opportunity for a wider extension of the system, the friends of the University suggest the establishment of more Halls, either as independent boarding-houses under the care of Wardens, or in connection with the present Colleges—or a more general permission to undergraduates to lodge in private houses—or an allowance of persons to attend instruction without formal or expensive connection with College or Hall. The last plan is favoured by the Commission—being, in substance, just the one on which any worthy young man in our country may have all the advantages of our best Colleges for one half of the lowest sum suggested in the Report as practicable at Oxford. It anticipates the best kind of students by throwing open the doors to the poorer classes. “We have already had occasion to observe how greatly the extravagance and vice of the students depend on their idleness and means of indulgence. There is every reason to hope, on the other hand, that poverty, and the guarantee implied in poverty that such students would come to the University only for the sake of study, would act as a direct hindrance to vice, and as an inducement to good conduct.”

The usual salary of a College tutor is 300*l.* The number of those officers is eighty. The cost of private tutorship at Oxford, which is, of course, paid by the students, is not estimated. At Cambridge, where the practice is somewhat more general, the annual payments for this purpose we believe to amount to 50,000*l.* Some of the College tutors must earn their wages, for they lecture on seven, eight, or nine different subjects, and are employed seven hours a day in College work. In the great hive of learning they come nearest to the double honour, awarded by the founder of Corpus Christi, who desired that “in order that the honey-bees may work within, and not be called away to mean duties, there may be certain persons free from honey-making, and devoted to other services. But if any of them shall please to imitate the honey-bees, he shall deserve a double crown.” The poor servitors, immediately referred to in this allegory, have almost disappeared. In 1616, there were in sixteen Colleges, between four and five hundred students. Long since that date there was a class of students who per-

formed menial offices, in consideration of the opportunities of study. Heber, in his life of Jeremy Taylor, (who was in Cambridge a sizar, till appointed by Laud to a fellowship in Oxford in 1636,) remarks, that instead of that custom being chargeable with the illiberality of depressing the poorer students into servants, it would be more just to say that servants were elevated to the rank of students. But now the few Bible-clerkships and exhibitions which are bestowed in consideration of the poverty of the candidates, are said to be often given to secure talents to the College, rather than from real charity.

Having lately devoted an article to the University of Cambridge, (*Repertory*, April, 1852,) and now embodied facts enough from this voluminous report on Oxford to enable our readers to judge of its condition, and the estimation in which it is held by its best friends, we can readily leave to American parents to decide whether the English Universities present much to make them dissatisfied with their own institutions, or furnish much as a model for their improvement. Let our Colleges be abundantly endowed, so that the highest ability, and the largest necessary number of instructors, and the fullest apparatus can be commanded, and we shall have occasion to rejoice in the untrammeled vigour of our younger and fresher institutions.

ART. II.—*The Life and Labours of St. Augustine.* By Philip Schaff, D.D. Translated from the German. By the Rev. T. C. Porter.

ATTAINMENTS in patristical learning are justly expected of those who enter the sacred ministry. No man who would be furnished for that responsible work, in a just acquaintance with ministerial character, as it has been exhibited in different periods of the Church, will be satisfied with himself, unless, in ecclesiastical history and Christian biography, he has studied the men, and their labours, denominated “the Fathers.”

Knowledge of these men ought not, however, to be confined

to the men of the ministry. Christians in the ranks of the Churches should have the privilege of knowing who were "the Fathers," and what were the elements of character which occasioned this honourable designation. It gives deep interest to their lives, that some of them were instructed by the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ; others taught by these pupils of the apostles; and that still others, though at later periods of the Church, drank into the spirit of their patristic predecessors, and followed their steps, through the histories of whose labours, sufferings, sanctity of character, and example, and through whose writings, have come down to us rich instructions, and influences for great good.

For these reasons we welcome the appearance of the volume whose title is above noted. It is a book not only for the library of the Christian student and minister, but for that of the private Christian also. And for the general reading of our Churches we should welcome a series of the Lives of the Ancient Fathers. To the eye of the intelligent private Christian, it would show, more clearly than is at present known, the connection between the ministry that now is, and that of the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ. It would enable him to see, and prepare him to admire, the grace of God which has been displayed in the choicest examples of ministerial character, from the day of the Redeemer's ascension to heaven down to this hour.

The attentive and discriminating reader of the book before us, will find much to awaken his admiration of the rich and sovereign grace of God, which led Augustine "out of darkness into his marvellous light;" "turned him from the power of Satan unto God;" and which not only made him "a vessel of mercy," but an eminent instrument of good in his own, and to following ages. To study the history and character of Paul; first in the period of his life when he was a student of Jewish law, "at the feet of Gamaliel;" and in his character as a Pharisee of the "straitest sect," and as by profession and office for a time, a haughty and blood-thirsty persecutor; this prepares the Christian to study, with intense interest, the history of his conversion, as it displayed the unspeakable mercy and the triumphant grace of God in Christ Jesus. With an interest some-

what like this will the Christian reader of the volume before us contemplate Augustine; first, as he was in his youth; next, as he moved forward in the pride of talent and learning through the various stages of philosophical study, and in his intimacies with the men of his time; then as he appeared embracing and advocating specious errors; and, more than all, to see him uniting with these, things which we can call by no milder name than the profligacies of “a man of pleasure,” and living for pleasure as much as for distinction and honour; till, at the age of thirty-three, “the Spirit of the Lord God,” merciful and almighty to renew the heart and sanctify the life of the vilest, visited his breast and made him “a new creature,” an humble and devoted follower of Christ Jesus.

Let it not be overlooked, through whose instrumentality, under the blessing of God, Augustine became a monument of divine mercy and grace, a “preacher of the unsearchable riches of Christ;” and a skilful teacher and valiant defender of “the faith of the gospel.” Blessed be God for those rich gifts to the Church, in all ages, *godly mothers*. The heavenly minded and devout Monica, the mother of Augustine, who seems to have lived at the footstool of the throne of grace, and always to have been there, as much that she might pray for her son, as for her own soul, was deeply concerned in laying the foundation of his final character as a servant of God. She lived in supplication and tears for him, long before he knew how to pray for himself or to weep for his sins. Blessed woman! eminent mother of such a finally eminent son! Her name will accompany his down to the latest ages of time; as “she who bore him,” and in answer to whose prayers, and by the blessing of the Holy Spirit upon whose instructions, he was “born again,” and this after he had become old in sin, and strong in that pride of heart and wickedness of life which had swept him away from the foot of the cross of Christ.

As in the case of Paul, so in this of Augustine, conversion to God was followed by immediate consecration to that great work for which the highest talents and most various learning are always desirable, under the control of divine grace. Of Paul it is written, “and straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God.” Augustine, after his

conversion, began to mourn over the Manicheans, a class of errorists with whom he had been for nine years—up to the twenty-eighth of his life, associated; and to wish most ardently for their recovery from their delusions. He also gave immediate attention, as an instructor, to young men in theology; and to controverting the errors of a school of sceptics who, after the fashion of some in our time, “denied the possibility of knowing the truth;” and to other labours through which he could act upon the minds of that day. In short, he began at once to live for the high purposes of a new man in Christ Jesus; and to shine in excellencies of character and example, which never appear in the graceless, however wise, talented, or learned. He taught men who were to become preachers of the gospel of Christ; preached, wrote for the purpose of setting forth the truths of the word of God, and, also for the defence of the doctrines of the gospel as controverted and attacked by errorists.

The history of the theological writings of Augustine, as briefly given in the book before us, presents him to our minds as a man of great industry. They appear in the several classifications of the Exegetical; the Apologetical, the Dogmatical, and Polemical; the Ascetic and Edifying; and the Auto-biographical. A sub-classification of his works, Dogmatical and Polemical, presents them under the several designations of Anti-Manichean writings; Anti-Donatistic, and Anti-Pelagian. The latter named especially possess, to the ministry and the Church of the present day, a great amount of interest and value; inasmuch as they, relate to great first truths of the gospel of Christ, more widely, industriously, and violently disputed than many others.

It is in the class of his writings denominated dogmatical and polemical, that Augustine is before the Christian world in one of the most interesting positions and points of character, in which any apostle, father, or modern minister can be viewed—that of a man living in the holy resolve of fidelity to “the truth of Christ.” Paul, as he stood on “the verge of life,” and looking at the hour of his departure as at hand, among his humble, yet triumphant declarations of his “course of life,” made this impressive declaration, “*I have kept the faith.*”

Who that lives and labours in the ministry of the gospel, and desires to die in peace with his Lord, and with his own conscience, can fail to make it his daily prayer, that when his dying day shall come, he may be able to take up this same declaration respecting himself; and with the eye of the Lord and Master whom he has served, resting upon him, to be able to say, "*I have kept the faith?*" And can deeper horror and darkness settle down upon the departing hour of any man, than upon that of one bearing the name of a minister of religion, who has lived for the subversion of "the faith of Jesus;" himself a "blind leader of the blind," and teaching others to be such; and having acquired the "bad eminence" of an author and procurer of the unbelief and final destruction of multitudes, which can be fully known only in the great day of the revelation of secret things.

While it would be easy, and withal pleasant and profitable, to go into the examination of various points of excellence in the character of Augustine, the limits of this article require us to confine our attention more especially to one which, unhappily, in its reproving contrast, is but too appropriate to the condition of some minds, and the position of some men bearing the titles of Christian ministers, in our own country, at this time. This characteristic is ministerial fidelity to "the faith." Who, in the office of the Christian ministry in these days, and having the wakefulness of conscience and tenderness of solicitude for the honour of Christ belonging in the breast of a minister, does not feel constrained, by many "things which have come to pass in these days," to live in jealousy of himself, and fraternal solicitude for his brethren in the ministry, that both he and they may keep themselves, and by the grace of God be kept faithful to the great doctrines of the gospel of "God our Saviour," and preserved and assisted to guard others from "falling after the same example of unbelief?"

In what consists ministerial fidelity to "the faith?" And how will it be indicated? Both these inquiries will be in the process of answer in the following observations.

This trait and excellency in ministerial character will first of all appear in habitual prayerfulness for the teachings of the Holy Spirit, respecting the truth. The man lifts up his voice

before the throne of heavenly grace, saying, “in thy light shall we see light;” “that which I see not, teach thou me.” And that voice will be as music to his ear, which says to him, “the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things;” “he will guide you into all truth.” And the voice which thus replies to his request, he recognizes as the voice of “the Master” whom he loves, and whose truth it is his privilege to preach. Such a minister will find “light arising in darkness;” and his fidelity in committing his way to the Lord will be rewarded in the divine fulfilment of those precious promises, “and ye shall know the truth;” “if any man will do God’s will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God.”

Fidelity to the faith will be indicated in the diligent study of the Bible, as God’s revelation of all the elements of “the faith.” This will be done in clear distinction from those discursive studies, with their Bible shut, in which some put philosophizing in the place of prayer, and put reasoning about what the truth *ought* to be, instead of asking at the open pages of the Bible what the truth *is*. The minister who intends to be faithful to the truth, as a student, will begin with “the word of God” as the great field for his researches. “What hath the Lord said?” “what is written in the law?” are his first inquiries—and his second—his constant askings. And relative to doctrines, discoverable in the Bible by a fair and legitimate interpretation, he takes his stand, never to be “moved away.” True, he will not neglect to examine the writings of good men, who have loved “the truth of Christ,” have stated it scripturally; reasoned for it in the exercise of a sound Christian philosophy; defended it fearlessly; applied it to the conscience earnestly and powerfully; and who have lived upon it as their spiritual bread. But even such writings, with all their excellence, he will hold secondary and subservient to the sacred word of God. He could live without the books of men; without the book of God—never. Give him the Bible, and the retirement of his study, and access to the throne of “the Father of lights” in prayer, and he will be satisfied without any other help; will ask for no richer satisfactions than thus he will find in his researches for the truth.

The formation and settlement of discriminating and positive views of “the faith,” will be in the minister of Christ another manifestation of fidelity. Christian doctrines, as revealed in the Scriptures, and as constituting that great and glorious system, called by Paul “Christ crucified,” will never be regarded by the faithful minister as intangible, indefinable, uncertain matters of opinion, for ever evading search, and eluding intellectual grasp. If other men please to spend life in philosophically “groping for the wall like the blind,” and “as if they had no eyes;” and in “stumbling at noon-day as in the night,” while this lamp of heavenly truth is offered them, this is not after his spiritual taste. Divine truth is a divine certainty to his mind; palpable, perceptible, and comprehensible, sufficiently so for all the purposes to be answered by it, involving any man’s renewal and sanctification. His settled conviction is, that “the faith of Jesus,” in all its articles, can be clearly and definitely set apart from all the errors which men endeavour to substitute for them, however specious and deceptive: that it can be distinguished from all modifications, counterfeits, and corruptions, which “the spirit of error,” pressing into its service false philosophy, can ever invent and propound. He will hold himself ready at any and all times, to state any doctrine of the Bible which he has studied in its essential elements, and to do it so that his professional brethren and his hearers can see it as a desirable and certain article of the Christian faith; and likewise, as occasion may require, to pour its light upon error, for the purpose of its complete and helpless unmasking.

Fidelity to the truth of Christ will be indicated by the minister in his full and firm belief of it. He gives it a credence in which his heart and his understanding are cordially united. He is not afraid to put into his creed every article of it; and, on fitting occasions, to sign his name to it, and in the presence of God, angels, and men, solemnly to declare, “*thus and thus I believe.*” Nor is such a minister at all disturbed at hearing that other men give their assent to, and sign creeds, comprehensive of the elements of “the faith of Jesus.”

Take particular notice, however, that the minister who is, and intends to be, faithful to the truth of Christ, cannot—will not—give his assent and subscription to any and every creed

which may be laid before him. There is a strong and lively repellency between that honest belief of the doctrines of Christ, which, in a faithful minister, asks whether the articles to be believed and subscribed are “*THE faith,*” and that strange lubricity of conscience which makes some men indifferent as to what they subscribe, if it be only *a* faith. To a minister intending to be faithful to the truth, it is a matter of vital consequence whether the creed in question be unmixed truth, or unmixed error; or an incongruous compound of both. Faith in the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, keeps close companionship in such a minister’s breast with a just, healthy, and tender conscience; a conscience which would be keenly wounded, exasperated, and awakened to the work of remonstrance, of loud and startling rebuke, at any violence thus offered to it.

Fidelity to the truth, in the minister of Christ, will be indicated in his unwavering love to it. His religious affections, as well as his reason and judgment, are concerned in his reception of it. There may be—and often is, (and it is a point for solicitude and self-scrutiny)—a merely speculative knowledge and persuasion of the truth, in which a minister may give merely his intellectual assent to its articles, as he does to proved problems in Geometry, or the demonstrated theorems of Algebra; or as the lawyer assents to the principles set forth in the books of his profession, or the physician to those taught in his. Such a man’s assent is given to a Bible truth simply because it cannot be rationally denied or overthrown. Meanwhile there may be no love to it as God’s holy truth; and the man perhaps would deny it if he could, or, if he dared. Sometimes such an one arrives at a state of feeling in which he both dares, and does it. Between a mind in this condition and that of a faithful minister, there is a difference wide as between day and midnight, and high as between heaven and hell. It is the same kind of difference as that which exists between Gabriel, who believes in one God, and adores and loves him; and Lucifer, who also “believes that there is one God,” and “trembles” too. The faithful minister’s heart is fixed upon what he believes; he loves the truths of Christ ardently, as well as believes them firmly. No truths have such beauty to his spiritual eye, such music to his spiritual ear, such sweetness to his spiritual taste, as those of

the gospel of “God our Saviour.” “Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart,” is language well describing his holy relish for the doctrines of the incorruptible word; and indicating his consciousness that they are to be the nutriment of his own soul in the divine life, while he dispenses them to others.

Unreserved preaching of the truth is another manifestation of fidelity. “To declare the whole counsel of God,” is esteemed by the faithful minister as important as that he should hold it in his creed, and love it in his heart. Such a man is unable to conceive of any good reason why that which is believed and loved as divine truth, should not also be spoken publicly. Errorists generally make no secret of their errors. Why then should the truth-loving minister be reserved and cautious about the declaration of the truths which he “most surely believes.” He says with Paul, and all faithful ministers, “we also *believe* and *therefore speak*.” That maxim, sometimes having its application in affairs of this life—“the truth is not always to be spoken”—is not the faithful minister’s maxim, as a justification of silence respecting “the faith of Jesus.” His pulpit, therefore, will be a place whence “sounds out the word of life.” He blows a trumpet which gives no “uncertain sound.” He utters the doctrines of God our Saviour in unmistakable terms; in language having specific meaning. Such a man does not know why he has been “put into the ministry,” if it be not to be the preacher as well as believer of “the unsearchable riches of Christ.” His love to them prepares him to find some of his highest satisfactions in setting them forth. Those Sabbaths are days of truest, richest enjoyment, in which he comes to his people with sermons best filled with the truths of Christ; and in the dispensation of which he prays and hopes to succeed, in helping those who sit before him, to behold the glory of the gospel of Christ, in some or other of its great articles of doctrine.

The minister in whom is fidelity to the faith will defend it whenever it is attacked. Such a minister is not controversial in his pulpit habits; is no theological pugilist; no “heresy-hunter;” does not inform his people of errors of which they never heard, that he may show his theological prowess in demol-

ishing them. He does not love controversy for itself; on the contrary, he regards it as the minister's least desirable work. If those who "teach for doctrine the commandments of men" will not come into his field, and that of his brethren, he will never go in pursuit, for the sake of doing battle against them. But when such teachers come within the district where lie his and his brethren's responsibilities for the maintenance of "sound doctrine," he is on his feet at once; with Paul's words and doings for his rule and example of action, "to whom we gave place by subjection, *no, not for an hour*, that the truth of the gospel might continue with you." When "false brethren unawares brought in" do "privily bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them;" when he perceives that the time is come to set forth questioned, disputed, denied, and reproached articles of the Christian faith, in their proper distinction and careful separation from ingenious perversions, or specious substitutions for the truth; or from, perhaps, bold and barefaced errors of doctrine; then he is ready for the duties of one "set for the defence of the gospel." Meanwhile, certainly, he will look to his spirit. That which has been well said of the immortal Calvin will be true of him; "his zeal is not rage; his vigilance is not captiousness; his reasoning is not rancour; his candour is not obstinacy."^{*} But another thing also will be true—that he feels himself to be a soldier of Immanuel. And he proves himself to be one who can never be bribed to silence; nor decoyed or frightened away from his post of watchmanship, or his place in the ranks. And in the hour of conflict he will be seen firm, fearless, unconquerable.

A very important adjunct to this, is that the minister intending to be faithful to the truth of Christ, will regard it as sometimes necessary to be the *assailant* of error. Those who look to the ministry for instruction in "the faith," and for its defence when it is attacked, should also have reason to know, that the heavenly arsenals of Immanuel contain the material, in ample store, for attack upon error itself, and which can be for the effectual overthrow of false doctrine, and the discomfiture of those who assail the truth. True, "the weapons of our war-

* Dr. John M. Mason.

fare are not carnal," but they are "mighty, through God, to the *pulling down* of strong-holds." Paul said this, and it was proved true in his day. He helped in the proof; and was himself a valiant demolisher of the positions of the enemies of the gospel, as well as a mighty defender of truth against their assaults. This has been true, in all the days of the Church; is now, and ever will be, till the "sword of the Spirit" shall have cut down the last assailant of "the faith which is in Christ Jesus." Fidelity to the truth will constrain him in whom it is, to understand this use of these weapons of the Christian warfare, and to put them to their appointed use wherever the exigencies of the contest for the faith shall require.

Ministerial fidelity to the faith will lead to timely acts of public and solemn protest against doctrines of men, which are subversive of faith. It guards against that misjudgment which our Saviour reprobated, when he said, "How is it that ye do not discern this time?" It is the weakness and the fault of "some in the Church," that they are never sufficiently watchful against the first approaches of evil; and, therefore, they do not recognize it till arrived on the spot, and when it appears in undisguised forms. Men whom we respect and love, and call "good ministers," are sometimes too much blinded and embarrassed by a mistaken charity, to act with that promptitude for the honour of the truth which belongs with fidelity to its interests. Such ministers timidly delay taking up positions for its protection, till error has "come in like a flood." They wait till the battlements of the citadel of truth have been scaled by its enemies, and entrance effected before they are ready to act. A minister of this class seems unable to bring himself to believe it possible that "one that is called a brother" can become a man, respecting whom he must act on Paul's direction to Timothy—"from such withdraw thyself." One of the most difficult and trying of all the acts ever to be done, in the fulfilment of the Christian ministry, is, to do the duty of separation, public and solemn, from those who "subvert the faith." There is probably no profession or association of men, in which the ties of friendship and fraternity are stronger than among ministers. And thus it sometimes comes to pass, that the truth of Christ is left unvindicated in the ranks of the ministry itself, till both

the Church and the world have begun to see that the truth is under reproach and dishonour; and perhaps have felt impelled to raise the note of alarm to the sleeping watchmen.

The steps of Christian discipline with a minister for heresy, make a line of duty along which the faithful minister will pursue his way with an aching heart; with many sighs and tears; with reluctances which none can understand, who knows not "the heart" of a minister. And yet, fidelity to the truth requires, that when it is subverted by whomsoever it may be, the minister should "know no man after the flesh;" that he should be like Levi, in the day when Israel was to be purged from idolatry; and of whom it is written that he "said unto his father and to his mother, I have not seen him, neither did he acknowledge his brethren nor know his own children;" that he might "observe God's word and keep his covenant." That fraternal affection is eminently commendable, which leads to forbearance, to the utmost which can be consistent with the safety and honour of the truth; and should prompt to every reasonable and hopeful endeavour to win back a brother from the path of defection. But love to Christ demands tenderness also for the honour of Christ. Fidelity in great matters of faith forbids the ministers to balance for one moment, on the question, which shall suffer, the crucified Saviour again in the dis-honour of his gospel, or they who deny him, and despise "the Rock of our salvation?"

What are some of the relations in which ministerial fidelity to the truth stands, as now described? It would be relevant to consider this characteristic, as it relates to the Church itself; particularly as securing the intelligence of private Christians in the truths of the gospel; their soundness in the faith; their experimental religion; their progress in holiness; their religious enjoyment; their protection against the perplexities and temptations of specious and entangling errors; their ability to defend the truth in the walks of life where they find it assailed; its concern also in securing their attachment to the ministry, as God's appointment for their edification and consolation, under the various vicissitudes of the Christian pilgrimage.. It would also be appropriate to show how such fidelity to the truth stands in relation to the good of the unconverted, who sit under the

ministry of the gospel; their instruction “unto salvation;” their being shown the distinction between soul-destroying errors and soul-saving truths; and as securing their respect for the gospel as a system of truths; harmonious, consistent, commanding in its influence on the judgment and the intellect; and as that in which a faithful ministry “commends itself to every man’s conscience in the sight of God.” We pass these topics, however, with the simple mention of them, as belonging to this subject; and in order to consider fidelity to the truth as it concerns the minister himself.

The minister’s own safety against apostacy from the truth is concerned in this. Who that has entered the sacred office with the conscience of a man of common honesty even, must not recoil from the idea of betraying the truths he has professed to believe, and pledged himself to preach? While he looks upon examples of such “sins against Christ,” he perhaps says, like Peter to “the Master,” “though all men deny thee, yet will not I.” It is well. But let him live in godly jealousy of himself, and in the spirit of humble and implicit dependence on divine teaching, and divine keeping; and remember that admonition—“Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.” Names there have been enrolled in the catalogues of the Christian ministry, in our own and in other countries, of men who have professed to believe and to preach the truths of Christ; but who finally began their silent, slow, and scarce perceptible divergences from the doctrines of Christ; and after some misgivings of conscience, and perhaps “great reasonings in themselves,” have quickened their steps along the path of error, and acquired a solemn and frightful momentum, till they had gone down to the dark precincts of utter scepticism and infidelity.

How came those men to take such a course, and to run such a race to ruin? The beginnings were probably somewhat on this wise. They had never “received the love of the truth.” They never had anything more than an intellectual knowledge and persuasion of the truth. They were averse to trouble themselves to discriminate conscientiously and accurately, and for their own safety, to draw the definite and strait lines of demarcation between truth and error. They were jealous, sensitive and

afraid of the obligations of creeds and confessions of faith. They never loved to preach the holy, searching, humbling, sanctifying doctrines of “the cross of Christ.” Meanwhile they learned to look on without concern, and see Christ’s truth subtly, ingeniously, radically perverted by other and leading men, and at length denied, reproached, and the very names of its articles “cast out as evil.” They found it in their hearts to sympathize with the rejecters of the truth, and to apologize for their defections, rather than with its anxious, watchful, and faithful defenders; more even to sympathize with the enemies of truth, than with the dishonoured Saviour, who “came into the world that he might bear witness unto the truth.” What wonder then, that at length such ministers began themselves to swerve from the truth as it is in Christ Jesus; and to resign, one after another, its great articles, and become of the number of those who deny the faith, which they once professed to believe, and promised to preach; and of those who have “trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, and done despite unto the Spirit of grace.” What fearful defections from the truth were those of Priestly, Robert Robinson and Belsham, in the ranks of the British ministry; and in more recent times and in our own country, those of Chauncey, Freeman, Joseph Huntington, Sherman, Abbott, Holley, and Channing; all once professedly believers and preachers of the truths of Christ! And what names next will be added? Yes, what names might at this moment be added to the melancholy catalogue of those who “have made shipwreck of the faith?” Who, with such examples before him, and warning him as a minister, can help lifting anxiously the prayer, “Oh! keep my soul and deliver me:” “Hold thou *me* up, and I shall be safe?” That man in the office of the Christian ministry, is not to be envied for his quietness of spirit, who, with his eyes on such cases of defection from the Christian faith, feels no stirrings of godly jealousy of himself; no solicitude lest he also “fall after the same example of unbelief;” nor is constrained to set a double guard over the movements of his own mind, and the deceitfulness of his own heart, lest he also become entangled, and “led away with the error of the wicked.”

The minister's own moral character is concerned in his fidelity to the truth. The standard of morality, in ministers, not unfrequently declines with their decline from "the faith." That condition of conscience in which a minister becomes prepared to reject any of the truths of the gospel, is one in which he is likely also to undervalue its precepts, and gradually to lose even the resemblances he may have had to Christian character. Suppose, however, the common virtues of this life to continue to flourish in such a man, and that people who never discriminate carefully between these and the holiness founded on regeneration, look upon amiable and virtuous teachers of false doctrines, and call them men of Christian sanctity, and challenge us with the question, "Can there be vital and fatal error in connection with so much that is estimable in personal character?" But the great question is, "How come on in such an one the virtues of 'Christianity as a distinct religion?'" a religion, spiritual, elevated, heavenly; embracing love to the doctrines of Christ, and exhibiting likeness to Christ? We go further, and raise the question, is there nothing immoral in unbelief of divine truth? The apostle John, under divine inspiration has declared it; "He that believeth not God hath made him a liar, because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son." And by what principle in sound ethics is he a virtuous man who gives the lie to the holy Sovereign of the universe? Sober, temperate, chaste, just in his transactions with men, he may be amiable and estimable in domestic and social life; but is this all of Christian morals? Is it an act of virtue—of Christian virtue—when a man deliberately writes in his study, pronounces in his pulpit, and, perhaps, sends forth to the world on the printed page, in words deliberately chosen, and in rhetoric finished, things touching revealed truth and truth's holy God, which, on the minds of serious Christians and lovers of sound Scripture doctrine, make the impressions of ungodly irony, or solemn, sacerdotal blasphemy? As, on the one hand, there are no men on earth under more advantageous circumstances than ministers, to "grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," so on the other hand, if they do not in their hearts love the truth; if they are disposed to employ their talents and learning in perverting the

gospel, and disrobing its divine Author of the glories of his person and character, then none can outstrip ministers in the mighty and frightful strides they are capable of making along the path of error; nor can any surpass them in the bitterness of their contempt of “the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.” What must be the scene presented to the eyes of witnessing angels, jealous for the glory of that “name which is above every name,” when, hovering over a sanctuary dedicated to the worship of the “Three who bear record in heaven,” and around a pulpit consecrated to the dispensation of the “unsearchable riches of Christ,” they witness prayers which recognize no Intercessor for man before the throne in heaven; and the preaching of doctrines which subvert “the faith of Jesus;” deny to the Son of God his glory, and crucify afresh, Him who bled and died on Calvary for our sins?

Let the certainty, then, be deeply impressed upon every mind, that the holiness—yea, the morality of the ministry—depends upon the fidelity of the ministry to “the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.” That state of conscience, in which the doctrines of the Lord Jesus Christ are held from love to him and to his word, is that in which the practices of the life, the virtues of the Christian character, will thrive, and make the minister to “shine as a light in the world, holding forth the word of life.”

The minister’s peace of conscience in the approach of the close of life, and in prospect of standing with his people “before the judgment-seat of Christ,” is concerned in his fidelity to the truth, as already described. A delightful frame of spirit was that of Paul, when, arrived near the close of life, looking back on his ministry for the Lord Jesus, reviewing all he had taught, “publicly and from house to house,” and all he had written to the churches, and had maintained in his conflicts with the enemies of the truth, he deliberately and solemnly declared, and under divine inspiration records it, for coming generations to the end of time—“I HAVE KEPT THE FAITH.” Like to this, though in humbler degree, is the joy of every minister, who, receiving, believing, loving the truth, and preaching it, defending it, watching for its honour, and weeping for its reproach, lives in the feeling of Martyn, when he said, “*I cannot endure existence if Christ Jesus is not honoured.*” Differ-

ent from this is the scene when a minister is “at the point to die,” in whom the truth of Christ has had a preacher in profession only; a timid and inefficient defender: or, worse than this, a secret enemy, betraying one fortress of the truth after another; and at last, having become an open assailant, joining, helping, cheering, perhaps leading on the ranks of those who insultingly say, “raze it, raze it, even to the foundations thereof.” The condition of mind of such a minister, in the day of death, may be that of portentous calmness, such as sometimes attends upon “strong delusion” and the “belief of a lie.” Or, it may be that state of gloomy reserve, in which the man, like the false prophet of Ahab, “goes into an inner chamber to hide himself;” a reserve in which the man’s soul is, of choice, curtained in and shut up, so that its gloomy workings, under the rebukes of a violated and incensed conscience, may not get disclosure. Or, he comes into that condition of anguish, and horror of conscience, and “fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation,” which unnerves the soul, and fills his dying hour with foretastes of the bitterness of an undone eternity.

It is a delightful scene, when a minister who has been faithful to the truth comes to the day and the hour when, and the place where—his last service and conflict, as a soldier of Immanuel, “for the truth’s sake,” being rendered—he is permitted to put off his armour and anticipate his speedy reception of the “crown of life.” On the other hand the scene is *awful*, when a minister who has been unfaithful to the truth of Christ, has filled up his measure of guilt, done his last act of treachery to the faith, and is about to die and go to the judgment-seat of the injured Saviour. Do angels witness gloomier and more fearful death-scenes in our world than those of unfaithful ministers? Time, talents, attainments, influence, pens, pulpits, all devoted to the devisings of men “loving not the truth;” hating, despising, perverting, and exposing to contempt, the doctrines of “the cross;” rejecting the Son of God; misleading souls for which they had promised and bound themselves to watch. Respecting a minister who has spent his life thus, that is a most fitting utterance by the divine Saviour, “good had it been for that man if he had never been born.”

One other scene, and one only, can surpass this. It is that where both the faithful and the unfaithful minister will stand before the “great white throne,” and under the eye of “Him who sitteth thereon.” Paul will stand there, and so will every minister who has lived faithful to the truth on the earth. Who can describe the joy which will fill the heart of the minister, who on the side of the grave shall have been able to declare it, and before the throne of judgment to repeat it, “*I have kept the faith?*” Standing even at God’s awful throne, prepared to give account of a ministry, which, though imperfect, yet is sprinkled with trusted blood of atonement; a ministry in which he has loved, believed, taught, defended, and honoured “the faith which is in Christ Jesus;” what holy joy will be that of such a minister! what rapture his, when from the lips of “Him who sitteth upon the throne,” it shall be said to him, “Well done, good and faithful servant,” “enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!” On the other hand, behold the lot of the minister who has lived unfaithful to the truth, trembling under the glance of Him “whose eyes are as a flame of fire,” and surrounded with a crowd of beings, whom on earth, and in the days of grace he led blindfold to destruction, and against whom with “the key of knowledge in his hand,” “he had shut up the kingdom of heaven:” who will be able to look on such a minister but with horror? It was cruelty enough in him to have destroyed his own soul. But to have spent life in working out the ruin of others, from hatred to the truth: to have industriously laboured that he might not “perish alone in his iniquity;” to have come to “the judgment-seat of Christ,” having to give account for the souls whom he deceived while he lived, and for others who, by his posthumous influence were led astray from God and the truth, long after he had gone out of life: to witness their anguish and horror of spirit, and their imprecations on him for his treachery to their souls: and to contemplate the eternity of an unfaithful minister, under “the indignation of the Almighty:” Oh! if there could be weeping on that day “among the angels of God,” and among the saints on the right hand of the Judge, would it not be over the final doom of that minister who has been unfaithful to the truth of Christ?

ART. III.—*Sketches of the Pulpit, in Ancient and in Modern Times.*

IT admits of little question that preaching took its rise from the public reading of the Scriptures. No one needs to be informed how regularly this formed a part of the synagogue service. The case of our Lord's expositions in this way is too familiar to bear recital. The apostles, and Paul in particular, seem to have followed the same method. Indeed, this may be taken as the rule, while free utterances, like that at Mars' Hill, are considered as the exceptions. Little has come down to us, in regard to the precise form taken by the discourses of Christian teachers in the early and less rhetorical period. The celebrated passage of Justin Martyr points towards the familiar harangue or exhortation, rather than the elaborate comment on Scripture. This we apprehend arose in part from the fact—now very much neglected, though significant—that inculcation of doctrine was carried on chiefly in the classes of catechumens, while the public assembly was more employed for lively addresses to the Christian people. Justin expressly declares that the writings of the prophets and apostles were read to the assembly. The Apostolical Constitutions doubtless report a well-known usage, when they say that the congregation reverently stood, while the reading took place; of which some churches retain a vestige, in the custom of rising, when the little fragment by synecdoche, called the *Gospel*, is recited. Liberty was given to the aged and infirm to remain seated. In our times, when people refuse to stand even in prayer, such a usage would prove burdensome in the extreme.

There is good reason to believe, that the portions of Scripture for public reading were at first left to the free choice of the presiding minister. After a while, when festivals and fasts became numerous, ingenuity was exercised to affix certain passages to the subject of commemoration. From this it was an easy step to a programme of regular lessons, for all Sundays and great days. But these were far from being uniform or immutable. Thus we find that the Churches in Syria read at Pen-

tecost from the Acts of the Apostles, while those of Spain and Gaul read the Revelation. In Syria they read Genesis in Lent, but at Milan, Job and Jonah. In Northern Africa the history of our Lord's passion was appropriately read on Good Friday; at Easter, the account of the resurrection; in both cases from Matthew. When we come down to the days of Augustine, we find the lessons somewhat fixed; and it would be easy to make numerous citations from his works to this point. Antiquaries refer the first collection of lessons, called Lectionaries, in Gaul, to about the middle of the fifth century; the oldest known being the celebrated *Lectionarium Gallicanum*. In the eighth century it was still necessary for the imperial authority of Charlemagne to enforce uniformity in the portions read.

When matters had gradually assumed their rubrical settlement, the Church customs became fixed. The reading was by a reader, or lector, who stood in the elevation known as the *ambo*. He began with the words, "Peace unto you," to which there was a response by the people, such as is familiar to us in modern service-books. The gospels had the precedence, as they still have in the Missal, and were frequently read by the deacon. This we suppose to have been a very ancient custom, and one which might well have a place in modern liturgies, where the voice of the minister is often overtasked, in oppressive seasons and times of ill-health. The sermon was pronounced sometimes from the bishop's cathedra, before bishops had ceased to preach, or from the steps of the altar, when this had taken the place of the communion table; in some instances, however, from the *ambo*, which reveals a connection of the discourse with the lesson of Scripture.

In attempting to gather some notices of early preaching, we have to grope amidst darkness, most of our authorities belonging to a corrupt and ritualistic period. The preacher began with the *Pax omnibus*, to which the audience responded. We find Augustine asking them sometimes to help him with their prayers. "The lesson out of the Apostles," he says, in one place, "is dark and difficult;" and he craves their intercession. And elsewhere: *Quemadmodum nos, ut ista percipiatis, oramus, sic et vos orate, ut ea vobis explicare valeamus.* The preacher sat, while the people stood; as no seats were fur-

nished for the worshippers. Augustine speaks of this, in apologizing for a sermon longer than usual, and contrasts his easy posture with theirs.

Every one must be persuaded that early preaching was without the use of manuscript. It was in regard to expression extemporaneous. Here we might again quote Justin. Socrates tells us indeed, concerning Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople, that he committed to memory at home such things as he was about to deliver in the church; but afterwards, he says that he spoke from the impulse of the moment. Sidonius, addressing himself to Faustus Rejensis, writes thus: “*Prædicationes tuas nunc repentinus, nunc cum ratio præscripsit elucubratus, raucus ploros audivi.*” The allusion is to the audible applause given to popular orators. Pamphilus relates of Origen, that the discourses which he delivered almost daily in church were *extempore*, and that they were taken down by reporters, and so preserved for posterity. We find Chrysostom changing his subject, in consequence of tumults in the street on his way to the public assembly. His discourses as now extant contain many observations which plainly arose from the circumstances in which he stood during the delivery; such as the clapping of hands, the shouts heard from the neighbouring hippodrome, and the entrance of attendants to light the lamps. In one instance we find Augustine suddenly taking up a passage which the lector, who it seems was a boy, had read by mistake, instead of the one which the preacher had premeditated. The whole air of his *Sermones* is that of the extemporaneous preacher. Again and again he descants on the psalm which has just been sung. He throws in such remarks as this: “ You see, beloved, that my sermon to-day differs from what is usual; I have not time for all,” etc. And we may here observe that the four hundred sermons of this father afford the richest treasure for any one who wishes to study the peculiarities of Ancient Latin preaching. Gregory the Great says in one place: “ I understand some hard passages now, *coram fratribus*, which I could not master *solus*.” “ In the earliest times,” says Thiersch, “ it is certain the free outpouring more prevailed, the nearer we get to primitive simplicity, and the liberal manifestation of the *charismata*.” According to Guericke, the reading of sermons

occurred only as exceptional. For example, Gregory says in one of his Homilies on the Evangelists: "It has been my wont to dictate many things for you; but since my chest is too weak for me to read what I have dictated, I perceive some of you are hearing with less pleasure. Hence, varying from my usual practice. . . . I now discourse *non dictando, sed colloquendo.*" It should seem, perhaps from the same infirmity, that he sometimes wrote sermons which were read to the people by the Lector.

If any should inquire how we come to have so many extant sermons of the Christian fathers, the reply must be, that they were taken down by reporters; the revision and emendation of the author being added in some instances, then as now. Great preachers in every age have been accustomed also to write out at their leisure, the discourses which they had delivered extempore. It would be a great historical error to suppose that short-hand reporting was unknown to the ancients. There were many causes which operated to bring it into general use. The enthusiastic admiration of eloquence, which prevailed among the Greeks and Romans, furnished a motive for seeking to preserve what had electrified the populace. The extraordinary amount of manuscript, in ages before the invention of printing, led to a facility in the penman's art, which we probably undervalue. The use of uncial or separate characters, in place of a cursive or running-hand, in rapid writing, would naturally prompt, first to such ligatures and contractions as we observe in many manuscripts, and then to still greater abridgments, condensations, and symbols, by means of which a whole word or even a whole sentence was denoted by a single mark. Specimens of these, from ancient remains, may be seen appended to some editions of Cicero. But as to the details of the methods, we are altogether uninformed. The results show that full reporting was as much relied upon by them as by us. Those orations of Greek and Roman orators, which were produced on the spot, were thus taken down; and as soon as Christian eloquence began to be regarded from its worldly and literary side, the same mode was applied. Eusebius assures us that the discourses of Origen were thus written by stenographers. Reference has already been made to the case

of Gregory the Great. Almost all the sermons of Augustine which remain to us, are due to this method. Many, doubtless, received their fitness for this work from acting as amanuenses. Thus, Augustine writes feelingly of the death of a boy who was his notary.* In the Ecclesiastical Acts, concerning the designation of Eraclius as his successor, we find Augustine thus addressing the assembly: “*A notariis ecclesiæ, sicut cernitis, excipiuntur quæ dicimus, excipiuntur quæ dicitis; et meus sermo, et vestræ acclamationes in terram non cadunt.*”† But the authorities on this head are innumerable; indeed, some of our most valuable patristical treasures were thus preserved. Modern times and our own days have seen the same means employed. The expositions of Calvin on the Old Testament are from reports of this sort, which contain the very prayers which he offered. The Commentary on the Ephesians, by McGhee, one of the most admirable evangelical works of the age, was delivered by the author at a little weekly lecture in Ireland, and reported in stenography. Some of the greatest sermons of Robert Hall were never written till after the delivery; and some of these were “extended” from the notes of Wilson, Grinfield, and Green. But we need look no further than to the orations of Webster, Clay, Russell, Palmerston, Cobden, Thiers, and Montalembert, to escape all doubts as to the practicability of what has been supposed.

With the secular advancement of Christianity, the augmentation of assemblies, and the accession of learned men and orators, the simple and ardent addresses of apostolic times gave place to all the forms of Grecian rhetoric. The house of worship, no longer a cavern or an upper chamber, became a theatre for display. This is apparent more among the Greeks than the Latins, and was not inconsistent with much ardour of piety and edification of the faithful; yet the change was very marked, and in the same proportion we observe the art of homiletics assuming a regular shape. It is impossible to condemn what we here discern, without at the same time censuring the pulpit of our own day in the most refined portions of Christendom; but we are not sure that a universal advancement in the

* Ep. clviii.

† Ep. cxxiii.

spiritual life of the Church would not instantly put to flight many adventitious glories of the sermon, and restore a more natural and impassioned species of sacred oratory. The ancient preacher was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause, clapping of hands, and acclamations of assent. Chrysostom says:—“We need not your applause or tumultuous approbation,” and asks for silence. These tokens of admiration are to be compared, not with the devout exclamations of the Methodists, in their more illiterate assemblies, but with the cheers of our anniversary meetings, if not with the turbulent praise of the House of Commons. The great preacher last named, found it necessary, therefore, to remind the Christians of Antioch that they were not in the theatre. Yet such signs of sympathy in the people, when moderate and decorous, were expected and approved. For example, Augustine thus closes a sermon: “*Audistis, laudastis; Deo gratias.*”

In early times, public preaching was by no means confined to the Lord’s day; and its frequency indicates a great interest in divine things on the part of the public. It is necessary only to look through a number of consecutive sermons of Augustine, particularly at the beginning and end of each, to learn that he was accustomed to preach very often, and during sacred seasons for several days in succession, and at times more than once in the same day. Seasons of extraordinary religious emotion are always signalized by this avidity for the word. So it was at the Reformation; Luther preached almost daily at Wittenberg, and Calvin at Geneva, as did Knox and Welsh in Scotland. And so it will be again when religion is greatly revived in our own land.

As a matter of course, the great body of ancient sermons has passed into oblivion; but enough remains to give us a very complete notion of the way in which the fathers treated divine subjects before the people. Of the Greeks, we possess discourses of Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Basil, the Gregories of Nyssa and Nazianzum, Cyril, Macarius, Amphilochius and Chrysostom. In all these the traces of Gentile rhetoric are visible. Of the Latins, none are so remarkable as Ambrose, Augustine, and Leo the Great. To gain some fair conception of the manner adopted, it would

be well for every student acquainted with the ancient languages, to peruse a few discourses of Basil, Chrysostom, and Augustine. He will discover amidst all the elegance of the golden-tongued Greek, an admirable simplicity in the exposition of Scripture in regular course, as for example, in the numerous sermons on the Romans; and a fidelity of direct reproof, worthy of imitation in all ages. What are called the *Sermones* of Augustine are not only shorter—perhaps from abridgment by the notary—but in every respect more scattering, planless, and extemporaneous, but at the same time full of genius, full of eloquence, full of piety, all clothed in a latinity, which, though not Augustan, and sometimes even provincial and Punic, carries with it a glow and a stateliness of march, which oftener reminds us of the Roman orator than the elaborate exactness of Lactantius, the “Christian Cicero.” If, sometimes he indulges in a solecism, for the sake of the *plebs Christiana* of Carthage, it is not unconsciously; and we seem to see him smile when he says in apology, “Dum omnes instruantur, grammatici non timeantur.” He even begs pardon for the form *fenerat*; though this is used by Martial and occurs continually in the Digests. And of a blessed neologism he thus speaks: “Christ Jesus, that is *Christus SALVATOR*. For this is the Latin of JESUS. The grammarians need not inquire how Latin it is, but the Christians how true. For *salus* is a Latin noun. *Salvare* and *salvator*, indeed, were not Latin, before the Saviour (*Salvator*) came; when he came to the Latins he made this word Latin.”* But we check our hand, on a subject, which from its tempting copiousness, is better fitted for a monograph. On this period of patristical eloquence much remains to be written. There are good things in Fénélon, Maury, Gisbert, Theremin, and above all in Villemain; but we have reason to long for a work of research and taste, which shall present the modern and English reader with adequate specimens and a complete history and criticism of the great pulpit orators of the Greek and Latin Churches.

Pursuing our ramble among old Churches, we leap without further apology into the middle age, in order to say that in this period, about which there is so much dispute and so little knowledge, preaching could not but suffer a great decadence,

* Serm. ccxcix.

when sound letters and taste fell as low as religion. When every other description of oratory became corrupt, it is not to be expected that sacred eloquence should abide in strength. Among the Greeks, it sank under the influence of superstition, frigid rhetoric, tinsel, and bombast. In the Latin Church, plagiarists and abridgers took the place of genuine preachers. The method of postilling came in; that is, of uttering a short and jejune discourse after the lesson; *post illa* (sc. *verba Domini*) hence the name *postill*. The diction and style of Latin preaching decayed with the general language. Preaching in the vernacular was not unknown in the West, but grew less and less impressive. At times of great popular excitement, when crowds were flocking after crusading captains, or trembling before the invading Turk, there were vehemently passionate harangues, and we have instances of street and field-preaching. What great revivals are with us, were those simultaneous awakenings of religious emotion which sometimes stirred the entire population of large districts. These engendered a sort of eloquence which in degree was high enough, but of which few records appear in our books of history. Among the most extraordinary actors in these moving dramas were the *Flagellantes*, *Geisseler*, or Whippers, of the fourteenth century. We find an account of the entrance of these penitentiary fanatics into Strasburg, in the year 1349. The universal panic in expectation of invasion, and even of the judgment-day, prepared the people for singular impressions. About two hundred entered the city, in solemn procession, singing those ghastly hymns which were chief instruments of their work. Their flaunting banners were of the costliest silk and satin. They carried lighted tapers, and all the bells of the country sounded at their approach. Their mantles and cowls bore red crosses, and as they chanted together, they would sometimes kneel and sometimes prostrate themselves. Multitudes joined themselves to their number, for purposes of penance, and subjected themselves to the fearful lacerations of self-flagellation, from which the order took its name. The discourses delivered by these sombre itinerants were in every way fitted to harrow up the consciences, and beget the religious fears in which middle-age popery had delighted.

Every reader of Church history is familiar with the preaching friars, as they were called. The same enthusiasm, and the same successes, attended their progress from land to land. That branch of the Franciscan Minorites, called the Capuchins, is well known, even in our day, to every traveller in Europe. The bare head, filthy robe, and tangled beard, occur in many a picture. The cant of these holy beggars has received the distinctive title of *capucinade*, a vulgar but impressive sort of preaching, which was found very serviceable to the Church of Rome. In the *Lager* of Wallenstein, the most comic and at the same time the most Shakspearian of Schiller's production, the camp-sermon of the Capuchin is one of the most felicitous parts. It was, evidently, in the mind of Scott, when he depicted, in exaggerated burlesque, the fanatic preacher of the Covenant in Old Mortality. As to preaching before the Reformation, it needs scarcely be repeated here, that as a part of regular religious worship in churches, it had fallen very much into desuetude. The great preachers of Popery were raised up as the result of a re-action against Protestant reform.

The modern pulpit really dates from the Reformation. With few exceptions the Reformers were mighty preachers, and some of them wielded an influence in this way which far surpassed all their efforts with the pen, and was felt over half Europe. In the British isles the power of the Word was particularly felt. Cranmer, Latimer, and Jewell, in their several varieties of eloquence, awakened an interest in the new doctrines which nothing was able to allay. The fearless tongue of John Knox, even against princes, has been noted as fully by foes as friends. In the recorded specimens of his sermons, if we translate them out of the atrocious Scotch spelling, and the fetters of the uncouthest dialect ever pronounced, there are apparent both power and elegance. From that day to this, the Presbyterians of Scotland have been, above all people, lovers of the preached Word.

Some of the more prominent characteristics of the Scottish pulpit are familiarly known. It was at once expository, doctrinal, methodical, and impassioned. For ages it was without book, as it still is in a great degree; for the country parishes retain all their ancient contempt for the "paper-minister;"

notwithstanding the eloquent examples of reading by such men as Chalmers, Irving, Candlish, and Hamilton. The citation of Scripture passages, and the custom of "turning up" the same in the little Bible of the hearer, have given a peculiarly textual character to Scottish sermons. The great stress laid upon strong and tender emotion at the Lord's table, the meeting of several ministers and multitudes of people on sacramental occasions, and the continuance of these services during several days, have contributed to an unction and pathos which have been extended to our own churches, among the purer settlements of strict Presbyterians. The power of the pulpit has, therefore, been nowhere more manifest. No public authority has ever availed to silence this mode of popular agitation and rebuke.

In the sermons of the Scottish Church two very unlike tendencies are clearly distinguishable; one is the fondness for scholastic method and minute subdivision, derived from the dialectical turn of the people, and the familiarity of the preachers with the severe manuals of Calvinistic theology; the other is the disposition to give outlet to high religious feeling. In some portions of the Kirk both have been active throughout the entire period; there have been manifest the acumen and ratiocinative precision, as well as what Buchanan calls the *ingenium perfervidum Scotorum*. This has been diversified by the constant practice of lecturing in the forenoon service, which has maintained expository preaching for three hundred years, and done much to mould the religious temper of the nation. There was indeed a period in the eighteenth century, when the chill of Moderatism fell upon public discourses, in a part of the Church, producing the tame literary elegance of Robertson and Blair. But the same age produced the Erskines of the Secession, in one school of homiletics, and Walker and Witherspoon in another. The Ecclesiastical Characteristics and the Corporation of Servants, did much to stigmatize the unfaithfulness of the frigid preachers, and even to open the way for those triumphs of principle which have since resulted in the strength and fervour of the Free Church. It would carry us beyond all due limits to enlarge on the new modes of pulpit discourse which have owed their origin to the brilliant but some-

times misleading example of Chalmers and his imitators. This great preacher, admirable as he appears in his printed works, can never be fully comprehended by those who never heard him. The cool reader has time to pause over solecisms of language and excesses of amplification, which were put utterly beyond the hearer's sense by the thunder of his delivery. When Dr. John M. Mason, on his return from Scotland, was asked wherein lay Chalmers's great strength, he replied, "It is his blood-earnestness."

The free course of our remarks has led us somewhat further than we intended, and we must go back to gather up a few observations respecting the English pulpit, more, however, in the way of desultory observation than of historical detail. From the very beginning of Reformation times, the pulpit has been a potent engine of popular impression in England. Indeed, we suppose that at no time has preaching been more powerful in its influence on the people, than before the rise of those corruptions which rent the Anglican Church, and drew off some of its greatest minds to the side of Puritanism. When this rupture took place, it is just to say, that in many of the greatest qualities of preaching, the true succession was in the line of non-conformity. But it is impossible to ignore the fact, that in some important attributes, the Anglican pulpit is the greatest of which the press has given any record. As the movement-party was characterized by great warmth, extemporeaneous flow, and assault on the religious passions, it became at once a necessity and a fashion for churchmen to cultivate a species of discourse which was more learned, more accurate, and more sedate. We do not mean to admit the force of the vulgar taunt, that the Puritans, as a body, were deficient in learning. The first generations of Dissenters numbered among them some of the most profound scholars in the Christian world. Yet, as the lines diverged, and the Nonconformists were excluded from the great seats of learning and all the emoluments of the Church, the difference in this particular became more marked; and, notwithstanding some brilliant exceptions, it must be acknowledged, that in point of erudition and elegant letters, the dissenting ministers of England, as a body, are inferior to the established clergy. The latter, indeed, vaunted

of this difference much beyond any substantial ground, and sometimes made the pulpit a place for dogmatic discussion and patristic lore, to a degree which was unseasonable and offensive. In its more favourable manifestations, the learning of the Anglican Church has been nobly brought out in defence of the truth; especially against the freethinkers, the Unitarians and the Papists. A body of divinity might be compiled solely from the sermons of great English divines; a library might be filled with the elaborate dissertations which they have preached.

No one could reasonably expect us, in an article of such limits and character as this, to recite the splendid roll of English preachers; but there are a few whom we would earnestly commend to the notice of every theological student. Omitting entirely the great names which occur in an earlier period, it is important to mention the four bright luminaries, Barrow, Taylor, South, and Tillotson, each so unrivalled in his way, and all so unlike. Barrow was an extraordinary man, as a traveller, a philologist, a mathematician, and a divine. He read Chrysostom at Constantinople before he was made Greek professor at Cambridge. He was predecessor of Sir Isaac Newton in the mathematical chair. Both pursuits tended to make him the eloquent reasoner. It was the age of long periodic sentences, such as appal modern lungs, and Barrow knew how to give a sonorous swell and climacteric advance to his Demosthenic passages. Many is the period in his pages, which for matter might fit out the whole fifteen minutes' sermon of a dapper Oxonian of our times. He abounds in high argument, which is more inflamed by passion than coloured by decoration. His noblest passages leave us thrilling with his passion, rather than captivated by his imagination. He is sometimes too abundant, and sometimes unwieldy; but not dull, not weak, not quaint. A ponderous earnestness and a various wealth strike you in every page. With Barrow, multitude of words is never verbosity, and length of discussion is never diffuseness; it is massive strength without brevity. Hence, we do not wonder that the great Chatham should have taken him as a model, reading over some of his sermons as much as twenty times. "In his sermons," says Mr. Granger, "he knew not how to leave off writing, till he had exhausted his subject; and his ad-

mirable discourse on the duty and reward of bounty to the poor took him up three hours and a half in preaching." His bust in Westminster Abbey will be fresh in the recollection of all clerical travellers.

How abrupt is the transition to the "Shakspeare of the pulpit!" Bishop Taylor, in his own manner, has had a few imitators, but never a competitor. If we except the great dramatist, no man can be named in any department of literature, who stands more clearly alone. Never were there sermons, we suppose, which purely for intellectual pleasure have been read with such satisfaction. In everything but the outward guise, they are often the highest poetry. Imagination has no flights more lofty and adventurous, than many which have been quoted again and again. He soars in a grand similitude, with a boldness of preparation and a sustaining power of wing, and then descends to the earth with a graceful undulation and gentle subsidence, which are absolutely without a parallel. The voluptuous melody of the rythm gives a charm to his diction. Interwoven with these brilliant strands of fancy, there is often a subtle thread of argumentation which wins your assent before you are aware; often, unfortunately, to worse than semi-pelagian laxity; for Taylor was very remote from the orthodoxy of his day. Along with all this, there is poured out upon us a profusion of learning as from a golden horn of plenty. No preacher of our day would venture to quote as much Greek, during his whole life, as Jeremy Taylor sometimes brings out in a single sermon. But the reminiscences and allusions of classic learning spin from him spontaneously in every paragraph. While his invective is sometimes of a scalding heat, he is often tender and pathetic; and there is a scholarly negligence in the style which charms while it baffles all attempts at imitation. It must now be admitted that with all these claims to our wonder, Taylor seldom makes prominent the peculiarly gracious doctrines of the evangelical system. There is a saintly calm about his ethics, which reminds us of the purer class of Romish preachers, but the ascetic directions and the exaltation of human merit belong to the blemishes of the same school. The amplitude of his comparisons, sometimes conducted with a sameness of display which runs into mannerism, did not escape

the censure even of his contemporaries, and was plainly struck at by the following sentences of the austere and caustic South: “Nothing here [namely in Paul’s preaching] of the ‘fringes of the north-star;’ nothing of ‘Nature’s becoming unnatural;’ nothing of the ‘down of angel’s wings,’ or the ‘beautiful locks of cherubims:’ no starched similitudes, introduced with a ‘*Thus have I* seen a cloud rolling in its airy mansion, and the like.’”*

But a single perusal of any one of those beautiful passages, of which the above is so clever, and so cruel a travesty, will instantly obliterate the criticism from the mind of any tasteful reader. Though it would end in ludicrous disaster for any one now to try to preach like Jeremy Taylor, we are persuaded that the study of his works would be an excellent regimen for young clergymen, especially for such as labour under the diseases of coldness and lethargy. It would at least stimulate them to warmer effusions, and would show them that logic and immensely fertile learning are compatible with a flow of elegance and an exuberant illustration, such as we commonly seek only in verse.

We speak of the “witty South,” as familiarly as of the “judicious Hooker,” and with less fear of any exception. But we despise the man, while we admire the genius. South was a veritable Vicar of Bray, trimming his sails to every gust of

* Compare the famous passage from Taylor: “For so have I seen a lark rising from his bed of grass, and soaring upwards, singing as he rises, and hopes to get to heaven, and climb above the clouds; but the poor bird was beaten back with the loud sighings of an eastern wind, and his motion made irregular and inconstant, descending more at every breath of the tempest, than it could recover by the libration and frequent weighing of his wings; till the little creature was forced to sit down and pant, and stay till the storm was over; and then it made a prosperous flight, and did rise and sing, as if it had learned music and motion from an angel, as he passed sometimes through the air, about his ministeries here below: so is the prayer of a good man; when his affairs have required business, and his business was matter of discipline, and his discipline was to pass upon a sinning person, or had a design of charity, his duty met with infirmities of a man, and anger was its instrument, and the instrument became stronger than the prime agent, and raised a tempest, and overruled the man; and then his prayer was broken, and his thoughts were troubled, and his words went up towards a cloud, and his thoughts pulled them back again, and made them without intention; and the good man sighs for his infirmity, but must be content to lose the prayer, and he must recover it when his anger is removed, and his spirit is becalmed, made even as the brow of Jesus, and smooth like the heart of God; and then it ascends to heaven upon the wings of the holy dove, and dwells with God, till it returns, like the useful bee, loaded with a blessing and the dew of heaven.”

popular or royal favour. It is amusing to find this scourge of dissent beginning his career at Oxford, with a paper of Latin verse in eulogy of Cromwell. He afterwards had rich livings and stalls and high diplomatic places. When it was no longer profitable to truckle to the Stuarts, he took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary.

We are now fairly beyond the region of fancy, pathos, or eloquence, in its ordinary sense. South is clear, strong, saturnine, and truculent. He is a cogent reasoner, always observing an exact method, and establishing his point by the most effective reasoning. He seldom quotes, never displays his reading, and always advances with directness, brevity, and a sort of bull-dog fierceness to his purposed end. Where his terrible prejudices do not come into play, he commands our highest respect, as in some of his masterly arguments for divine predestination; but in other places he bends his tremendous powers against the other doctrines of grace. It would be difficult to find in any language such insufferable rebukes of worldly indulgence, as in certain sermons of South. But his dark and bitter sarcasm is chiefly expended on the Puritans; and he leaves any subject to deal a blow at these enemies, when no longer in power. It is difficult to speak of his style without danger of exaggeration. It combines some of the highest excellencies of human language. Being always sourly in earnest, he never makes ornament or elegance an object of study, though he often attains them. Rotundity and periodicity in sentences are not sought. But he is perpetually clear, energetic, vivacious, and memorable. He strikes us as far before his age in English writing, as having by the prerogative of genius seized upon the imperishable part of the language, and as having attained the excellencies of such prose as that of Pope and Warburton. The antithetic character prevails throughout, and this always ensures brevity, and gives opportunity for that tremendous sting which makes the end of many a paragraph like the tail of a scorpion. This venom is for the most part distilled on the Non-conformists. A few quotations will not only exemplify his manner, but illustrate the homiletics of that day, by showing what were the charges brought against the Puritan pulpit. Speaking of falsehood, he says: "But to pass from that to fanatic treachery,

that is, from one twin to the other: how came such multitudes of our own nation, at the beginning of that monstrous rebellion, to be spunged of their plate and money, their rings and jewels, for the carrying on of the schismatical, dissenting, king-killing cause? Why, next to their own love of being cheated, it was the public, or rather prostitute faith of a company of faithless miscreants that drew them in and deceived them. And how came so many thousands to fight and die in the same rebellion? Why, they were deceived into it by those spiritual trumpeters who followed them with continual alarms of damnation, if they did not venture life, fortune, and all, in that which wickedly and devilishly those impostors called the *cause of God.*" In his two sermons "against long extemporary prayer," he thus distils his gall: "Two whole hours for one prayer, at a fast, used to be reckoned but a moderate dose; and that for the most part fraught with such irreverent, blasphemous expressions, that to repeat them would profane the place I am speaking in; and indeed they seldom 'carried on the work of such a day,' as their phrase was, but they left the church in need of a new consecration. Add to this, the incoherence and confusion, the endless repetitions, and the insufferable nonsense that never failed to hold out, even with their utmost prolixity; so that in all their long fasts, from first to last, from seven in the morning to seven in the evening, which was their measure, the pulpit was ever the emptiest thing in the church; and I never knew such a fast kept by them, but their hearers had cause to begin a thanksgiving as soon as they were done." "The consciences of men," he says again, "have been filled with wind and noise, empty notions and pulpit-tattle. So that amongst the most seraphical *illuminati*, and the highest Puritan perfectionists, you shall find people of fifty, three-score and four-score years old, not able to give that account of their faith, which you might have had heretofore of a boy of nine or ten. Thus far had the pulpit (by accident) disordered the church, and the desk must restore it. For you know the main business of the pulpit, in the late times, was to please and pamper a proud, sensless humour, or rather a kind of spiritual itch, which had then seized the greatest part of the nation, and worked chiefly about their ears; and none were so overrun

with it, as the holy sisterhood, the daughters of Zion, and the matrons of the New Jerusalem, as they called themscelves. These brought with them ignorance and itching ears in abundance; and Holderforth equalled them in one, and gratified them in the other. So that whatsoever the doctrine was, the application still ran on the surest side; for to give those doctrine and use-men, those pulpit-engineers, their due, they understood how to plant their batteries, and to make their attacks perfectly well; and knew that by pleasing the wife, they should not fail to preach the husband in their pocket." Our own day might learn a lesson from the fling at the prophetic preachers, who interpreted Scripture, "as if, forsooth, there could not be so much as a few houses fired, a few ships taken, or any other calamity befall this little corner of the world, but that some apocalyptic ignoramus or other must presently find and pick it out of some abused martyred prophecy of Ezekiel, Daniel, or the Revelation." It was South, who, in a sermon, said of Milton, "as the Latin advocate, who, *like a blind adder*, has spit so much poison upon the king's person;" and who says of the opposition to liturgies: "I question not, but that fanatic fury was then at that height, that they would have even laughed at Christ himself in his devotions, *had he but used his own prayer.*" But one grows weary of malice, however, epigrammatic. When the same edge is turned against prevailing sins, especially among courtiers, it does great execution. We would send no man to South, for gentle, persuasive, melting, spiritual instruction; but the scholar may gain from him many lessons of dialectic force, of directness and pungency, of earnest, indignant invective, and of pithy, apothegmatic declamation. The vice of his method is indicated by one of his own sayings: "That is not wit, which comporteth not with wisdom."

It is refreshing to turn from such a malignant, to the sweet and gentle Tillotson. The good archbishop's father was a Yorkshire clothier, a stern Calvinist; perhaps this may account for the son's mildness towards dissent. But in Kneller's great portrait at Lambeth, we discern the unmistakable lineaments of holy peace, joined with everything that a wise churchman might wish in the personal presence of a primate. In this,

though for other reasons we might compare the picture with that of Bossuet, which ennobles the gallery of his native Dijon. Burnet testifies of Tillotson, after long acquaintance, that "he had a clear head, with a most tender and compassionate heart; he was a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and soon conquered enemy; his notions of morality were fine and sublime, his thread of reasoning was easy, clear, and solid; he was not only the best preacher of the age, but seemed to have brought preaching to perfection; his sermons were so well liked, that all the nation proposed him as a pattern, and studied to copy after him." Such was the judgment of contemporaries. After his death, there was found a bundle of bitter libels, which had been published against him, preserved and endorsed with his own hand as follows: "I forgive the authors of these books, and pray God that he may also forgive them." When the Huguenot Refugees sought the prayers of the Church, Beveridge, with genuine Episcopalian etiquette, scrupled to read a brief to this effect, in Canterbury Cathedral, because it was against some rubric. "Doctor, doctor," replied the wiser, greater Tillotson, "Charity is above rubrics." We are not to suppose, however, because the archbishop was good and gentle, that he was either feeble in argument or tame in controversy. Against both infidels and papists, his sermons afford some of the most powerful apologetic treatises which have ever been composed. His argument on Transubstantiation would singly be sufficient to make the fortune of a common disputant. Vulgar minds so commonly think that what is very clear must be very shallow, that reasoners of great simplicity and perspicuity are in danger of losing credit; and such we believe has been the case with Tillotson, in our day. He was so little offensive to Dissenters, being indeed the friend of John Howe, that his works would have been widely read and long preserved in our churches, if the stature of his theology had not fallen far below the mark which Evangelical Calvinism fixes as a standard. But there is a boundless store of wealth, in all those discourses which treat of Natural Religion, the difficulties of infidelity, the absurdities of Popery, and the neglected circle of Christian duties. The style of Tillotson is gracefully negligent, sometimes even flat, but generally agreeable, invariably

perspicuous, and at times eminently happy from his idiomatic English; it is well known that Addison took him as a model. For studied ornament, and the glow of oratorical passion, he will never be quoted; but a better model of didactic or practical discourse, could scarcely be chosen.

If our object had been to go fully into the history of the Anglican pulpit, we should have inserted many other names; but then we should have written a volume. Among these we should have found a place for Atterbury, a man of worldly character but great force, and often superior to Tillotson in the elaborate graces and warmth of oratory. We could not have omitted Bull, and Waterland, whose learned and profound vindication of Athanasian truth will abide as a venerable and unequalled monument, as long as our language shall be the vehicle of sound theology; Samuel Clarke, the friend and interpreter of Newton; Secker and Ogden, smooth, judicious and instructive sermonizers; Bentley, Butler, Warburton, and Horsley, giants in theological conflict. But these and many others must be left unrecorded. The perusal of all will only serve to evince more fully the justice of our statement, that the predominant quality of the Anglican pulpit, has been learned and extensive instruction. A manner corresponding to this has prevailed even till our day. Sermons have been read from the manuscript, with little elevation of voice, little action of body, and no fervour of delivery. As the liturgy has become the crowning part of public services, the sermon has become more attenuated in matter and curtailed in length; until in many a fashionable church and chapel, there is a cold essay of fifteen minutes. The mode just now is to cultivate what is called a "quiet manner;" by which is meant a *nonchalant* utterance, such as may persuade the hearer that preaching after all is almost a work of supererogation. There have indeed been Simeons, Melvilles, and McNeiles; but these are *rarae aves* in the Anglican flock. Though a Scotchman, Blair was in all respects a sermonizer after the English heart, and his discourses had immense currency south of the Tweed. No manly critic can read without contempt his pretended survey of the British pulpit, in his Lectures. Amply has the truth been avenged by John Foster's strictures on the once famous sermons of

Blair himself. "After reading five or six sermons," says Foster, "we become assured that we must perfectly see the whole compass of his powers, and that, if there were twenty volumes, we might read on through the whole, without once coming to a broad conception, or a profound investigation, or a burst of genuine enthusiasm. A reflective reader will perceive his mind fixed in a wonderful sameness of feeling throughout a whole volume; it is hardly relieved a moment, by surprise, delight, or labour, and at length becomes very tiresome; perhaps a little analogous to the sensations of a Hindoo while fulfilling his vow, to remain in one certain posture for a month. A sedate formality of manner is invariably kept up through a thousand pages, without the smallest danger of once luxuriating into a beautiful irregularity. A great many people of gayety, rank, and fashion, have occasionally a feeling that a little easy quantity of religion would be a good thing; because it is too true, after all, that we cannot be staying in this world always, and when one gets out of it, why, there may be some hardish matters to settle in the other place. The Prayer-book of a Sunday is a good deal to be sure toward making all safe, but then it is really so tiresome; for penance, it is very well, but to say one likes it, one cannot for the life of one. If there were some tolerable religious things that one could read now and then without trouble, and think it about half as pleasant as a game of cards, it would be comfortable. One should not be so frightened about what we must all come to some time. Now nothing could have been more to the purpose than these sermons; they were welcomed as the very thing. They were unquestionably about religion, and grave enough in all conscience, yet they were elegant; they were so easy to comprehend throughout, that the mind was never detained a moment to think; they were undefiled by Methodism; they but little obtruded peculiar doctrinal notions; they applied very much to high life, and the author was evidently a gentleman; the book could be discussed as a matter of taste, and its being seen in the parlour excited no surmise that any one in the house had lately been converted. Above all, it was most perfectly free from that disagreeable and mischievous property attributed to the eloquence of Pericles, that it 'left stings behind.'"

If we retrace our steps to the last point of departure, in order to consider the preaching of the Nonconformists, we shall find abundant cause to believe, that even after being politically defeated and overthrown at the Restoration, they continued to possess learning, eloquence, and piety, such as were worthy of that great Church of England, of which they were really though not nominally a part. It is somewhat remarkable, that notwithstanding the extraordinary theological interest which characterized the Puritans, and the voluminous works which proceeded from their great men, these less frequently took the precise form of sermons, than was the case with their churchly oppressors. Most of them, it is true, left numerous sermons, but the great mass of their religious writings were given to the public in the shape of treatises and protracted works. This did not certainly arise from any undervaluing of the pulpit; indeed, an over-estimate of this instrument was universally laid to their charge; they preached more frequently, more fervently, and at greater length, than the beneficed divines, and these exercises were attended by greater throngs of animated hearers. But the sermon, as a species of literary creation, was less an object of separate regard. They were more accustomed to the effusion of thought and feeling in language suggested at the moment of delivery; and even when they studied for successive months and years on particular books of Scripture, or heads of theology, and preached constantly on the same, the utterances of the church were not identical with the labours of the study, and the latter continued to retain that form which we now observe in their published works. Of some great treatises we know assuredly, and of others we have the strongest presumption, that they contain the substance of a series of pulpit discourses. This we suppose may be affirmed concerning the greatest works of the most eminent Puritan divines. We need scarcely add, that they had among them some of the mightiest preachers whom the Church has ever seen. Whether we judge by extant remains, or by the testimony of coevals, Richard Baxter was one of these. In our judgment, the English language was never more dexterously wielded by any writer. The thing most observable is, that it is the language of the common people, that which does not

grow obsolete, that which is racy with idiomatic anomaly, that which obeys every impulse of the heaving mind, that which goes direct to the heart. His perspicuity is absolutely cloudless. When he chooses to inveigh against sin, or to thunder from the legal mount, or to depict the doom of sinners, or to awaken the slumbering sinner, he is terrific and irresistible. In graceful description he paints without a superior. And for melting pathos, such as soothes the soul and opens the hidden spring of tears, what can be compared to some passages of the Saint's Rest? Baxter was often betrayed by his native subtlety and his familiarity with the schoolmen, into an intricacy of excessive distinctions which mars all the beauties of his style; and though this occurs more in his controversies than his pulpit labours, we should never think of setting up his sermons as the greatest of his works. The eminent piety which breathes through his practical writings makes him a model for the preacher and pastor of every subsequent age.

The number of distinguished Puritan preachers is so great that we should not dare to attempt enumeration; and if we used selection, we should name those who are familiar to our readers. Of Owen and his works, we have lately written, at some length, in a separate article. In connection with the argumentative force and profound experience of this greatest of the Puritans, the student of theology will remember the silver current and figured diction of Bates; the sweet and simple eloquence of Flavel; the sententious brilliancy of Charnock, like the iridescence of crystals on the surface of a massive rock; and perhaps, above them all, the majestic strength of Howe, a grave and stately bearing of mind, which looks down on the quaint antitheses and foreign images of his contemporaries. In John Howe we meet a writer who seems entirely free from the vicious passions of his day, in thought and language. He even shuns the conventional phrases of the Calvinistic schools, while he teaches their theology. But he was a great Christian philosopher, imbued with the choicest literature of the ancients, and trained by long meditation to expatiate in tracts of spiritual truth, where superficial minds will never follow him. His manner is said to have been in a high degree engaging and impressive. If any one will collate his sermon on the "Vanity of

Man as mortal," with the famous discourse on the same topic by Robert Hall, who profoundly admired him, he will find the germs of the latter in the former; yet, in everything but the exquisite finish of Hall's style, we think the palm must be given to the older divine.

The succeeding generations certainly manifest a decline in regard to the annals of the dissenting pulpit. Even before we come down to the latter half of the eighteenth century, and leaving entirely out of view the lamentable defection from the faith of many Independents, and of most called Presbyterians, it must be admitted that the age of great English preachers was past. That title we unhesitatingly give to Watts and Doddridge. Both, in our opinion, have undeservedly fallen into the shade. For fertility, facility, graceful fluency of thought, charms of illustration, and delightful variety, we know none who excels Watts, in any period. His theological whimsies are well known, and he is not what we denominate a great doctrinal preacher; but the warmth of love, and the play of sanctified imagination, give a stamp to most of his sermons which we would gladly recall to the notice of the younger ministry. Doddridge was a safer and a graver mind, and, according to all canons, a better builder of sermons. Some of his discourses come near being master-pieces; they instruct the mind and elevate the heart; those addressed to youth, and those on Regeneration, have been reprinted again and again, and have won the admiration even of severe judges. They labour sometimes under a fault of style belonging to a particular school of Dissenters at that period, and which, for lack of a better phrase, we may call a sort of genteel affectionateness, or a tenderness of endearing blandishment; but this is forgotten amidst the great amount of saving truth, expressed in language which is always clear and pleasing. It does not fall within our plan to enumerate the celebrated dissenting preachers of a later day and of our own times.

To those who have a facility in the language, we commend the careful study of the French pulpit; for to speak of preaching, and not to name the times of Louis the Fourteenth, would be like discoursing of sculpture without allusion to the age of Pericles. Considered as a product of literary art, the sermon

never attained such completeness, beauty, and honour, as at this period. Our remark must not be taken apart from our limitations. We do not say it was most apostolic, most scriptural, or most fitted to reach the great spiritual end of preaching; the results show that such was not the fact. But viewed in relation to letters, logic, and eloquence, as a structure of genius and taste, the French sermon, in the hands of its great orators, had a rhetorical perfection as distinctly marked as the Greek drama. We are constrained to look upon it in much the same light. The plays of Corneille and the victories of Turenne were not more powerful in penetrating the public mind, than the oratory of Notre Dame. Rank and fashion, including royalty itself, thronged the church, as if it were a theatre, wondering and weeping. Madame de Sevigné, the best painter of her age, speaks of a *belle passion*, as the Good Friday sermon was called, just as she speaks of the Cid. The greatest scholars and critics of the Augustan era of France, saw their ideal of faultless composition realized in the pulpit. The culmination of the art was rapid, and the decline soon followed. No one will claim more than a few names for the catalogue of masterly French preachers; Bourdaloue, Bossuet, Fenelon, Massillon, Fléchier. Many who had a temporary vogue in their day, have been forgotten; but these sustain the ordeal of time. We shall offer a few remarks on some of them, but chiefly on the unapproachable triumvirate.

To Bourdaloue is unhesitatingly given the honour of having raised the French pulpit at once to its greatest height. The judgment of our day is coming more and more to acquiesce in the decision which ranks him clearly first. We may see in La Bruyère how degenerate preaching had become before his day. It was florid, quaint, affected, perplexed with divisions, and overlaid with impertinent learning. He restored it to reason and to nature. No misapprehension can be greater than that which imagines Bourdaloue to have been a man of show, a gaudy rhetorician, or a declaimer. He was, of course, a strenuous Papist, he was even a Jesuit; but assuming his Church to be right, there never was a more unanswerable reasoner in her behalf. It is reasoning, above all things else, which is his characteristic. Seldom does he utter even a few sentences,

without a connected argument. The amount of matter in his discourses, which are sometimes very long, is truly wonderful. His power of condensation, his exactness of method, his singular clearness, and his animated force, enable him to throw an elaborate argument into a single head. The glory of his art is his magical ability to clothe the subtlest reasoning, in diction so beautiful, as to captivate even the unthinking. In our view, his sermons are a study for the young logician. Even when he is defending the extrcmest errors of Rome, as in his discourse on the saving merit of alms, we feel that we are in the hands of a terrible antagonist. Amidst passages of incomparable fire he seems constrained to indulge his propensity for laying a train of proofs. Thus in his passion-sermon, on the power of the cross, he inserts in the first and greatest part, a series of admirable arguments for the truth of Christianity.

In some points which concern the outward form of the discourse, Bourdaloue left much to be reformed by his great successors. His divisions are bold and numerous, and are stated not only with openness, but with a repetition which we have seen nowhere else. So far from hiding the articulations of his work, he is anxious that they should be observed and never forgotten; but he so varies the formulas of partition, and so beautifies the statement of transitions, by ingenious turns, that the mind is gratified by the exquisiteness of the expression. It had been the fashion to quote the Fathers very largely. Bourdaloue retains this practice. He even seems to wish that his whole performance should rest on citations; and some of them look like centos from Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory. But his management of this is graceful and masterly. And it is entertaining to observe with how rich and eloquent an amplification he will paraphrase and apply one of these little Latin sentences, often bringing it in again and again to close some striking period, and making it ring on the ear with happy vehemence at the climax of a paragraph.

If the observation be modified by our protest against the enormities of Popish falsehood, we are willing to say that Bourdaloue was eminently a spiritual, warm, and edifying preacher. Upon the sufferings of Christ, the love of God, the vanity of the world, and the delights of heavenly contempla-

tion, he speaks with a solemnity and an unction, which explain to us the admiration felt for him by Boileau and other Jansenists. The manner in which Bourdaloue pronounced his discourses must have had a power of incantation to which even their greatness as compositions gives us no key. It was his remarkable custom to deliver his sermons with his eyes closed; and he is so represented in his portrait. On coming from the provinces, to preach in the Jesuit Chapel at Paris, he was at once followed by crowds of the highest distinction; and his popularity increased to the very close. For thirty-four years he was equally admired by the court, by men of letters, and by the people. To the Christian visitor in Paris, there is something solemn in the church of St. Paul and St. Louis, to approach the tablet with the simple inscription, *HIC JACET BOURDALOUE.*

Bossuet was a greater man, but not a greater preacher, than his eloquent contemporary. The reputation derived from his vast learning, his controversial ability, his knowledge of affairs and his strength of will, we very naturally transfer to his preaching, which was nevertheless of consummate excellence. As an author, especially as a master of style, he surpasses them all, if indeed he does not surpass all who ever wrote in French. The power of that somewhat intractable language was never more fully brought out than by Bossuet, to whom the crown of eloquence is therefore given by Voltaire. He was the orator for courts, and we suppose no prince in ancient or modern times, ever had a nobler panegyrist. To learn his argumentative eloquence, we must look to his other works; but in his celebrated Funeral Orations, we have unequalled examples of sublime and original conceptions, arrayed in a diction majestically simple and yet triumphantly splendid. The term which characterizes the discourses of Bossuet, is magnificence. We believe it to be admitted by French critics, that his style is as faultless as that of any writer in any tongue.

There are those who consider Massillon the greatest of French preachers; and the award is just, if we confine our regards to simple elegance of style, traits of nature, strokes of pathos, perfect contexture of the entire performance, and irresistible command of assemblies, and in elocution. Being thirty

years younger than the men we just named, he represents a different school, but it is one which he founded himself. When father Latour, on his arrival at the capital, asked him what he thought of the great orators, he replied, "I find them possessed of genius and great talent; but if I preach, I will not preach like them." Great clearness of thought, perfect sobriety of judgment, profound knowledge of the human heart and of manners, a fund of tender emotion, novelty of illustration, copiousness of language, perspicuous method, and unerring taste, are the characteristics of Massillon. He simplified the divisions of the sermon, and reduced its length, conforming the whole treatment to the most classic models. He is sparing in his citations and unobtrusive in his array of argument. Beyond all competitors, he dissects the heart, reveals the inmost windings of motive, and awakens the emotions of terror, remorse, and pity. In the ethical field, he excels in depicting vice and awakening conscience, in pursuing pride, avarice and self-love to their retreats, and in exposing and stigmatizing the follies of the great. When the aged Bourdaloue heard him, he pointed him out as he descended from the pulpit, saying, "Hunc oportet crescere, me autem minui." Baron, the great actor, said of him to a companion, "My friend, here is an orator; as for us, we are but actors." Whole assemblies were dissolved in tears, or started to their feet in consternation. When he preached the funeral sermon of the King, on the words, "Lo, I have become great;" he commenced by repeating them slowly, as if to recollect himself; then he fixed his eyes on the assembly in mourning; next he surveyed the funeral enclosure, with all its sombre pomp; and lastly, turning his eyes on the mausoleum erected in the midst of the cathedral—after some moments of silence exclaimed, *Dieu seul est grand, mes frères.* "My brethren, God alone is great!" The immense assembly was breathless and awestruck. Voltaire always had on his table the *Petit-Carême* of Massillon, which he regarded as the best model of French prose.

There are discourses of Massillon, which, with the omission of the *Ave Maria*, and a few superficial forms, might be delivered to any Protestant assembly. The union of simple elegance and strong passion has given his sermons a formative influence

in every language of Europe; and they stand at the head of what may be called the modern school of preaching.

Space would fail us, if we were to enlarge upon Fenelon, Fléchier, Bridaine, and other pulpit orators of less note. Chastely beautiful as is the style of Archbishop Fenelon, it is not exactly that which belongs to eloquence. The saintly gentleness of his temper, as well as the doctrines of Quietism which he had embraced, were not the best preparations for passionate oratory. Among his numerous and often delightful works, the number of sermons is not very large. One reason of this may be, that he favoured the extemporaneous method, of which, in his *Dialogue on Eloquence*, he is the ablest vindicator. There is a sermon of Fenelon's on Foreign Missions, which is full of fine thoughts, and worthy of examination.

The Protestant Churches of France, and of the Refugees, produced some great preachers, of whom the most famous are Claude and Saurin. For solid doctrinal discussion, elaborated into the form of eloquent discourse, the preacher last named continues to be admired. In our own day, there has been a revival of Protestant eloquence, in such men as Vinet, Grand-pierre, and Adolphe Monod; and Parisian crowds still follow Lacordaire, Ravignan, Felix, and de Courtier.

The subject has grown upon our hands, and must be dismissed, though we leave untouched the preaching of Germany and Holland, of the contemporary Churches of Great Britain, and the inviting field of the American pulpit.

An enterprising publisher might benefit himself and the Church by issuing, under wise direction, a few volumes of sermons, which should contain none but master-pieces. There are a few such, in each period, which stand out with great prominence, as exhibiting the highest characteristics of their respective authors. In such a selection would be found Bourdaloue's *Passion Sermon*; Bossuet's *Funeral Oration on Turenne*; Massillon on the *Small Number of the Elect*; Barrow's *discourse on the Death of Christ*; Jeremy Taylor's *Marriage Ring*; Maclaurin's *Glorying in the Cross*; Edwards on "Their feet shall slide in due time;" Davies's *Bruised Reed*; Mason's *Gospel to the Poor*; Hall's *Modern Infidelity*; Chalmers's *Expulsive Power of a New Affection*; and Monod's "*God is Love;*"

with others, perhaps as worthy, which need not now burden our pages. It has sometimes been made a question how far it is desirable for a preacher to collect and study the written labours of others. There is a use, or rather an abuse, of other men's compositions, which is slavish and dishonourable. No young man of independent mind and high principle, will go to books for his sermon, or for its method, or for any large continuous portion. There is a tacit covenant between preachers and hearers, in our Church and country, which makes it a deception for any man to preach that which is not original. Pulpit larceny is the most unprofitable of all frauds; it is almost certain of detection, and it leaves a stigma on the fame, even beyond its intrinsic turpitude. But surely, an honest soul may wander among valuables without any necessity of thieving. Some have excluded books of sermons from their libraries, and by a "self-denying ordinance" have abstained from perusing them, lest, forsooth, they should damage their own originality. This is about as wise as if an artist should refrain from looking at the frescoes of the Vatican, and the galleries of Florence, Dresden, and the Louvre. We have seen the works of a Western painter, who is said to have acted on such a maxim; he would see no Rafaelles or Van Dycks, lest he should spoil his native manner. He has certainly succeeded in avoiding all that one beholds in these great masters. But in all labours, to the success of which, judgment, taste, and practice must combine, the highest capacity of production is fostered by studying the works of others; and we see not why this is less true in homiletics than in the arts. If a man may not read good sermons, we suppose he may not hear them. The wise student will, with the utmost avidity, both read and hear all that is accessible, of the greatest achievements in the declaration of God's truth. At the same time, he will sit down to his labours as if he had known no performances but his own. He will borrow no man's plan; he will shun all repositories of skeletons and what are ironically named "Preachers' Helps;" and will be himself, even in his earliest and faintest efforts.

In any retrospect of the work of preaching in successive ages, there is one snare which the young minister of Christ cannot too solicitously avoid; it is that of looking upon the utter-

ances of the pulpit with a mere literary eye, as objects of criticism upon the principles of rhetoric and taste. Extensive scriptural knowledge, solid thought, sound judgment, thorough inward discipline, and bursting spiritual emotions, will frame for themselves as a vehicle such a discourse as shall be truly eloquent. In this way, and in this way only, does a discourse on divine subjects come to be subjected to the rules of art. But no rules of art can ensure a sermon which shall please God; and every rule of art may seem to be observed, while yet the result shall be as "sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." The best sermons are not those which most approach to classical perfection. As preaching is a universal function of the ministry and intended for the whole race, that property which only one man in a million attains cannot be indispensable to its exercise; yet such a property is eloquence. If we could have revealed to us which were the thousand sermons which had most honoured Christ and most benefited men, we should perhaps find among them not one of those which have been held up as models from the desk of professors. "That is a good sermon," said Matthew Henry, "which does thee good." The greatest effects have been produced, in every age, by discourses which sinned against every precept of the schools. The sermon of John Livingstone at the Kirk of Shotts, which was the means of awakening not less than five hundred persons, was never written at all, and if we may judge by what remains to us of his writings, was in a manner exceedingly rude and homely. Yet it was kindled by the fire of God. The more profoundly we are impressed with the utter inefficacy of all intellectual construction and oratorical polish, and feel our absolute dependence on the Spirit of God in preaching, the more likely shall we be to come before God's waiting people with performances, which, however defective or anomalous, as measured by critical standards, shall answer the great end of preaching, being carried to their result by the irresistible demonstration and persuasion of the Holy Ghost.

ART. IV.—*Scripture Readings on the Book of Genesis.* Being Expositions of the Chapter read on Sunday mornings in the Scottish National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden. By the Rev. John Cumming, D. D.; author of “Voices of the Night,” “Voices of the Day,” “Voices of the Dead,” etc. etc. London, 1853.

The Church before the Flood. By the Rev. John Cumming, D. D., Minister of the Scotch National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden, London. Boston, 1854.

The Tent and the Altar. By the Rev. John Cumming, D. D., etc. Boston, 1854.

A Historical Text-book and Atlas of Biblical Geography. By Lyman Coleman, D. D. Philadelphia, 1854.

WE give the titles of these books, already well-known to a large proportion of our readers, as a proof of the demand for helps in the study of the Sacred History, and at the same time as affording an occasion for a few remarks upon the general subject.

One of the most characteristic features of the Bible is the prominence, not to say predominance, of History in its composition. This peculiarity is more marked than many, who admit the correctness of the general statement, are perhaps aware. The Bible does not merely contain history, and that in large quantities; it is itself a history. The historical Scriptures do not merely occupy a large space in the word of God; they sustain a peculiar and unique relation to the other parts of Scripture. They constitute the frame work into which the others are inserted, or, to use a different but equivalent comparison, the thread on which the other parts are strung. That is to say, the doctrinal, devotional, prophetical, and other parts of Scripture, may all be readily reduced to their appropriate place in the historical arrangement, whereas this process cannot be reversed. Considered as a whole, and in relation to its chosen form, the word of God is not a Prophecy, a Prayer-book, or a System of Doctrine, but a History in which all these elements are largely comprehended.

This unquestionable fact is suggestive of some others, which are not without importance to the student and interpreter of Scripture. In the first place, it throws light upon the

general question, with respect to the utility and worth of history. It certainly seems difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the lordly scorn or condescending pity, with which some in our own day treat historical studies, with the signal honour put upon this branch of knowledge, and this form of composition, in the very structure of the word of God. The only way in which the force of this consideration can be sensibly impaired, is by resorting to the obsolete idea, that the form of revelation is adapted to a less enlightened and intelligent condition of the race than that to which we have attained. Let those who can, be satisfied with this view of the case; but we, who believe in the Bible as a permanent revelation, not in substance only, but in form, and as exhibiting in both respects the wisdom of its Author, have certainly no need to be ashamed of any means or method of instruction, which has been so highly honoured and extensively made use of, by the Holy Ghost. While uninspired history must always be immeasurably lower, in authority and dignity, than that which is inspired, the historical form, which is common to both, is, by that community, exalted far above the praise or censure of the most fastidious critic, whether utilitarian or transcendental. History, as the world knows to its cost, may be false as well as true, and is not always admirably written; but the man who affects to despise history as such, only adds another to the endless illustrations of that apostolical paradox, "the foolishness of God is wiser than men."

In the next place, and as a specific application of the general idea just suggested, this extraordinary prominence of history in Scripture should lead us to appreciate the intrinsic value of that part of revelation, which is apt to be denied or underrated, even by believing readers, in their zeal for the devotional, practical, doctrinal, or prophetic elements, which likewise enter largely and essentially into the structure of a written revelation. A general pride of intellect, as well as a specific predilection and capacity for certain forms of truth and methods of instruction, may betray even sensible, well-meaning men, into this irreverent depreciation of a part of God's word, which his own divine authority and wisdom have made so remarkably extensive and conspicuous. The notion that the histories of

Scripture are only suited to awaken the attention of the youngest and least cultivated class of readers, but unworthy of the more mature and educated intellect, is far more prevalent than some imagine, and exerts a potent and pernicious influence on many minds, who are not conscious of its operation. The corrective of this evil is a full recognition of the intrinsic value and importance of this part of revelation, as attested by the very fact of its existence and its prominence in the canon of Scripture. However we may argue *a priori* in depreciation of even inspired history, as compared with more abstract or philosophical and systematic exhibitions of the same essential truth, the simple fact that it has pleased God to employ the first named method of instruction, in so large a portion of his written word, is alone sufficient to evince, not only that the method cannot be absurd and worthless in itself, but also that these parts of Scripture are no whit less authoritative or less useful than the rest, which many are disposed to place above them.

But besides this absolute intrinsic value of the Sacred History, entitling it to equal reverence and attention with the other Scriptures, there is also a relative importance which belongs to it and must not be neglected. There is, indeed, a mutual relation and connection between all the parts of revelation, even the most distant and dissimilar, which cannot be overlooked by the interpreter without distorting his views, not only of the several parts, but of the *tout ensemble*. Hence it follows, that some accurate acquaintance with each part of Scripture is an indispensable prerequisite to the thorough knowledge of every other, as well as to correct views of the whole, considered as a uniform and homogeneous system. Nor can any such acquaintance with the parts of Scripture and their mutual relations, how minute soever, be without its use in the interpretation of any one part, or of the whole Bible.

But what is thus true and important, as to all the distinguishable parts of Scripture, is pre-eminently true of those which are distinguished from the others as historical. In other words, while all the parts illustrate one another, a knowledge of this part is indispensably necessary to a correct appreciation of the rest. The history itself may be correctly understood, independently of any aid afforded by the other books; but what

would these others be to us, without the key afforded by the history? This difference is not fortuitous or arbitrary, but arises from the peculiar relation which the history sustains to all the other elements involved in the structure of the sacred volume. If the history has been correctly represented as the basis upon which the other parts are built, the frame in which they are inserted, or the thread on which they are strung, the relation indicated by these figures necessarily implies, that the historical Scriptures are more absolutely necessary to the correct interpretation of the others, than the others are to it. This might be easily exemplified and proved by showing how the incidents of David's life illustrate, and in some cases render intelligible, some of his most interesting compositions; and in like manner, how obscure the writings of Paul would be, without some knowledge of his personal history. And yet the converse of this proposition is not true, at least in any similar proportion; for, although the writings of these holy men, in many cases, strikingly illustrate their biography, it can hardly be said that they are ever needed to give that biography a sense or meaning. And apart from these particular examples, the main fact alleged is easily deducible from the very definition or idea of all history, as the science of events or actual occurrences, which from their nature and the constitution of our minds, must serve as the basis, or at least define the area and sphere, of our more profound and abstruse speculations.

Both from their absolute intrinsic value, then, as a substantive and prominent ingredient in the composition of the Bible, and from their relative importance and necessity as keys to the true meaning of its other contents, the historical Scriptures are entitled to a very different treatment, both in kind and in degree, from that which many are content to give them. It is not, however, from too low an estimate of their importance, either absolute or relative, that this practical abuse of them invariably springs. It often arises from an equally erroneous, but entirely distinct impression, that this part of Scripture, though its value and authority cannot be denied, happily calls for very little exegetical research or labour, being so extremely simple, that the youngest child can comprehend it without effort. This illusion, founded on the fact, that the difficulties,

which present themselves in this part of Scripture, are, for the most part, different in kind from those which occur elsewhere, has had a powerful effect in giving currency to shallow views and superficial modes of study, with respect to the whole subject. It is not too much, perhaps, to say, that some of the crudest speculations in theology are ultimately traceable to this false notion of the Sacred History. Because it presents fewer philological puzzles, fewer vexed questions of grammatical construction, fewer doubts as to the primary import of detached words and phrases, or as to the general subject and connection in extended contexts, than are constantly arising in the poetical, prophetical, or doctrinal divisions of the sacred volume, it is hastily inferred that all is absolutely easy, and that he who runs may read and understand, without a pause and almost without a glance at what is written. This habit of ignoring all perplexities and doubts that are not bound up in knotty points of grammar and philology, has led not only to the false views previously mentioned, as to the comparative importance of the Sacred History, but also to shallow and contracted views of it, in cases where its value remains undisputed. It has led to the extremes of being satisfied with vague and inexact impressions of the history as a whole, without any correct knowledge of details, and to the opposite extreme of studying these details minutely, but apart from one another, and without the least conception of the grand whole which they constitute. These modes of studying the Sacred History, though altogether different in principle and spirit, and familiar to the practice of entirely different classes, may be equally fatal to sound knowledge and correct conclusions. The practical evil, from whatever source or sources it may flow, is one that imperatively calls for a corrective. In attempting to discover or suggest such a corrective, let us set out with just views of the necessary difference between the Sacred History and every other, not only with respect to its authority and source, but also with respect to the way in which we are to learn and teach it. No one has ever yet succeeded in applying the same mode of treatment to an inspired and an uninspired history. All such attempts have been either the effect or the cause of skeptical misgivings as to this essential difference. In a history, which we own to be inspired,

we have nothing to do but to interpret and illustrate. The very form of the narration is determined by infallible authority. In other cases the task of the historian is far more extensive. His materials are to be collected, perhaps from various quarters, sifted, arranged, combined, reduced to shape according to his own discretion. In the Sacred History, his labour and his liberty are both restricted, for his office is entirely exegetical. It follows from this obvious and necessary difference between the two great divisions of Church History, which may be conveniently, though arbitrarily, distinguished by the terms "Ecclesiastical" and "Biblical," that, while they are indissolubly joined together, as integral parts of one harmonious whole, they not only may, but must, be handled in a manner utterly dissimilar; the one requiring for its just exhibition a more free, discursive method, while the other admits only of interpretation, in the wide and comprehensive sense of the expression. It also follows, from the premises established or assumed above, that the investigation of the Sacred History, being an exegetical process, must proceed upon exegetical principles and by means of exegetical methods, including minute study of details, both in themselves and in their proximate connections, as distinguished from indefinite and wholesale generalities.

But it does not follow from these premises, as some seem to imagine, that the microscopical inspection of minute details, however diligent or accurate, is all that is required in order to a just appreciation or a truthful exhibition of the Sacred History. The very habit of detailed investigation, which is thus regarded as the only necessary means to the attainment of the end proposed, may operate itself as a preventive, by confining the attention to detached points, without ever rising to more comprehensive views, without ever looking from the single links to the immense chain which they constitute, or ascending from particular events to the great periods, of which they are the characteristic features, much less to the grand organic whole, of which they are component atoms. However this one-sided method of investigation may disguise itself as faithful and laborious search for truth, it cannot be exonerated from the charge of an empirical contempt for that which gives its favourite details their value, namely, their relation to a great scheme or

cycle of events, all tending to one grand result, and to the fulfilment of one grand design.

If these be the two opposite but coexistent errors which, in our day, prevent or vitiate the study of the Sacred History, any corrective to be efficacious, must afford an antidote to both alike. The defect of large and comprehensive views requires to be supplied no less than that of accurate attention to details. There is a sense, indeed, in which the former reformation may be said to be still more necessary than the latter. Although both are desirable, and even necessary to complete success, yet, if only one should be attainable, the preference is due to large views of the whole scope of the history, because such views facilitate the acquisition of minuter knowledge, and in some degree supply its place when wanting; whereas, it is a lesson of experience that exclusive study of minutiae has no such tendency, except in minds of a peculiar constitution, to evolve correct views of a general kind. Such views serve at least to delineate the outlines which may afterwards be filled up with minuter parts; but no accumulation of such facts at random, or in insulated items, has a tendency to generate the frame-work under which they ought to be arranged. On these grounds, chiefly, it is thought best to begin with an attempt to rectify the error of regarding the historical Scriptures as a desultory catalogue of separate events or facts, without a bond of union, or a common relation to a common centre.

This attempt may be facilitated by observing, that the error to be rectified exists in reference, not only to the minute facts which constitute the history, but also to the books in which they are recorded. While some are undoubtedly too much disposed to rob the sacred histories of their individuality, and treat them as a single composition, there is also an opposite tendency to view them as a compilation of detached and independent narratives, without original connection or inherent unity of plan and purpose. To counteract the influence of both these errors, it is necessary to acquire the habit of surveying the whole field, not only from a point of sufficient elevation to command its entire surface, but from several such points, sufficiently distinct and distant to ensure a view of all the phases and distinguishable aspects, which are necessary to

a full and clear impression of the object. Of the many aspects which might be presented in the case before us, three may be selected as peculiarly significant and specially adapted to the end proposed. In the first place, we may look at the whole history as one, without regard to the writers by whom, or the books in which, it is recorded. Or again, we may invert this process so far as to make the several histories, as such, specific objects of attention, with their characteristic singularities of form and substance, yet without losing sight of their organic unity, as parts of one great historical *epos*. Intermediate between these two phases is a third, in which the prominent figures are those of individuals, the salient points being now neither purely historical, nor, so to speak, bibliographical, but personal or biographical.

In order to a clear view of the field before us, we need not only points from which, but also points at which, to direct our observations. Without such salient points to fix and at the same time to divide our vision, however wide the view presented, it would necessarily be confused and vague. Our first business, therefore, is to look around for landmarks, limits, or dividing lines. Under the second and third aspects of the history above presented, these conveniences are furnished by the very nature of the plan proposed, in one case, by the books, as such considered; in the other, by the *dramatis personæ*, the leading actors in the history itself. Under the first view, which has been distinguished as the purely historical, there must be some analogous advantage, or the view will either be impossible or fail of its effects. This alternative can be avoided, and the necessary aid secured in one way only; by observing the successive variations of the object, to which the history relates, about which it revolves. What is this object in the Sacred History, as such considered?

The history, which occupies so large a space in the inspired word, is not a general history of mankind, for which a space immeasurably larger would have been required; nor is it a mere secular and civil history of the Jews or Hebrews. That race or nation is indeed more prominent than any other, but only on account of its peculiar character and marked position as the chosen people of Jehovah, the depositary of the only true

religion and pure worship for a course of ages; in a word, the ancient CHURCH, at once the preparation and the basis for the Christian Church, which differs from it only in its clearer revelation, in its actual possession of the promised Saviour and the promised Spirit, and in its consequent emancipation from local and ceremonial restrictions. To this temporary, yet divinely constituted body, the most ancient version of the Hebrew Scriptures had accustomed the Hellenistic Jews who used it, to apply the very term (*ekklēsia*) which was afterwards employed to designate the Christian organization. As suggestive, both by etymology and usage, of a society called out and separated from the world, and called together in a new and holy brotherhood, it was no less descriptive of the elder than the younger, of the Jewish than the Christian Church. It is the varying condition of this ancient spiritual corporation, under both its forms, that furnishes the necessary landmarks and divisions, in the vast and otherwise bewildering expanse of Biblical or Sacred History. By watching the vicissitudes of this church or chosen people, and drawing lines of demarcation only where these changes are distinctly visible, not only to a close inspection, but afar off and upon the surface of the narrative, we gain a system of division at once natural and rational, entirely independent of all artificial figments or ephemeral caprices, and as easy to remember as to understand, because wholly inseparable in the memory from the salient features of the history itself. In attempting to apply this simple method, it will be convenient to descend from generals to particulars, first fixing the great primary divisions growing out of the internal relations of the subject, and then, by an analogous but secondary process, the minor subdivisions, into which these naturally fall, without the use or the necessity of mere conventional and arbitrary distribution.

Looking abroad, then, over the whole field of Sacred History, as one unbroken narrative, without regard to the diversity of books or writers, let us consider what great critical conjecture, what eventful change in the condition of the Church or of the world, may be employed as a primary dividing line, cutting the whole field into two great parts. To this inquiry there can be but one correct or satisfying answer. The great turning

point, not merely in sacred but in universal history, its chronological and moral centre, to which all other events must be referred, and by which their significance must be determined, is the Advent of Christ, the Incarnation of the Son of God. The revolutionary change which it produced, not only in the Jewish Church and State, but in the whole condition of the world, is so distinctly marked and legible in every thing around us, that we cannot imagine a more obvious and natural division of the subject into two great parts, than that which is afforded by this grand event. Such a division is the more convenient for our present purpose, because universally familiar and coincident with what has now for ages been the customary method of determining the dates of history. Apart from the intrinsic dignity and value of the primary epoch thus assumed, it is a practical advantage of great moment, to be able to set out from one already so conspicuous and well known, and requiring no laborious calculations to reduce it to the ordinary methods of computing time. It is a vast advantage, that the primary division of our subject should be one which brings it into close and intimate relation to the other parts of history, instead of being insulated from them, as belonging to some other world, and interesting only to some other race.

Having fixed our eye upon the point through which the first great line of demarcation shall be drawn, let us now look, for a moment, at the two great portions into which that line divides the Sacred History. Unequal as they are, when chronologically measured—the proportion being scarcely that of one to fifty—this immense disparity is rectified at once by a consideration of the mutual historical relation between these two periods. When we consider that the three-and-thirty years of our Saviour's presence upon earth—we might almost say, the three years of his public ministry—have been permitted by the Holy Ghost to fill as large a space in the inspired record as whole centuries and ages of an earlier date, we need not hesitate to draw our lines of distribution on the same safe principle, and give to the Evangelical and Apostolical History a place in some degree commensurate, not only with their absolute importance, but with their relative position with respect to the preparatory dispensation. Taking this dis-

tinctly into the account, we shall perceive both practical convenience and historical exactness in the primary division of the whole Sacred History into two parts, corresponding to the two great books of the inspired record, which are commonly distinguished as the Old and New Testament. Between these inseparable yet distinct fields of historical inquiry stands the august person of our Lord himself, to whom all things in the first of these great periods pointed by anticipation, as the end for which they had a being—to whom all things in the second still point backwards, as the starting point from which their course began, and from which their progress is to be for ever measured.

Of these two periods let us leave the second, for the present, out of view, and concentrate our attention on the first, extending in its wide sweep, from the creation of Adam to the birth of Christ. Applying the same principle of distribution as before, we may inquire again for some great juncture, some critical change in the condition of the ancient Church, on which to found a subdivision of the Old Testament History. Whatever momentary hesitation might arise in some minds, on a first and superficial view of this immense field, more deliberate inspection and consideration can leave little doubt as to the secondary line of demarcation. The most striking contrast here presented in the visible condition of the chosen people, as a Church or spiritual corporation, is unquestionably that between the freedom and comparative simplicity of patriarchal institutions, and the onerous restrictions of the complicated ceremonial system introduced by Moses.

The two periods resulting from this subdivision may be variously designated. One method of describing them is by the use of the distinctive epithets, "Patriarchal" and "Mosaic." But as these may be conveniently applied to more restricted periods, it is better to use other terms not thus appropriated, in application to the two great parts of the Old Testament History. This it has been proposed to do by calling one the period of "Theophany," the other the period of "Theocracy." The kindred terms thus placed in antithesis to one another, are supposed to be descriptive of two grand peculiarities in the condition of the chosen people during these two periods. In either

case, they sustained an intimate relation to Jehovah as their covenant God; but this relation was externally manifested under very different forms in the two cases. Under the earlier or patriarchal dispensation, the communication between God and man was kept up by divine appearances in human or angelic form, of which the Greek name is Theophany, ($\Theta\epsilon\omega\phi\acute{a}n\epsilon\alpha$.) Under the later, or Mosaic dispensation, the chosen race had been matured into a people, and organized as a State, of which Jehovah was the head, not a mere providential ruler, as he is of other nations, but a special and immediate sovereign, corresponding to the human head of other systems, the sovereign people in a pure Democracy, the select few in an Aristocracy, the sole chief in a Monarchy or Autocracy; in strict analogy to which terms, the Mosaic State has been distinguished, since Josephus, by the name of a Theocracy, ($\Theta\epsilon\omega\kappa\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$.) These terms, if not too rigidly expounded, so as to confine all theophanic revelation to the earlier period, and all theocratic organization to the later, but used merely to present these as the prominent characteristics of the two conditions, are convenient and expressive designations of the periods in question, that of Theophany concluding, that of the Theocracy commencing, at the same point, namely, the Mosaic Legislation.

Pursuing the same method which has thus far been adopted, descending from generals to particulars, first dividing and then subdividing, and adhering still to the principles of letting the history arrange itself, to the exclusion of all fanciful and arbitrary methods, let us look successively at each of the great subdivisions just obtained, in order, first, to gain a just view of their character and aspect; and secondly, to subdivide them in their turn. Beginning with the period to which the name Theophany has been assigned, we find the whole of it pervaded by the thing which this name was intended to express. That is to say, we find the immediate divine communications, accompanied by visible appearances, continued from Adam to Moses, with little interruption beyond that arising from the silence of the history itself, as to the greater part of the long sejourn in the land of Egypt. But as we trace this long chain of theophanies, we come to a perceptible change in the structure or connection of the links which form it. This change consists in

the somewhat sudden limitation of the theophanic honours to a single family, within which they are afterwards confined until they give place to the permanent theophany embodied in the theocratic institutions. The particular epoch or event associated with this change, is the calling of Abraham, the segregation of a single person, even from the race of Shem, to be the founder of a new house, and at last, of a new nation, with which the Church was to be not united merely, but identified, for many ages. In the whole extent of the primeval history, from Adam to Moses, there is no such salient point, or line of demarcation, as the one afforded by the calling of Abraham to be, in a peculiar sense, the Friend of God and the Father of the Faithful.

If we now turn from the Theophanic to the Theocratic period, in search of some analogous division, we may find it by observing, what indeed is spread upon the surface of the history, that from the time of the Mosaic legislation there is nothing more than a remote approximation to the full development of that extraordinary system, till we reach the reign of David, when it seems to unfold itself completely, as a matter of experience and practice, for the first and last time, since the reign of David is succeeded by a process of national decline, almost unbroken, till the birth of Christ. This upward and then downward movement, so distinctly marked in the whole drift and current of the history itself, that it only needs to be suggested to awaken the attention even of the superficial reader, marks the reign of David as the culminating period of the whole theocracy, the highest ground that Israel attained while subject to the legal dispensation, and therefore an appropriate dividing line in the protracted interval from Moses to Christ.

In this way we obtain four great divisions of the history contained in the Old Testament; not conventional or fanciful divisions, but spontaneously arising from the natural relations of the subject, and associated with the three great salient points or critical conjunctures, the Call of Abraham, the Law of Moses, and the Reign of David.

By a further application of precisely the same method, each of these four parts may be subjected to a similar division, founded exclusively on changes and diversities in the condition

of the chosen people or the human race. Thus in the period which precedes the call of Abraham, two such vicissitudes and contrasts are discernible, as strongly marked as any in all history. The first is the Fall, the most momentous of all revolutions, connecting the opposite extremes of man's condition by one brief and almost instantaneous occurrence. The other is the Flood, the link between the old world and the new, producing changes almost as complete as would have followed from a fresh creation. In both these cases there are great material revolutions, but produced by moral causes.

In the second of these four great intervals, viz. the one from Abraham to Moses, an obvious line of demarcation is afforded by the migration of the chosen people into Egypt, with the accompanying change in their condition from that of a growing but not overgrown nomadic family, wandering at pleasure through the land of promise, to that of a rapidly increasing nation, settled in a fertile province of a foreign land, without political power or even independence, but with every physical advantage to promote their rapid growth and their acquaintance with the useful arts. Even within the period of this Egyptian residence, a fainter but discernible distinction may be traced between the state of Israel whilst favoured by the Pharaohs, and exempt from every danger except that of amalgamation and absorption in the hospitable nation which protected them, and their condition after the king arose "who knew not Joseph," and exchanged the policy of patronage for that of persecution. This change is as real, although not so clear a line of demarcation between Joseph and Moses, as the migration into Egypt is itself between Moses and Abraham. Still more striking is the next transition, from the bondage and the cruelties of Egypt to the freedom of the wilderness, the line of demarcation coinciding with the Exodus or actual departure of the people out of Egypt. The great covenant transaction at Mount Sinai perfects the transition from a slavish dependence upon human power, to a theocratical dependence upon God. The second period, and the first great primary division, are wound up by the Mosaic legislation, the inauguration of the system under which the chosen people was to live, through every other change and revolution, till the birth of Christ.

Between these distant points of time, however, there is, as we have seen before, a kind of water-shed, or central height, to which the system travels up from Moses and then down to the Messiah. This is the reign of David, between which and the Mosaic legislation, there may still be traced upon the surface of the history distinguishable boundaries, or limits, marking off distinct conditions of the chosen people. Such, for instance, is the Mission of the Spies from Kadesh, and the consequent refusal of the people to go up and take possession of the land. Beyond that fatal limit lies the Mysterious Error in the Wilderness, to the elder race a condign punishment of exquisite severity, but to their sons a wise and merciful provision for their gradual deliverance from parental influence, and for their moral education under the direct control of Moses, or, to speak more properly, of God himself. The condition of the people during these memorable forty years, has no analogy in earlier or later history, and may, therefore, properly be made the basis of a distinct period.

The next dividing line is that presented by the Conquest of the Promised Land, begun by Moses and continued under his successor, Joshua, the son of Nun, with the efficient aid of the contemporary race, whose frequently commended faithfulness and zeal may, no doubt, be ascribed in a great measure to their training in the wilderness, already mentioned. The culpable remissness of the next generation, in waging an exterminating war against the Canaanites, imparts a very different character and aspect to the period of the Judges, during which the people were again and again judicially abandoned to the very enemies whom they had, with a false compassion, spared, and to a multitude of others like them, who continued to oppress them until they repented and returned to God, who then restored them by the agency of military chieftains, or dictators, known in history as Judges. Though the social evils of this period have by some been most unduly magnified, the whole condition of the people was peculiar, and entitles this part of the history to separate consideration.

Towards the close of this long and eventful period, a premonition of some new change is afforded by the gradual translation of the dictatorial or judicial power from the hands of mili-

tary chiefs to those of civil and religious rulers, such as Eli the High Priest and the Prophet Samuel. The change, for which the way was thus prepared, is that from martial law and loose confederation to a settled monarchy, as if to show that no form of government was either indispensably necessary or essentially repugnant to the end for which the theocracy existed. Though the people were reprobated for asking this change in the way and at the time they did, the change had been predicted, even to the Patriarchs, and prospectively provided for in the Law of Moses, as one of the most notable transitions in the history, and as such introducing a new period, that of the Undivided Monarchy.

Of the three reigns comprehended under this description, each has a most distinct and marked physiognomy or aspect of its own, and may therefore be considered by itself. The reign of Saul, though divinely sanctioned for a special purpose, is not to be reckoned as a theocratical administration. It was rather an experimental reign, designed to teach the people by experience the true character of such a kingdom as they had desired. To this end Saul was chosen, and surrounded with all possible advantages of a personal, political, and social nature. He was even clothed, in some mysterious manner, with a spiritual influence, and distinguished by great providential favours. But being wholly destitute of a true theocratic spirit, or devotion to God's service in the very way of God's appointment, he was soon at variance with Samuel, who crowned him; with David, who was to succeed him; with his own better judgment and right feelings; and at last, or rather from the first, with God himself, until from bad to worse he became desperate, was cast off, and perished without hope upon the field of battle. These particulars are mentioned to evince that Saul's reign is unique enough to constitute a chapter by itself, having no chronological position of its own, but being interjected as a kind of episode between the reign of David and the judgeship of Samuel, which meet and even overlap each other.

The next step brings us to that high ground towards which the theocracy has slowly been ascending since the giving of the law at Sinai, or at least since the possession of the promised land. There was only an approximation to the full realization

of the system till the reign of David, whose success both as a ruler and a conqueror, his religious zeal and lyric inspiration, but, above all, his implicit and unwavering devotion to the spirit and the form of the theocracy, conspired to place him on its highest elevation, as at once the greatest of the theocratic sovereigns, and the most honoured type of the Messiah. Hence he is far more frequently referred to in the later Hebrew Scriptures, and in those of the New Testament, than any, or than all of his successors, the best of whom are but faint copies of his virtues, and their reigns his own reign lengthened out, as if to fill the interval remaining until Christ should come. Even the powerful and brilliant reign of Solomon belongs to the period of decline, and not to that of culmination, as its splendour and prosperity were rather the reward of David's labours, than the fruits of his own wisdom, and his reign, imposing as it was, contained within itself the seeds of dissolution, as appeared from the defections of the king himself, and from the germination of those hostile powers by which his son was to be overwhelmed. Even this faint outline of the three reigns comprehended in the Undivided Monarchy may serve to show that no equal periods of history are more distinctly marked by countenance and features of their own.

Taking our stand upon the lofty table-land of David's reign, with that of Saul immediately below us upon one hand, and that of Solomon upon the other, let us turn our back upon the former, and look forward far beyond the latter, towards the distant point at which Messiah is to show himself. Between these still remote bounds let us again inquire what dividing lines may be distinctly traced upon the surface of the history itself, 'without resorting to mechanical contrivances or fanciful inventions. If we still adhere to the original prescription, to be governed by the changes in the actual condition of the chosen people, the most striking contrast that presents itself is that upon the opposite sides of the Babylonian Conquest. The two conditions separated by this line are that of independent nationality before it, and that of foreign domination after it. From David to Josiah, the theocracy, however rent or humbled, still maintained its position as an independent State. From that time onward, with a single brief exception, to be

more distinctly mentioned afterwards, the state, with which the ancient Church had been identified, was subjected to a series of heathen masters. This is the first great subdivision of the interval from David to the Advent. Looking again at this great subdivision by itself, we find a line drawn at the time of the Assyrian Conquest and the downfall of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. Up to that event the history presents us either with an undivided monarchy, as under Solomon and David, or with the same body politic divided into rival kingdoms, but together forming the same aggregate as ever. After the date of the Assyrian Conquest, ten of the twelve tribes disappear from history. Judah now occupies the place of Israel, in fulfilment of the prophecy of Jacob and of the divine plan, formed and entertained from the beginning, but deferred in execution to allow the chosen tribe the same time and facilities for growing into a great nation, that all Israel enjoyed of old in Egypt. Individual members of the other tribes were not excluded from communion and incorporation with the tribe of Judah. The half, if not the whole, of Benjamin, had all along adhered to it, and Levi, as the sacerdotal tribe, had always been attached to the theocracy. But the theocracy itself, considered as a national organization, was henceforth seated in that tribe, from which the dying Jacob had predicted that the sceptre never should depart till Shiloh came. From David to the Babylonish Conquest, then, the three successive phases, which the history of Israel exhibits, are those of the Undivided Kingdom, the Divided Kingdom, and the Residuary Kingdom.

There still remains to be surveyed for the purpose of division, the last melancholy period of foreign domination, reaching from the death of Josiah in reality, but nominally from the last of his successors, to the Advent. Here the dividing lines are too distinctly marked to be mistaken, being drawn upon the history not of Israel only but of the known world. The changes here are not internal and domestic only, but the changes of great empires, under each of which successively the Jews passed into bondage. The critical junctures, in this portion of their history, coincide with the great revolutions of the age, and in order to distinguish the fluctuations of their own condition, we have only to enumerate the powers that succeeded one another

in a transient but supreme dominion, during the five centuries immediately preceding the nativity of Christ. The history of Israel during these five hundred years is really the history of their subjection to the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, Egyptian, Syrian, Hasmonean, Roman, and Idumean domination. Of these names all but two are names of alien heathen powers. The first exception is the sixth, the Hasmonean, an indigenous or native dynasty, created by the Syrian persecutions, and for several generations true to its devout and patriotic origin, but afterwards degenerate and the betrayer of the country to the Romans. The other is the eighth and last, the Edomite or Idumean, a mixed race sprung from the incorporation of the sons of Esau with the sons of Jacob by the Hasmonean conqueror, John Hyrcanus. Out of this race sprang the Herods, the most hated instruments and tools of Roman domination. Whether these names be omitted or inserted in the catalogue, it sets before us a true picture of the last scene in this interesting drama—the salient points and several phases of the closing period in the Old Testament history. For such it is, if we suppose this to extend to the commencement of the New, although, in fact, we are forsaken by inspired authorities long before we reach the end of the Persian domination. But precisely where we are thus thrown upon uninspired authorities, the value of these uninspired authorities begins to be enhanced, not only by the silence of the Scriptures, but by their own intrinsic merit. By a sort of providential compensation, when the guiding hand of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah is withdrawn, we are permitted to embrace that of Herodotus and Xenophon.

In this rapid and jejune enumeration of the periods into which the Sacred History divides itself, it will be seen that we have treated it throughout as one unbroken narrative, without regard to the precise form of the record, or its frequent changes. This we have intentionally done, in order to present in bold relief the unity and continuity of the history as a whole, and, at the same time, the indefinite variety by which its several portions are characterized. It may also be observed, that the proposed arrangement is entirely independent of minute chronology, and cannot be affected, in its outline at least, by disputed questions as to dates and epochs. This is the more

worthy of attention, because many are accustomed to confound chronology and history, the science of dates and the science of events; the first of which derives its value wholly from the second, which, on the contrary, might still exist without a change of its intrinsic value, if all specific dates should be disputed or forgotten. The striking sentiment of Bossuet, that the error universally acknowledged in the vulgar era, has had no effect upon the truth of history, nor even on the clearness of men's views respecting it, admits of a much wider application. A large proportion of the common chronological disputes are mere puzzles in arithmetic, without effect as bearing on the great events of history, their consecution, or their mutual relations. Except where it affects these, or is necessary to remove apparent inconsistencies, this branch of mathematics may be safely left to those whose taste or business leads them to pursue it. Least of all should any be discouraged from historical pursuits by an infirmity of memory in reference to minor dates, or other chronological minutiae. Such information is desirable, and ought to be acquired, when the acquisition is not made at the expense of more important knowledge; but it cannot be too strongly recommended to the student of the Sacred History to store the memory with those great features and relations of the subject which are least dependent upon calculation.

We have now presented, in its outlines, one of the three aspects under which we proposed to view the Old Testament History. This is the one before distinguished as the purely historical, because the salient points and the divisions of the subject are derived exclusively from critical conjunctures and eventful changes, in the condition of the ancient Church or chosen people, as an aggregate body. There are still two other views which we intended to present; the Biographical, in which the salient points are individuals, the types and representatives of their respective ages; and the Bibliographical, in which the distribution of the history is founded on the several books in which it is recorded, and due regard paid to the physiognomy and character of these, as independent compositions. But we feel that the draught upon our readers' patience is already great enough, and therefore must reserve the rest of

what we had to offer for another time and place. Our end, for the present, will be answered, if we shall have furnished, even to a few congenial readers, the suggestion of a plan, however simple, by which the elementary minutiae of the history, instead of being thrown aside or slighted, may acquire a legitimate, though adventitious interest, as subjects of detailed investigation, and a firmer hold upon the student's memory.

- ART. V.—1. *Denominational Education.* By the Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge. Published originally in the Southern Presbyterian Review. Philadelphia: Printed by C. Sherman. 1854. Pp. 24.
2. *Letter to the Governor of South Carolina.* By the Rev. Dr. Thornwell.
3. *The Thirty-Third and Thirty-Fourth Reports of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church.* Philadelphia: 1852 and 1853.
4. *Right of the Bible in our Public Schools.* By George B. Cheever, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285 Broadway. 1854. Pp. 303.
5. *The Position of Christianity in the United States, in its Relations with our Political Institutions, and especially with reference to Religious Instruction in our Public Schools.* By Stephen Colwell. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1854. Pp. 175.

THESE publications are evidence of the strong and widely diffused interest taken in the subject of Popular Education. They evince also, as we think, that in the midst of apparently conflicting principles, there is a substantial agreement among religious men, as to the most essential points involved in the discussion. We are well aware that the difference between the religious community and those who, in many instances, control the action of our legislative bodies in relation to this subject, is radical and irreconcilable. We are sorry to be obliged to add, that many religious men, from different motives, have been led to throw their influence in favour of this latter party, who advocate the exclusion of religious instruction from our public schools. The religious community, however, as a body, we

hope and believe, are united and determined in their opposition to any such destructive course.

Before proceeding further, we will briefly indicate the points as to which, with individual exceptions on either side, there is, as we believe, a substantial agreement, especially so far as our own Church is concerned, in relation to this whole subject. The evidence is abundant and conclusive that the great mass of our members, ministers and laymen, are convinced, 1. Of the absolute necessity of universal popular education. 2. That this education should be religious; that is, not only that religion ought to be in some way inculcated, but that it should be made a regular part of the course of instruction in all our non-professional educational institutions. 3. That the obligation to secure for the young this combined secular and religious training, is common to parents, to the State, and to the Church. It does not rest on one of these parties to the exclusion of the others, but, as the care of the poor, it rests equally on all, and the efforts and resources of all are requisite for the accomplishment of the object. It is included in what has been said, that the obligation in question presses all these parties as to the whole work of education. One portion of the work does not belong exclusively to one of them, and another portion exclusively to the others, but each is in its sphere responsible for the whole. That is, as the parent is bound to provide not only for the religious but also for the secular education of his children, the same is true with regard to the State and to the Church. 4. That in the existing state of our country, the Church can no more resign the work of education exclusively to the State, than the State can leave it exclusively to parents or to the Church. The work cannot be accomplished in the way in which she is bound to see it accomplished, without her efficient co-operation. The Church, therefore, is bound, without interfering either with the State or with voluntary institutions, to provide the means of thorough secular and religious training, wherever they are not otherwise secured. 5. That in the performance of this great duty, the Church cannot rely on the separate agency of her members, but is bound to act collectively, or in her organized capacity. Consequently, the Board of Education, in aiding in the establishment of schools, academies,

and colleges, is acting on sound principles, whatever mistakes may have been made in the application of those principles in particular cases.

There may be, as before remarked, individual dissentients from one or another of the above positions, but the almost unanimous decision of one Assembly after another, and the concessions of those, who under misapprehension of the ground intended to be assumed, had taken the part of objectors, prove beyond doubt the substantial and cordial unanimity of our Church as to all these points.

The first of these positions need not be argued. The necessity of general popular education is universally conceded. If such education is necessary to other nations for their prosperity, to us it is necessary for our existence. Universal suffrage and universal education condition each other. The former without the latter is a suicidal absurdity. Everything connected with our political well-being, with the elevation and personal improvement of the people, and with the extension and establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom, is more or less directly involved in this great question. The work which as a people we have to do; which, next to the preaching of the gospel, is most immediate and most pressing, is to provide and apply the means for the education of all classes of our varied and rapidly increasing population. This education should be such as to meet the exigencies of the people; giving not merely to all the opportunity of acquiring the rudiments of knowledge, but furnishing the means of higher cultivation, for those who are disposed to avail themselves of them. This may be taken to be the public sentiment of the country and of the Church. In almost all our States provision is made more or less effectively, not only for the establishment of common schools, but also of academies and colleges endowed and sustained by public funds. The free High Schools of Boston, New York and Philadelphia are among the most elevated of our educational establishments.

The second position, viz., that education in all its stages ought to be religious, is one of the great dividing points in relation to this subject. On one hand, it is contended that religion, the Christian religion, including its facts, doctrines and

moral principles, should be a regular topic of instruction in our public schools and higher educational establishments; and that the whole process of education should be conducted with the design of cherishing religious principles and feelings. On the other hand, it is assumed that the State has nothing to do with the religious instruction of the people; that religion must be left to be inculcated by parents and the church; that the only legitimate sphere of state action is secular education. Indifference or hostility to religion; a dread of the union of the Church and State; an apprehension of ecclesiastical domination; the opposition of Papists to religious instruction, and even to the reading of the Bible in the public schools; the difficulty arising from conflicting sects, have led a very large part of the community to advocate or acquiesce in the exclusion of religion from all places of education sustained by the State. It is regarded as the simplest solution of a complicated problem, to confine the State to secular education, and leave religion to be otherwise provided for.

This is the ground publicly assumed by the majority of our public men; it has received, directly or indirectly, the sanction of several State legislatures; it is avowed and acted upon by superintendents and commissioners; it is advocated by some of our most influential religious journals, and by many of our prominent religious men. In the years 1842 and 1843, laws were passed by the legislature of New York, forbidding "sectarian teaching and books" to be employed in the public schools. Everything was regarded as *sectarian* to which any person would object on religious grounds. Every book, therefore, even the Bible, and every sentiment to which the Romanists objected, were banished or expunged when demanded. All religious instruction and prayer have in many cases been proscribed. Teachers have been threatened with dismission, and actually dismissed, for using even the Lord's prayer. E. C. Benedict, Esq., President of the Board of Education of New York, delivered in August last an address, in which he asks, "What should be our rational rule of conduct? Whenever we find a few children together, shall we compel them to lay aside their occupation for the time and read the Bible, or say prayers, or perform some other religious duty? Will it be sure to make

them better? Will it be sure to give them religious instruction —to require it at the dancing-school, the riding-school, the music-school, the visiting-party, and the play-ground? Shall studies, and sports, and plays, and prayers, and Bible, and catechism be all placed on the same level? Shall we insist that secular learning cannot be well taught unless it is mixed with sacred? Shall algebra and geometry be always interspersed with religion instead of *quod erat demonstrandum*? Shall we say *Selah* and *Amen*? Shall we bow at the sign of *plus*? Can we not learn the multiplication table without saying grace over it? So of religious instruction, will it be improved by a mixture of profane learning? Shall the child be taught to mix his spelling lesson with his prayers, and his table-book with his catechism? If there were any necessary relation between religious and secular instruction, which required that they should be kept together, the subject would have another aspect. But no one has ever maintained that the religious teacher, the minister of religion, and the office-bearers of the Church, should mix secular instruction with their more sacred and solemn inculcations.

“Now, the reading of the Bible, the repeating the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostles’ Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in school, is ritualistic and educational. It is not for improvement in secular learning, nor in sacred learning. Turn the tables—substitute for reading of the Scriptures at the opening of the schools the simplest and least offensive of the religious ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church—reading from the Missal some portions of it to which in itself there would be no objection; insist that the school should bow at the name of Jesus; shall always speak of the Virgin Mary as the Blessed Virgin or Holy Mother of God, and see if all of us would be willing to send our children there day by day. See if the pulpits and the ecclesiastical conventions throughout the land would not re-echo the word of alarm; and why should we compel the Jews, who are numerous in our cities, to listen to the New Testament, to repeat the Lord’s Prayer, or the Apostles’ Creed, or be taught the mysteries of redemption, or leave the schools?”*

* Quoted by Dr. Cheever. *The Bible in our Common Schools*, pp. 237, 8.

It is against this doctrine, which is now so extensively embraced and so effectively acted out, that the great body of Christians in this country, and of the Presbyterian Church especially, enter their earnest and solemn protest. They regard it as a virtual renunciation of allegiance to God, as destructive to society, and as certainly involving the final overthrow of the whole system of public education. If the Bible and religion are excluded from our public schools, they and their abettors will very soon be swept away, if the country remain, what it now is, Protestant and Christian.

It is to be borne in mind that a very large part of our population is almost entirely dependent for instruction on the public schools. If, therefore, religion is to be excluded from those schools, a large proportion of the people will inevitably grow up ignorant of religion. Commissioner Flag says, in reference to the State of New York, that "to every ten persons receiving instruction in the higher schools, there are at least five hundred dependent on the common schools for their education." Dr. Cheever says: "Perhaps not more than a sixth part of the families in our country ever attend church, or any other schools than the free schools. Consequently, five-sixths of our whole youthful population are left unprovided with the knowledge of the Bible, and any religious instruction, if you exclude it from the free public schools."* We do not answer for these numbers. It is not necessary for the argument to assume more than must be conceded, viz: that parochial schools, Sabbath-schools, and pastoral and parental instruction leave a very large part of the population dependent for their education on the public schools, and therefore, if religion be banished from those institutions, a large portion of the people must grow up in ignorance of religion. This, then, is a fact to be deliberately considered by those, and especially by those Christians, who advocate the separation of secular and religious education. They are practically consigning thousands of the people to utter ignorance of God, of Christ, of morality, and of the method of salvation. They cannot avoid the fearful responsibility which they thus incur. The man who cuts off the regular supply of

* *The Bible in our Common Schools*, p. 134.

water from a great city, and tells the people they must get water as they can, that the public aqueduct is not the only means of supply, would not act more absurdly or with greater cruelty, than the men who deprive the people of the ordinary and long continued means of religious instruction, and bid them look elsewhere for the most essential kind of knowledge. It is vain to say that religion can be inculcated in the family. Why not leave secular knowledge to be thus inculcated? It is the simple and admitted fact, that, if left to parents, secular education will be, and must be, in the great majority of cases, neglected. But more parents are competent and disposed to teach their children the rudiments of human knowledge, than are qualified or inclined to instruct them in religion. If, therefore, religious instruction be left to parents, it will in most cases be entirely neglected. It is no less in vain to say it is the office of the Church to teach religion. Very true; but the public schools have in all ages been one of the principal and most effective agencies of the Church for accomplishing this mission. You cut off her right hand, and bid her do her work. You debar her access through her members to the young, and bid her bring them up in the fear of God. The Church is the body of Christians, and all Church action is not the action of organized ecclesiastical bodies. Much of the efficiency of the Church is through the activity of her private members, operating as Christians in all the walks of life. The command to teach all nations, given to the Church, is executed not only by the action of presbyteries and synods, of bishops and presbyters, but also by the agency of all the professed followers of Christ, acting in obedience to his command. To tell the Church, therefore, to provide for the religious education of the young, and yet forbid her members to teach religion in the public schools, where alone they can have access to the greater part of them, is simply a mockery. Presbyterians may attend to their own children, and we trust they will do so; Episcopalians may attend to theirs; but who are to attend to the multitudes who recognize no such ecclesiastical connection? Nothing, then, is more certain than that to exclude religious instruction from the public schools is to give up a large part of the people to ignorance of God and duty. This is not a matter of conjecture, but a fact

of experience; and we beg every man who has the welfare of his country, or the good of his fellow-men at heart, to look this fact deliberately in the face, and to pause before he gives his sanction to the popular doctrine of an exclusive secular popular education.

But, in the second place, the whole theory of separate secular education is fallacious and deceptive. The thing is impossible. The human soul is in such a sense a unit, that it is impossible the intellect should be cultivated without developing, favourably or otherwise, the heart and the conscience. You might as well attempt to develope one half of a man's body, and allow the other half to remain as it is. It is impossible to introduce ideas and facts beyond the mere relations of numbers and quantity, into the mind, without their calling into exercise the other powers of our nature. If a child is to read, it must read something. But what can it read in prose or poetry, in history or in fiction, which will not bring up the ideas of God, of right and wrong, of responsibility, of sin and punishment, and of a future state? How can a teacher reprove, exhort, or direct his pupils, without an appeal, more or less direct, to moral and religious motives? If he tells a child that a thing is wrong, can he avoid telling him why it is wrong, what is the standard of duty, and what are the consequences of wrong conduct? He cannot appeal to conscience without awakening the sense of responsibility to God, and creating the necessity of instruction as to what God is, and as to our relations to him as his creatures. If it be true that we live and move and have our being in God, if our finite spirits are at every point in contact with the Infinite Spirit, the attempt to ignore God, and to bring up a child in ignorance of the Supreme Being, is as absurd and as impracticable as the attempt to bring up a living creature, out of contact with the atmosphere.

This, however, is not the worst of it. The separation of religion from secular education is not only impracticable, it is positively evil. The choice is not between religion and no religion; but between religion and irreligion, between Christianity and infidelity. The mere negative of Theism is Atheism. The absence of knowledge and faith in Christianity is infidelity. Even Byron had soul enough to make Lucifer say:

"He that bows not to God, hath bowed to me."

As in a field, if you do not sow grain you will have weeds, so in the human mind, if you do not sow truth, you will have error. The attempt, therefore, to exclude religion from our common schools, is an attempt to bring up in infidelity and atheism all that part of our population who depend on these schools for their education. There is no middle ground here. If a man is not good, he must be bad; if he is not a Theist, he is an Atheist; if he is not a Christian, he is an infidel; and, therefore, a course of education which excludes religion, must from the necessity of the case be irreligious. Mr. Webster, in his argument on the Girard College case, says, speaking of the exclusion of Christianity from that Institution: "There is nothing original in this plan. It has its origin in a deistical source, but not from the highest school of infidelity. It is all idle, it is a mockery, and an insult to common sense, to maintain that a school for the instruction of youth, from which Christian instruction by Christian teachers is sedulously and vigorously shut out, is not deistical and infidel in its purpose and in its tendency." Again, in still stronger language, when speaking of the plan of keeping the young entirely ignorant of religion until they get their education and can judge for themselves, he says: "It is vain to talk about the destructive tendency of such a system; to argue upon it, is to insult the understanding of every man; *it is mere, sheer, low, ribald, vulgar deism and infidelity.* It opposes all that is in heaven, and all that is on earth that is worth being on earth. It destroys the connecting link between the creature and the Creator; it opposes that great system of universal benevolence and goodness that binds man to his Maker." This language is not too strong; and it is not too strong as applied to the system of excluding religion from our common schools, because, and in so far as, those schools are the sole means of education for a large part of the people.

It is indeed admitted by many advocates of exclusive secular education in common schools, that any institution which assumes, for any considerable period, the whole education of a child or youth, "and yet gives no religious instruction or training, is justly said to give an irreligious and godless educa-

tion.”* Very well, this is all we contend for. We readily admit that if adequate provision could be made, and was in fact made, for the instruction of the young in religion elsewhere, there would be no such absolute necessity for its systematical introduction into the common schools. Though even in that case it would be impossible to train and govern advantageously any body of youth, even in secular knowledge, without constant appeals to moral and religious truth. But the fact is, that the common school does assume the whole education of a multitude of children; it is the only education they ever receive, and therefore is in their case “irreligious and godless,” if it is merely secular.

The principle of excluding religion from State institutions, cannot be, and is not consistently carried out, even by its advocates. All the popular objections about sectarianism, the union of the Church and State, the injustice of excluding Jews and Romanists from educational institutions which they are taxed to sustain, bear against schools for the deaf and dumb with as much force as against common schools; yet by common consent not only Christianity, but Protestant Christianity, is inculcated in all such establishments. Would the public endure that all religious instruction should be refused to the deaf and dumb, because a Jew or Romanist might object to the nature of that instruction? It may be said, that the only instruction which the deaf and dumb receive is communicated in schools designed for their benefit exclusively, whereas the frequenters of common schools can be taught religion elsewhere. This answer does not touch the principle of the objection, and it is not a fact. The deaf and dumb are taught to read, and when that is accomplished, they might be sent to their friends to be taught religion. And this is the course which consistency would require our opponents to take; but the operation of their principle is here seen too clearly to admit of its being carried out. The children are all together, and constantly under the eye of the observer, whereas the children of the common schools scatter to their homes as soon as the school is dismissed, and therefore the effect of the absence of religious training is

* *New Englander*, April, 1848, p. 244.

not so clearly seen. It is not, however, the less real. And the man whose heart and conscience would revolt at the idea of leaving the deaf and dumb in ignorance of God and Christ, should not do in the case of thousands, what he would not venture to do in the case of tens.

We are fully persuaded that the attempt to banish religion and the Bible from common schools, which owes its origin and success to Papists, Infidels, and scheming politicians, which is opposed to the practice of all Christian countries, to the judgment of all the great statesmen of the forming period of our country, and to the general usage of our forefathers, Presbyterian and Puritan, will, if persisted in, result in the overthrow of the whole system of popular education. The people will bear a great deal. They may allow men to trifle with their interests; they may submit to measures which encroach upon their rights; but if you touch their conscience, you awaken a power before which all human resistance is vain. If history teaches any thing, it teaches the danger and folly of wounding the moral and religious convictions of men. We owe all the liberty the world possesses to tyrants trespassing on the domain of conscience. Christians, determined not to do what God forbids, and resolved to do what God commands, are the authors and preservers of civil and religious liberty. If our public men for the sake of conciliating the Papists, or of avoiding trouble, undertake to say that Protestant Christianity, in this Protestant and Christian country, shall not be taught in our public schools, we venture to predict that they and their schools will be very summarily overthrown. The reason why so little resistance has been manifested to the edicts of legislatures and superintendents, is that the people utterly disregard them. They care not a farthing for what the State officer at the seat of power says as to what their children shall be taught. The time for resistance will come when these State officers undertake to carry their edicts forbidding religious instruction into effect. We know of public schools, both in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, in which the Westminster Catechism is taught every day; and we believe that, in very many cases, the children in our own common schools are taught just what their parents see fit to have them learn. The safety of the system of public instruc-

tion depends on its freedom; on its being left to receive the form and application which the people may choose to give it; and upon our public men keeping the system out of the control of Papists and Infidels. The country may be deluded and cajoled, and we think here lies the danger, but the people will never submit with their eyes open to a merely secular, which is only another name for an irreligious and godless education.

Among ourselves there exists, so far as we know, scarcely a diversity of opinion on this subject. The *Southern Presbyterian Review*, in an article against "Denominational Education," says, while advocating the State system: "Religion, as a distinct and most important part of knowledge; revealed religion, as the received religion of our country, so far from being excluded from general education, should be made a prominent part of it, from the primary school to the University." It is the principal object of the book of Mr. Stephen Colwell, (a strenuous advocate of State, as opposed to Church schools,) the title of which is placed at the head of this article, to prove the right and the necessity of religious instruction in common schools. "There has never," he says, "been a more suicidal position taken by the most unwise of our politicians or statesmen, or the worst of our internal foes, than this exclusion of Christianity from public education. The worst enemy of humanity could not have devised a doctrine more dangerous to our republican institutions. It is fortunately too absurd, too monstrous, too unthankful, to take deep and lasting root in American soil."* Whether absurd and monstrous or not, it is the reigning doctrine of the day among those who control legislative bodies. On page 105, the author says: "If we have succeeded in conveying to our readers our own conviction of what is due to the present and coming generations of children in our republic, of the civil and religious obligations which will rest on these children when they arrive at maturity, and of the facilities of doing good then to be enjoyed, they cannot fail to see that the Church or denomination which opposes religious instruction in the public schools, is at war with our institutions, with our civilization, and with the public peace and safety. That Bible upon which

* Position of Christianity, &c., p. 98.

the largest portion of the judicial oaths of the United States are administered; that Bible which is the fountain of our Christianity, and which our whole system, civil and religious, assumes to be the Word of God, is the Bible which should be held up to the children in our public schools, announced to be a revelation from the Most High, the will of God, the Old and New Testament of Christianity. It should be taught the children to that extent, and in that way, which an enlightened and liberal piety would dictate." Again, on page 116, he says: "In one sense, it is true, there can be no compromise in religious matters; that which is vital to Christianity cannot be surrendered or kept out of view. The Bible cannot be sacrificed nor kept out of view to conciliate the prejudices of any, whether priest or infidel. It is the manual of Christianity. We cannot concede that the Bible is a mere human production, because it is of the essence of Christianity that the Bible is a revelation from God."

It is then the settled conviction of all parties in our Church, and of the great body of the religious public, that popular education, by whomsoever administered, should in this country be Christian and Protestant. This is a position which we hope and pray may never be given up.

The third position is, that this combined secular and religious education of the young, is the common duty of parents, of the State, and of the Church. It has indeed been argued that if it is the duty of the Church, it is not incumbent on the State, and if incumbent on the State, it is not the duty of the Church. But this is a fallacy. It might as well be said, that if it is the duty of parents, it is the work neither of the Church nor of the State, and if it binds either of the latter, it does not bind the former. The truth is, that it binds all the above named parties equally.

There are other things besides education which impose this common obligation. Individuals, as men and Christians, are bound to relieve the poor; but this obligation rests also on the State, and on the Church in her organized capacity. So, too, the care of the sick belongs, as a duty and privilege, to individuals and to society as a secular and religious organization. Has not the Church its deacons for the very purpose of taking

care of the sick and of the poor? But does this exonerate either individuals or the State from this great natural duty of religion and humanity? The fact, therefore, that education may be proved to be the proper work of the State, is no evidence that it does not belong to the Church; and to prove that it belongs of divine right to the Church, is no evidence that it does not belong, by the same solemn sanction, to the State. It belongs alike to both, and for the same reasons, and on the same grounds; that is, from the design of their institution, from the necessity of the case, and from divine command.

The State is a divine institution. All its legitimate powers and functions have the sanction of divine authority, for the powers that be are ordained of God. Neither the existence nor the powers of the State depend on any social compact as their ultimate foundation. The State is a body of men organized, under divine authority, as a political community, for the protection of human rights, the promotion of the common good, and enforcing of the moral law, *i. e.*, for the punishment of those who do evil, and the praise of those who do well. Such being the design of the State, it has of course the authority to do whatever is necessary to attain the end of its appointment. It can regulate commerce, make roads, administer justice, raise armies, construct navies, provide for the poor, the sick, and the young. It can educate soldiers and sailors for the public service, and why not the people, to fit them for the duties of citizens? There is no function of government which flows more immediately from the design of its institution, than that of providing for the education of the people, because education is the most essential means for accomplishing the end for which the State exists, *viz.*, the prevention of evil and the promotion of good. By the instinct of its being, therefore, revealing its nature, every enlightened State has its schools, academies, and colleges, as well as its poor-houses and hospitals, or its armies and navies.

This duty not only flows from the design for which civil governments exist, but also from the necessity of the case. It is a sound principle, that the State has the right to do whatever it is necessary it should do for the promotion of the general good. If the means for securing the public good can be more

effectually and safely applied by individuals, by voluntary organizations, or by the Church, than by the State, then the latter is not bound to employ these means. But if there is no other adequate provision for the accomplishment of the desired end, it is clearly the right and duty of the State to interfere. It is the universal conviction that popular education is necessary for the public good; it is a no less general conviction that a work so vast as the education of the whole population cannot be accomplished effectually, except by the systematical exercise of the power of the State, and by the application of its resources. We know no one, therefore, who ventures to deny the right in question.

All this is confirmed by the Scriptures. God, in ordaining civil government for the protection of men and for the promotion of the public good, did thereby invest it with all the powers requisite for the attainment of its object. He holds magistrates responsible for the conduct and character of the people, which implies that they have by divine right the authority to teach, or cause them to be taught, whatever is necessary to their well being. The numerous commands given in Scripture to have the people taught, are not addressed to individuals only, but to the community, *i. e.*, they are addressed to men not only in their separate but in their organized capacity. Nations as nations are addressed, commanded, encouraged, and threatened. Ignorance of God and of his law, is condemned and punished as a national sin. The Bible everywhere recognizes the principle that nations, as such, should be under the control of the law of God, and that they should not forget or allow the knowledge of that law to fail from among the people.

It may be said, and has often been assumed, however, that though the State has authority to provide for secular education, it has no right to interfere in teaching religion. This is the ground taken by many advocates of the exclusion of religion from our public schools. It is said the State has no religion; that it has no means of determining what the true religion is; that religious instruction in common schools is the first step towards ecclesiastical domination, or the union of the Church and the State.

If, however, the State is bound to educate at all, it is bound

to impart that kind of education which is necessary to secure the ends of good government. The State does in a multitude of cases assume the whole work of education; it gives all the instruction which a large portion of the young receive. But such education if merely secular, is conceded to be "irreligious and godless." No sane man will maintain, that the State is bound, or has the right, to train up the young in irreligion and atheism. If, therefore, the work of education is, by the providence and word of God, thrown upon the State, it must be an education in religion. The State is bound to see that the true religion is taught in all the schools under its control. This is the common sentiment of all our great men of the last generation, from Washington to a late period. All the early advocates of popular education, the authors of the common school system, as adopted in our several States, have insisted on the vital importance of training the young in the principles of piety and morality.* Those among ourselves who have arrayed themselves against "Denominational Education," have done so on the ground that our "common Christianity," our "common Protestantism," as Mr. Colwell calls it, or "religion"—"revealed religion," as the *Southern Presbyterian Review* expresses it, may be, and should be made a prominent subject of instruction in all our institutions, from the primary school to the University. It is a new, and a latitudinarian doctrine, that the State cannot teach, or cause to be taught, the great truths and duties of religion.

All the arguments which go to prove the right and duty of the State to provide for the education of the people, go to establish the right and duty of making that education religious. If the design of the State is the promotion of the public good; if religious education is necessary for the attainment of that object, and if such education cannot in a multitude of cases be secured otherwise than by State intervention, then we must either admit that the State is bound to provide for the religious education of its members, or assume the absurd position, that the State is not bound to answer the very end of its existence.

It may be objected to this argument, that since the preaching of the Gospel is essential to the public good, the State is

* See abundant proof of this presented in Dr. Cheever's able and important book.

under obligation to secure the preaching of the Gospel to the people. So it would be, were there not other agencies by which that end might be more safely and effectually accomplished. In every case in which other agencies cannot operate, the State is bound to provide its subjects with the ministrations of the gospel. It is under the most sacred obligations to provide chaplains for the army and navy, for military schools, and penitentiaries, and on this principle all Christian States, our own among the number, have ever acted.

The two leading objections to the doctrine, that the State is bound to provide for the religious education of the young, are the following; the one theoretical, and the other practical. The former is, that the State has no religion and has no means of determining what the true religion is; the latter, that in consequence of the diversity of opinion on religious subjects among the people, no system of religious instruction can be introduced into the public schools, which will not offend the feelings, or interfere with the rights of conscience of a portion of the people. In the *New Englander* for April, 1848, already quoted, it is said: "The principle, which has been so extensively adopted in the discussion of this subject, that in this country the State, or civil power, is Christian and Protestant, and therefore that schools sustained and directed in part thereby are Christian and Protestant, and that whoever attends them has no right to object to a rule requiring all to study Christian and Protestant books and doctrines, we wholly disbelieve and deny. The State, the civil power in whatever form, in this country, is no more Protestant or Christian, than it is Jewish or Mohammedan. It is of no religion whatever. It is simply political, interposing, or having the right to interpose, in matters of religion, only by protecting its citizens in the free exercise of their religion, whatever it be; of course excepting such violations of civil rights, or civil morality, as any may commit under a pretence, or a fanatical sense of religion." p. 242. Here, indeed, is a radical difference. We, on the contrary, maintain that the State in this country is Christian and Protestant, and is bound to see that the schools which it establishes are conducted on Christian and Protestant principles, and that the chaplains which it appoints are neither Jews nor Mohammedans. This

country is a Christian and Protestant country, granting universal toleration; *i. e.* allowing men of all religions to live within our borders, to acquire property, to exercise the rights of citizens, and to conduct their religious services according to their own convictions of duty. Turkey is a Mohammedan State, granting a very large measure of toleration to men of other religions. Most of the governments in Europe are Roman Catholic States, granting little or no toleration to Protestants. Sweden is a Protestant State, allowing freedom of action only to the Lutheran Church. What is meant by all this? It means that in Turkey the religion of Mohammed is the common law of the land; that the Koran regulates and determines the legislative, judicial, and executive action of the government. Whenever men associate for any purpose whatever, they do, and must, associate under the control of their religion, whatever that religion may be. If a body of Christian men organize themselves as an insurance company, or as a railroad company, or as the trustees of a college, they are bound to act as Christians in their collective capacity. They can rightfully do nothing as an organization which Christianity forbids, and they are required to do everything which Christianity enjoins, in reference to the work in which as a corporation they are engaged. Thus if a number of Christians and Protestants organize themselves as a State or political community, they are obviously bound to regulate their legislative, judicial, and executive action by the principles of their religion. No law in this country which does violence to Christianity, can be rightfully enacted by Congress, or by any State Legislature; nor would such a law, if enacted, bind the consciences of the people. No judicial decision, inconsistent with the Bible, can be, according to the supreme law of the land, or morally, obligatory. No State legislature would pass a law authorizing polygamy. Such a law being inconsistent with Christianity, would be invalid *in foro conscientiae*, and a flagrant violation of the common law of the land, which underlies all our State constitutions, and is paramount to all legislative enactments. If a court should divorce a man and his wife for mere incompatibility of temper, they would not thereby cease to be man and wife. Men cannot make void the law of God. They cannot free themselves from the obligation to obey his word.

To say, therefore, that the State, in this country, is no more Christian and Protestant than it is Jewish or Mohammedan, is tantamount to saying, that the people of the country are destitute of all religion, of all faith, of all allegiance to God, and of all regard to the moral law. The utter absurdity, as well as infidelity of this sentiment, is betrayed by the concession that the State is bound to act in accordance with "civil morality." What modicum of moral obligation is intended by that expression, we do not know, but no matter how infinitesimal it may be, it establishes the principle. If the State is bound by any moral law, no matter how attenuated, it is of course bound by the law which its members recognize as divine. The heathen govern themselves by their convictions of moral and religious duty; so do Mohammedans, and so must Christians, unless they are recreant and reprobate. Christianity is the common and the supreme law of the land, from the necessity of the case, because it is the religion of those who constitute the country. Blessed be God, this fact is a historical and established one, which cannot be shaken by denial. It is a fact that Christianity is the religion of the people, that it does control our State action; that no congress or legislature, no court or convention has ever ventured to deny themselves bound by the Bible and the moral law. Our real statesmen, our highest judges, our chief magistrates, the founders of our government, and the ornaments of our country, have with one voice and in various forms acknowledged that Christianity is the law of the land. The Jewish religion allowed polygamy and arbitrary divorce. But no Jew in this country can be a polygamist, or put away his wife at pleasure. No man can legally pursue his ordinary avocations on the Christian Sabbath. No man can blaspheme God or Christ with impunity; and that not simply because these things might lead to a breach of the peace, but because they are wicked, and against the public conscience.

It is the principal object of the work of Mr. Colwell, at the head of this article, to prove that Christianity has ever been recognized as part of the common law in this country. Among the authorities cited are the following. Judge Story, in his Commentaries on the Constitution, says: "It is impossible for those who believe in the truth of Christianity as a divine reve-

lation, to doubt that it is the special duty of government to foster and cherish it among all the citizens and subjects." "Every American colony, from its foundation down to the Revolution, with the exception of Rhode Island (if indeed that State be an exception) did openly, by the whole course of its laws and institutions, sustain in some form the Christian religion, and almost invariably gave a peculiar sanction to some of its fundamental doctrines." "In a republic there would seem to be a peculiar propriety in viewing the Christian religion as the great basis on which it must rest for its support and permanence, if it be what it has ever been deemed by its truest friends to be, the religion of liberty." At the time of the adoption of the constitution of the United States, he says, "The attempt to level all religions, and to make it a matter of State policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation, if not universal indignation."*

In the Act for the better government of the Navy of the United States, is the following clause: "The commanders of all ships and vessels in the navy, having a chaplain on board, shall take care that divine service be performed in a solemn and reverent manner, twice a day, a sermon preached on Sunday, unless bad weather or other extraordinary accidents prevent it; and that they cause as many of the ship's company as can be spared from duty, to attend every performance of the worship of Almighty God."—*Colwell*, p. 29.

Judge Duncan, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in a judicial decision says, "Christianity is and always has been a part of the common law" of that State. "It is impossible," he adds, "to administer the laws without taking the religion which the defendant in error has scoffed at—that Scripture which he has reviled, as their basis."—*Ibid.* pp. 55 and 58.

Mr. Webster made the following noble declaration on this subject: "There is nothing we look for with more certainty than this principle, that Christianity is part of the law of the land. This was the case among the Puritans of New England, the Episcopalians of the Southern States, the Pennsylvania Quakers, the Baptists, the mass of the followers of Whitefield, and Wesley, and the Presbyterians. All brought, and all have

* *Position of Christianity*, pp. 24, 25.

adopted this great truth, and all have sustained it. And where there is any religious sentiment among men at all, this sentiment incorporates itself with the law. Everything declares it.

"The generations which have gone before speak to it, and pronounce it from the tomb. We feel it. All, all proclaim that Christianity, general tolerant Christianity, Christianity independent of sects and parties, that Christianity to which the sword and fagot are unknown, general tolerant Christianity, is the law of the land."—*Ibid.* 61.

How exalted and noble are these words in contrast with the miserable and shallow sophism that the State is not more Christian than it is Jewish or Mohammedan! If then, it cannot but be, as our jurists and statesmen worthy of the name, declare it in fact is, that a Christian people of necessity constitute a Christian state—a state controlled in all its actions by the truths and laws of Christianity; just as by a like necessity a Mohammedan people constitute a Mohammedan state, controlled by the Koran, it of course follows, that in conducting the work of education, the State in this Christian country is bound to conduct it on Christian principles. It is, therefore, only by a violence to all just and ordinary principles of action, that the public schools in a Christian country, should be no more Christian, than Jewish or Mohammedan. The schools in China are instinct with the doctrines of Confucius; the schools in Turkey are imbued with the spirit of the Koran; and if the schools of America are not pervaded by the truths and principles of Christianity, it will be because we are the most irreligious or the most easily befooled people the world has yet produced. The objection to the introduction of religion into the public schools, founded on the assumption that the State in this country is of no religion, may, therefore, be dismissed as a mere infidel cavil.

The second great objection is, that such is the diversity of religious opinion in this country, that it is impossible to introduce any system of religious instruction into our educational establishments, which will not interfere with the rights of conscience. Mr. Benedict, as we have seen, asks: "Why should we compel the Jews, who are numerous in our cities, to listen to the New Testament, to repeat the Lord's Prayer, or the Apostle's creed, or be taught the mysteries of redemption, or

leave the school?" There are about seventeen thousand Jews in this country, and for their accommodation twenty millions of Christians are required to bring down their system of education to the Jewish standard. There are doubtless some thousands of Atheists and Pantheists in the country, who deny not only the existence of God, but any distinction between right and wrong. By parity of reasoning, we are bound for their benefit to exclude from our schools all reference to God, or to the first principles of morals. Such is the style of argument by which our presidents of Boards of Education, our State superintendents, and even our State legislatures, would overthrow a system of education which has prevailed in all ages in every part of Christendom. If it is a plain principle, that the State has no right to force an individual or a minority to do what their conscience forbids, it is a principle no less plain, though often strangely overlooked, that the minority have no right to force the majority to violate their conscience. The public conscience in every Christian country, and in this country pre-eminently, demands that public education shall not be "irreligious and godless;" and for the State to declare it shall be, under pretence of not wounding the conscience of the minority, is as gross a violation of the rights of conscience, as high-handed an act of injustice, and as gross an absurdity, as was ever perpetrated. Of all methods of solving the difficulty in question, this would appear to be the most preposterous. Suppose a few Christians were to settle in a Mohammedan country, and acquire the rights of citizenship, what would be thought of the demand, that for their accommodation the Koran should be banished from all the schools of the land, that all instruction in the religion of the country should be forbidden? Such a demand would be scouted by every reasonable man. Is not the proposal to banish Christianity from the schools of this Christian country, for the sake of a handful of infidels and atheists, worthy of still stronger indignation?

It may be said, however, that the minority are taxed for the support of the public schools, and, therefore, they have a right to require them to be conducted so as to suit their views. But are not the majority taxed too? Have they no rights in the premises? Besides, are not men taxed for educational purposes,

who have no children to educate? Is not a man with two children often taxed five times as much as the man with ten? Are we not all taxed for railroads, canals, hospitals, and colleges, from which we derive no immediate personal advantage? We get our compensation in the promotion of the public welfare. And those who are taxed for public schools receive a thousand fold the worth of their money in the elevation and improvement of society, even though their children never enter a State institution.

It is evident that all that has been said in reference to the exclusion of Christianity from the public schools, for the sake of Jews or Infidels, applies to the exclusion of Protestantism for the sake of Romanists. If a few thousand Protestants should become citizens of Spain or Austria, and require the Romish religion to be banished from all the public institutions of those countries, the Romanists would see them all reduced to ashes at the stake, before they would even listen to the demand. What effrontery, then, is it for the Papists in this Protestant land, to require that our schools should, for their sake, cease to be Protestant? To what an abyss of degradation was the Empire State led down by her puny politicians, when she submitted all her school-books to be expurgated by Bishop Hughes! With what ineffable scorn for Protestantism and Protestant institutions, must that astute prelate have drawn his effacing pen over the words of life and liberty which glow on every page of English and American literature! May this infamy remain for ever without a parallel, and may those blackened books be soon committed to the flames, and replaced by others luminous with Protestant Christianity! Nothing short of this can ever efface the stigma which mars the lofty brow of that great State.

If the Romanists, however, are our fellow citizens, entitled to the same political privileges, and to the same measure of religious liberty as other portions of our population, what is to be done? In answering this question it should be remembered that this is, in the sense before explained, a Protestant country. The religious character of a State does not depend primarily on the opinions of a majority of its members. It is historically determined. Turkey is a Mohammedan State, though the

Turks constitute a small minority of the people. Here, however, both the historical origin of our government, and the convictions of the vast majority of the people, concur in giving us a Protestant character. This is an undeniable fact, and therefore any solution of the difficulty in question which ignores that fact, must do violence to the public conscience. For a Protestant people to make their educational institutions acceptable to Romanists, cannot be done without their ceasing to be Protestant. It would be just as reasonable for the Papists to require that our political institutions should be accommodated to their religious convictions. Every one who knows anything of the theory of the Romish Church, or who is capable of tracing the logical consequences of the doctrine of Church infallibility, sees and knows that the Romish conscience does and must require the subordination of the State to the Church. It does and must require the forcible suppression of what it regards as heresy. If the Romish conscience, therefore is to be our rule of action, we must give up our republicanism as well as our religion; and if we are besotted enough to give up the latter, the sooner the former is taken from us the better.*

If then this country cannot, and ought not to, give up the Protestant character of its schools to satisfy Romanists, the question returns, what is to be done? The simplest answer to this question is, let Romanists do what Protestants do in Romish countries. Let them have schools of their own. The Christians in Turkey do not call upon the government to sustain their schools. Protestants in Spain and Italy make no such demand upon the Romish authorities. There is no real hardship or injustice, as we have shown, in Romanists being left to provide their own schools, even though they are taxed to

* There is another consideration which shows the unspeakable folly of Protestants attempting to conciliate Romanists by excluding religion from our common schools. The immense sacrifice is unavailing. Schools without religion are not what Romanists want. They are no great friends of popular education at best; and they are decided enemies of all education which is not in the hands of the priesthood. The good people of Salem were simple enough to dispense "with all religious exercises" in their school, "in order," as they say, "that the children of Roman Catholic parents might be free to attend. This change," they add, "failed of producing the desired effect, our (Roman) Catholic brethren having provided instruction for their own children."

sustain the schools of the State. The Quakers are justly taxed for the support of the army and navy, because they have the benefit of their protection, although they disapprove of the means by which security is obtained. If Romanists derive in various ways incalculable benefits from popular education, they may be justly taxed for its support, though they disapprove of its character.

This is one way, and as we think, one that is simple and just, of meeting the difficulty. If Romanists should neglect to establish schools of their own, the result would be, that a large part of their youth would resort to Protestant schools. If the plan suggested, though just, should be regarded as ungenerous, let Romanists be exempted in whole or in part from taxation, on condition that they should maintain a sufficient number of schools for the education of Catholic children, to be approved by the officers of the State.

Still a third method may be suggested. If the State thinks that it is far better that the children of the Roman Catholics should be educated in the Romish religion, than that they should be allowed to grow up in ignorance, let the State contribute to the support of their schools, not as to State institutions for which the State is responsible, but as to schools which do the public good service, though not belonging to the public as a Christian and Protestant body. Our conscience would not object to this. We might contribute to the support of a Turkish hospital, without approving of the religion practised within its walls. These are methods of meeting an acknowledged difficulty, any one of which we regard as incomparably better than the suicidal and futile attempt to banish from our Protestant institutions everything to which a Papist can object.

Besides the difficulty arising from the Romanists, it is further urged as a reason for excluding all religious instruction from the common schools, that Protestant denominations differ so much among themselves, that it is impossible to suit the views of all. On this we would remark. 1. That this difficulty is in a great measure imaginary. It did not originate with Protestants, but with Infidels and Romanists. Our several colleges, such as Yale, Nassau Hall, Jefferson, &c., are frequented by students of all

Protestant denominations, and yet religious instruction is freely given in them all. In Yale, Dr. Dwight was in the habit of delivering to the undergraduates those admirable lectures which have since been published under the title of "Dwight's Theology." Did any one ever object to this? Thirty or forty years ago, religion was taught in every school in New England, without objection from any source.

2. Our second remark is, that this harmony was attained not by limiting the instruction to what is called "general Christianity," but by allowing the people to do as they please. In the great majority of cases, there would be no objection to thorough religious training by the study of the Bible and of the Catechism. If any parent should object, let him have his child either exempted from attendance on the religious instruction, or permitted to study the catechism of the Church to which the parent belongs. What injustice, hardship, or difficulty is there in all this?

3. Let State officers and legislatures, instead of bending all their influence to make public instruction as little religious as possible, endeavour to render it as thoroughly Christian and Protestant as they can. Instead of vainly striving to make the schools acceptable to sceptics and Papists, let them strive to make them what they ought to be—and the people will rise up and call them blessed. Let thoroughly religious and Protestant books be provided for the libraries; let the Bible be made an indispensable text-book in every school; let some approved catechism be taught to every child, and let every care be taken to have the teachers not only competent, but religious, and we venture to predict that where one man is offended a hundred will rejoice. This is only asking the State to return to what it was and did, before scepticism and popery scared it from its propriety, and made it a prey to the enemies of all religion.

Having attempted to show that the State is entitled and bound to provide for the general education of the people; that in this country education should be Christian and Protestant; and that the objections against the introduction of religion into the common schools, made in behalf of Jews, Infidels, and Romanists, are unreasonable and fallacious, the next point to

be considered is the true prerogative of the Church in the matter of education. That secular as well as religious education, the former as a necessary adjunct of the latter, falls legitimately within the power of the Church, we never heard questioned until of late. When under the preaching of the Apostles, multitudes of the Jews and Gentiles were converted to Christianity, they formed themselves into a distinct society. They had their own places of worship, their own schools, and they took charge of their own sick and poor. They acted not only as individuals, but in their collective capacity as a Church in reference to all these objects. They had their officers for the instruction of the young, as well as for the cure of souls, or care of the poor. The idea that they were to leave their children to go to schools conducted by the heathen, and imbued with heathen doctrines and usages, never seems to have entered a Christian mind. Nor does any Christian ever seem to have doubted that it was the right and duty of the Church to provide for the education of her own children. As Christianity advanced, and the necessity and resources of the Church increased, institutions designed for the promotion of learning and religion were established under her influence and control, in every part of Christendom. When the Reformation occurred, the instruction of the young under the care of the Church, was one of the earliest, and one of the principal objects of attention. Calvin in Geneva, Luther in Germany, the Protestants of Holland, France, and Scotland, had their systems of schools, academies, and colleges, under the direction and control of the Church. This was done, not only where the Church and State were intimately united, and because of that union, but also, as in France, where no such union existed. The Christians and Churches of America have always acted on the same principle. The clergy of Boston, and of the neighbouring towns, the representatives and organs of the Churches, had the official control of Harvard. Yale was under the real and effective authority of the Churches of Connecticut. Princeton owes its existence to the Synod of New York and New Jersey. Every denomination of Christians in the land have schools and colleges under their control. It seems rather late in the day to discover that all this is wrong, that the Church

has nothing to do with secular education, that denominational schools, academies, and colleges, under the control of Church courts, are anomalies and dangerous innovations; or that a State legislature is a safer body to which to intrust the great interests of education, than a court composed of ministers and elders, the representatives of the disciples of Christ. It is hard to argue this point. There seems to be but one side to the question. The ablest pens engaged in the attempt to vindicate an exclusive right in the State, to control the education of the people, lose all their wonted power.

The design of the Church includes as one of its essential objects the instruction of the people. Christ said to her: "Go teach all nations." Her ministers are teachers; her great office is instruction. Of course what the Church is required to teach, is the religion of Jesus Christ. She is to do this in the most effective way. Everything necessary for the accomplishment of this object, comes within the scope of her commission, and assumes the nature of a divine command. If she takes the Gospel to a people who cannot read, she is bound to teach them letters. If she goes where the philosophy, the history, the science, and literature of the people are imbued with irreligious and antichristian principles, she is bound to establish institutions in which all these subjects may be taught in combination with the truth. To deny this right to the Church, is to deny her the power to fulfil her great commission. If she is to reap the harvest of truth, she must break up the fallow ground, and extirpate the briers and thorns, as well as sow the seed. You might as reasonably sow wheat in a jungle, as expect to get Christian knowledge and faith established in minds imbued with the doctrines of heathenism. Every missionary body, therefore, has felt that education, the education of the young, secular as well as religious, was indispensable for the propagation of the Gospel and the establishment of the church in heathen lands. Batticotta in Ceylon, Dr. Duff's Institution in Calcutta, Allahabad in Northern India, are all monuments and evidences of the necessity of secular education to the propagation of the Gospel. These are Church Institutions, and to deny the right of the Church to establish such schools, shocks the conscientious convictions of the religious

community, and excites something bordering on indignation. Such denial never could have been ventured on by good men, except to serve a purpose. In their zeal to protect the public schools from injury, and to secure for them the co-operation of the religious community; and in their anxiety lest State colleges or those under the control of self-perpetuating boards of trustees, should lose caste or confidence, a few, and only a few of our leading men, have been led for a time, into the apparent assumption that the Church and Church-courts have nothing to do with secular education. We believe, however, there has been no little misapprehension on both sides, on this subject; and that no party, and perhaps no individual in our Church, is now prepared deliberately to question the right of the Church to have her own schools, academies, and colleges, whenever and wherever they are necessary for the attainment of the great end of a Christian and Protestant education. That Christians in the midst of heathens, that Protestants in the midst of Romanists, not only have the right to such establishments under their own ecclesiastical control, but are solemnly bound by the command of God, and the nature of their vocation as a Church, to have them, no man, we presume, will venture to deny. And that this right which thus inheres in the Church, in virtue of her commission and the design of her appointment, it is to be exercised whenever the ends of a thorough religious education cannot otherwise be attained, we hold to be equally beyond dispute.

The arguments urged against the right of the Church in this matter, are such as these. 1. That if education belongs to the Church it cannot belong to the State. This, we have before remarked, is an obvious fallacy. The care of the sick and of the poor belong, by divine command, to the Church and to the State alike. 2. If education belongs to the Church, it is said, it must be of the nature of religious things, and the duty of superintending it must be in its nature spiritual. This is another fallacy. All that is needed is, to show that education is necessary as a means for the promotion of religion. If the Church is bound to secure the end, she has the right to use the requisite means. The care of the sick and poor is not so much of the nature of religious things, as education is, and yet the care of

the poor, by divine command, belongs to the Church. How easy would it be to retort the objection. If religion, we might say, is a necessary part of education, it cannot belong to the State, for the State is in its nature secular. But those whose arguments we are now considering, admit that the State is bound to secure a religious education for the people. A secular power, therefore, may be bound to do a religious work; then why may not the Church, a religious power, be bound to do a secular work? The fact is, both are bound to do what is necessary for the ends of their existence.*

3d. Another form of the same argument is presented thus: "Education is an affair purely civil, purely temporal. It cannot be shown, that the processes of acquiring the art of reading and writing, have anything more to do with the spiritual operations of our being, than the processes of acquiring any other art; for these are merely arts—arts by means of one of which, when acquired, we may ourselves proceed indefinitely in the acquisition of knowledge; and by means of the other of which, we may act indefinitely in the communication of knowledge. Nor can it be shown, that the process by which any one part of knowledge, not purely moral, is acquired, is any more religious, or has any more relation to religion, than any other part of knowledge; so that every means by which any mortal acquires any knowledge, is as much liable as the district school, to be engrossed by the Church; as indeed it has been in past ages. Nor can it be shown that a company of boys at school, is more liable to spiritual injury, than a company of boys at a tannery or a carpenter's shop; nor that unsanctified study, as they express it, more demands, upon principle, the supervision of the Church, than unsanctified play, or unsanctified work."†

Even if the premises of this argument were correct, the conclusion would not necessarily follow. We might admit that "education is an affair purely civil, purely temporal;" that what a boy is expected to learn in the district school, the

* The Church, it is said, should have the control of things strictly religious, and of none other; for her Master has given this control, and no other; and right reason, as well as divine truth, limits her to this sphere as the one of her true and real power.
—*Southern Presbyterian Review.*

† *Southern Presbyterian Review.*

academy, or college, has no more relation to religion, than what he learns in a tannery or carpenter's shop; and yet consistently assert the right of the Church, on due occasion, to supervise and control it. Architecture, and the building of houses, is a matter purely civil, and yet the Church has the right to build houses and to organize a system of Church extension. The truth is, that any thing, no matter how purely it may be of a civil nature in itself considered, becomes a legitimate matter of Church direction whenever it is a necessary means for the promotion of religion. We, however, deny that education is in its nature a civil affair. On the contrary, the training of the young is of necessity of a moral and religious, as well as an intellectual operation. The Southern Reviewer himself says: Revealed religion "ought to be made a prominent part of education, from the primary school to the University." How, then, can it be "an affair purely civil?" How can the school be sunk to a level with the tannery? Is "the revealed religion" an essential part of the art of tanning leather? It is only by degrading education to a level with a handicraft, that even a plausible pretext can be framed for withdrawing it from the province of the Church.

4th. It is urged that the Church has not perfectly secured the object aimed at, when she had the control of schools and colleges. Even in Scotland, "it has not availed much that the schoolmasters must be members of the Established Church, and in our own country memorable examples are not wanting to prove that we have achieved little in the way of giving education a safe moral direction, when we have placed it most completely under ecclesiastical control." We cannot see the force of this argument. Does the fact that the Church has not fully accomplished her mission, though she has ever been intrusted with the preaching of the gospel, prove that she has no right to preach? or that she should be forbid to exercise that right? How then does the fact, that she has not accomplished her whole work, though she has had the control of education, prove either that she has no right to educate, or that the work should be taken out of her hands and given to the State? Has nothing been done in Scotland by her parish schools? Lives there a Scotchman in the world, or a man in whose veins a drop of

Scotch blood circulates, who has courage to say, it had been well for Scotland had her parochial schools never existed, or that the control of them had been in the hands of her Stuarts and Lauderdales?

5th. The work is represented as far too great for the Church to accomplish. This objection bears only against those, if any there be, who maintain that the Church has the exclusive right to educate. We know no one who takes this ground. It is expressly disclaimed by the Board of Education, and by their able and devoted Secretary. All admit that there is work enough for Church and State, for individuals and bodies corporate, to do. It should, however, be borne on the conscience of the Church, that should the State provide only a secular or irreligious education, the whole work would come on her. She would in that case be bound to declare off from all State schools, and assume the work of providing a proper education for the whole people. She has assumed the work of preaching the gospel for the whole population. The work of education is not greater, and will not prove to be beyond her strength. If God brings the occasion, he will give the grace. The objection, however, from the magnitude of the work, does not bear in the present posture of the controversy. No one wishes to drive the State from the field, so that the Church may have everything to do.

6th. Much the most plausible argument, not against the right of the Church, but against the expediency of the establishment of parochial schools, is, that if Christians of various denominations devote their energy to the establishment of Church schools, the public institutions will be left in the hands of irreligious men. More good, it is urged, can be accomplished, more power exerted in the promotion of religious knowledge by the Christian community giving a right direction to the public schools, than by the establishment of schools under Church control. If this were so, we should, on the grounds of expediency, be opposed to denominational education. It is to be remembered, however, that the establishment of parochial schools has been forced upon the Church, by the irreligious character of the education furnished by the State. No one heard of parochial schools until, under the instigation of Pa-

pists, the State authorities began to exclude the Bible and to expurgate the school books. We, however, do not believe that denominational education will seriously interfere with the interest taken in the schools of the State. Christians see that the public schools are exerting an immense influence on the public mind. They have every possible motive to labour to make those schools as good as possible. The establishment of parochial schools, by raising the standard of education, and by provoking emulation, will tend to improve the whole system of State education.

Neither, then, on the ground of right nor expediency, can the propriety of the Church assuming her position as "one of the parties" in the work of education, be legitimately called in question. By her divine commission she is required to teach all nations. It is impossible that she should fulfil her commission without, in a multitude of cases, engaging in the work of secular education. And, therefore, wherever and whenever the proper religious and secular training of the young cannot be otherwise accomplished, it is the bounden official duty, as well as the prerogative, of the Church, to intervene for the attainment of that object.

Our fourth position is, that in the existing state of our country, our Church cannot properly give up the whole work of education to the State. Having seen that religion is an essential element in the education of the young, and that it is equally the right and duty of the Church and State to provide for them a Christian and Protestant training, it is obvious that the separate duty of these two parties to the work, is one to be determined by circumstances. If the State provides such an education for the people as the conscience of the Church demands, there is no necessity for separate Church action in the premises. And, on the other hand, if parents or the Church make such provision for this object as satisfies the necessities of the State, there is no need for State intervention. The position assumed by our Church and by a large part of the Christian community is, that the State does not in fact, in this country, and cannot rationally be expected to, furnish an education sufficiently religious to satisfy the just demands of a Christian people, and therefore, that it is the duty of the Church, while endeavouring

to make the State education as good as possible, to provide at least for her own members a course of instruction more thoroughly according to her own views. The correctness of this position is fully sustained by the two following considerations. First, that the standard of religious education fixed by the most religious advocates of the State system, is too low. And, secondly, that there is no rational hope of seeing our public schools, as a general thing, elevated even to that defective standard.

In religious education there are two things obviously distinct and of almost equal importance. The first is, the communication of truth to the mind, so that it shall become part of the pupil's knowledge; the other is, the impression of it on the conscience and religious feelings, so as to render it practically operative in the formation of the character and government of the conduct. What, therefore, Christians are bound to require, and what the Church is bound to see as far as possible effected, is that a knowledge of Christianity as a system of divinely revealed truth, should be communicated to the minds of the young; and that that system should be, as far as human agency can go, suitably impressed on the heart, by sincerely religious as well as intelligent teachers. Religious education in this sense of the term, is of necessity a very protracted process. It requires constant and long continued effort. It is only by years of instruction that a child or youth can be brought to such an intelligent and comprehensive knowledge of the contents of the Bible, of its facts, institutions, doctrines, and precepts, as is necessary for his proper moral and religious development as a Christian man. It is not by the simple use of the New Testament as a reading book in the public schools, that this object has ever been accomplished. The Bible must be regularly studied; its doctrines clearly drawn out and inculcated, and the principles of duty exhibited and applied. It is by a course of instruction which renders the pupil an intelligent Christian, so far as knowledge is concerned, that Scotch schools have exerted the wonderful influence universally attributed to them. It is by a similar process of indoctrination, that the Prussian system has availed to preserve religious knowledge among the common people, in the midst of a general apostacy of the clergy into

rationalism. It is evident that no such thorough religious teaching is now contemplated as desirable, or, at least, as possible in our State institutions. The writer in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, seems to make the introduction of the Bible as "a reading book," the maximum of religious instruction for common schools. "In Maryland," he says, "about the year 1838, by a simultaneous movement, the word of God was introduced as a reading book, first into the public schools of the city of Baltimore, and afterwards into far the greater part of the public and private schools of the State. Those who insist on going beyond this, and require, as a part of public education, that the peculiarities of their particular sect shall be publicly taught to all the pupils in all the schools, manifestly require what they would not themselves be willing to concede to others, and which it is therefore absurd for them to expect that others will concede to them."*

Mr. Colwell pleads for instruction in "general Christianity," that in which all denominations agree. He says, "There is a general Christianity in which men may be saved, who belong to no particular denomination, and are instructed in no peculiar tenets." p. 118. "The simple fact that Protestants admit that men may be saved in any Christian communion, in which the essential truths of Christianity are professed, proves that there is a common ground on which all might meet if they would." p. 119. "This common ground" he adds, "has not been defined, vindicated, and proclaimed, because Christians have spent their strength upon their differences, and not upon their agreement." p. 120. "It is this Christianity which is common to the prevailing denominations, which is to be communicated to, and impressed upon the children of the United States, in the public schools." p. 126.

The objection to this is, that it is indefinite. By common Christianity, one man understands mere philanthropy; another makes it an ethical code, another a system of natural religion. The very fact that it is undefined, renders it unfit for a standard of religious instruction. It means little or much, just as

* It need hardly be remarked, that there is a wide interval between simply making the Bible "a reading book," and requiring denominational peculiarities to be taught "to all the pupils in all the schools." The latter no one demands; more than the former, every friend of religion is bound to require.

every one pleases. If by common Christianity be meant the doctrines common to all who call themselves Christians, including Unitarians and Universalists, it is evident this would not, and ought not to, satisfy the conscience of the Church.

Dr. Cheever in his eloquent plea for the Bible in common schools, quotes Dr. Humphrey, as thus describing the religion to be taught in common schools. "There are certain great moral and religious principles, in which all denominations are agreed, such as the ten commandments, our Saviour's golden rule, everything in short which lies within the whole range of duty to God, and duty to our fellow men." *Cheever*, p. 160. But is this Christianity? Here is not one word of those great doctrines without which Christianity is a dead letter. On another page, he quotes Mr. Webster to much the same effect. "It is notorious that there are certain great truths which are admitted and believed by all Christians. All believe in the existence of a God. All believe in the immortality of the soul. All believe in the responsibility, in another world, for our conduct in this. All believe in the divine authority of the New Testament. And cannot all these great truths be taught to children, without their minds being perplexed with clashing doctrines and sectarian controversies? Most certainly they can."

It is evident that the standard here set up by the advocates of religious instruction in the common schools, is far below what the Church is bound to require. But even this modicum of religious teaching cannot in many cases be secured. The Bible has in many places been excluded by public authority. Everything sectarian, *i. e.*, everything to which Jew or Romanist could object, has been proscribed. The whole influence of government, and the general tendency of the public mind has been to the entire exclusion of religion from the public schools. This exclusion is advocated by politicians and by ministers of the Gospel, by influential religious, as well as secular journals. A very great change has occurred in this matter. Fifty years ago, the Westminster Catechism, as well as the Bible, was taught in all the schools in New England. Now the Bible can hardly be retained as "a reading book." The *New Englander* advocates the exclusion of all religion, and quotes with appro-

bation, the language of Dr. Vaughan in the *British Quarterly Review*. "For our own part," says that gentleman, "we have always entertained a very low opinion of the religious instruction given in day-schools, and of the religious impression produced by it. We have thought that a fuss has been made about it wonderfully greater than the thing itself would justify." Think of that, ye shades of Knox and Calvin! So low as that, have men of our day descended. Too much "fuss" is made about an agency which, next to the ministry of the word, has done more to mould human character and to decide human destiny, than any other in the world. The *New Englander* not only endorses this, but says: "The plan of giving no direct religious instruction, has, in its essential features, been practised generally in New England for thirty years."

Is it not time, then, for the Church to move? If one party, and that the largest and most powerful, advocate the entire exclusion of religion from public institutions, colleges, as well as schools; if another pleads only for that amount of instruction which can offend neither the Unitarian nor the Romanist; if in point of fact, common schools, and colleges under State control, are, in many cases, conducted without the semblance of religious instruction, can the Church, or Christians, leave the whole work of education in the hands of the State? Are we not bound to have institutions of our own, in which the gospel may be fully taught and faithfully inculcated? In so doing we take the most effectual method of elevating public sentiment, and of bringing back the State to a higher appreciation of its duties. If State schools and colleges are conducted without any religious instruction, and other institutions rise around them, in which Christianity is faithfully taught, the former must either become Christian or perish. We do not advocate any indiscriminate action, or the purpose to establish Church schools and colleges wherever they can be placed. If the State institutions are truly Christian, as we know is often the case, especially as it concerns common schools, it would be most unwise to set up rival institutions. What we contend for is, that the Church, as well as individual Christians, has a right by her divine charter to provide for the secular, as well as the religious training of the young; and that in the existing state of our

country it is incumbent on her, in many places, to exercise that right. Wherever thorough religious instruction cannot be incorporated in the common school, the Church is bound to have a parochial school. Wherever there is a college under control of the State, which excludes Christianity from its course of instruction, the Church, or Christians, are bound to provide a Christian College.

The only other position which remains to be considered is, that the Church, in providing that religious education which our present exigencies demand, cannot rely upon the separate action of her members, but is bound to act in her organized capacity, and, therefore, that the principles on which our Board of Education have acted in aiding the establishment of schools, academies, and colleges, are sound, and ought to be approved.

If private Christians establish schools, or academies, or colleges, in which religion is adequately taught, then, in the places where this is done, there is, as before remarked, no call for the intervention of the Church in her organized capacity. But such individual and separate action is altogether inadequate. In the work of domestic and foreign missions, we can depend neither on individual effort, nor on voluntary associations. The Church as such in her organized form, is bound to conduct these great enterprises. It is only by this combined action that the resources of the Church can be called out; that the strong can be brought systematically to aid the weak; and that the requisite security for orthodoxy and fidelity can ordinarily be attained. All these considerations apply with as much force to the work of education, as they do to the work of missions. How many parochial schools, or how many Christian colleges, in our Western States, would have been established without the co-operation of the Board of Education? The necessity of this organized assistance is felt and acknowledged universally. Our New England and New-school brethren have a voluntary society for assisting in the support of Western colleges. Are we to have resort to such a society? Must the battle between ecclesiastical boards, and voluntary irresponsible societies, be fought over again in our Church? The work cannot be left to individual enterprise. There must be concentrated and organized effort. Shall this be by the Church? or by one or more voluntary organi-

zations? There can be but one answer given to these questions, and it has been given by the Church in a way not to be mistaken.

But if the Church is to raise the funds for the support of these schools and colleges, she must control their management. Our parochial schools must be under Church sessions, and our Church colleges under synodical supervision. This is not only right, but necessary for the obvious reasons: First, that the Church, in raising funds for a specific object, becomes responsible for their proper application. Secondly, because the very ground of Church intervention in the matter, is that State schools and colleges do not furnish security for that kind of education which the conscience of the Church demands. It would be easy to refer to a State college long under the control of one of the most notorious infidels in the land; to another where many of the professors were avowed skeptics; and to others where religious instruction is entirely excluded; and where the Sabbath is disregarded—the students being allowed to spend that day as they please. It is not right or reasonable to expect either the Church or Christian men to contribute for the support of institutions controlled by trustees appointed by State legislatures.

It may be said, however, that self-perpetuating corporations furnish all reasonable security. On this it may be remarked, that where such boards of trustees already exist, and have an established character, they ought to be confided in, and nothing should be done in any way to weaken their hands. But when the Church is called upon to aid in the founding a college—it is right she should herself retain the control. If it be known and agreed upon, that the trustees of a college in Wisconsin or Iowa, are to be appointed by a Presbyterian Synod, there is a ground of confidence for the present and the future, that no list of names of a self-perpetuating corporation could inspire. If any man doubts this, let him make the experiment. Let him try to raise funds for a college in the far West, under a self-perpetuating board, and see if he will find it as easy as to secure aid for one under the care of a Synod. Such colleges as Princeton, Jefferson, Washington, Hampden Sydney, have the full confidence of the Church, and are entitled to it. But

when the question is, how shall new colleges, especially in the thinly settled parts of the country, be organized, in order to give due security for their religious influence? the case is very different. Under such circumstances neither State control, nor self-perpetuating trustees, can furnish any such security, either for liberal education or sound religious influence, as ecclesiastical supervision.

It has, however, been said, "the working of systems of secular education, the virtual, if not formal appointment and removal of teachers, the determination of courses and methods of secular teaching, and, in effect, the last appeal in questions of discipline," do not "fall properly within the divinely appointed jurisdiction of the spiritual courts of Christ's house, or constitute the proper themes of promoting the spirituality and peace of the Church." Do these subjects belong more legitimately to a State legislature? Suppose the course of instruction for our youth, the selection of teachers, and final administration of discipline must belong directly to a political legislature, Whig or Democrat, or to a Presbyterian Synod—no good man, we answer for it, would prefer the former. The objection, however, has no foundation. There is no necessity for any of these distracting details being brought before the Synod. They do not come before the legislature. The legislature retains the appointment of trustees, and thus has entire control over the State institutions; but it has nothing to do with these details of management. So the Synod of Kentucky appoints the trustees of Centre College, and leaves to them its management. We are not aware that the spiritual interests of that Synod are injuriously affected by its relation to the college; nor would any other Synod have much to fear from that source.

If the Church then as an organization, is called by its duty to the country and to its divine Master, to aid in securing the establishment of schools, academies and colleges under her own control, wherever such institutions of a proper character do not exist, or cannot be secured, it is hardly open to question that the Board of Education is right in the course which it has hitherto pursued in relation to this subject. That Board is the organ of the Church for educational purposes, and whatever

the Church does in that department is done through that Board. The question whether the field of labour has not so increased as to call for a separate organization, is one of expediency and not of principle. It is analogous to the question whether the work of Church extension should continue to be a branch of the work of missions, or be erected into a separate department. It is obvious, that no new organization ought to be adopted, so long as the work to be done is adequately accomplished by those which now exist.

It is, indeed, said, that "the work of inaugurating a scheme so vast, and so complex, and requiring gifts, knowledge, and experience in its founders, of so varied and comprehensive a character," cannot properly be coupled with the other objects of that Board. This supposes that the Board of Education is to stand in the place and perform the duties of trustees to all the schools, academies, and colleges which it may be called upon to aid. The Board, however, have no more to do with the management of these schools and colleges, than it has with the direction of the Theological Seminaries in which its candidates study. They are the mere agents of the Church for the collection and distribution of money, and for stimulating the efforts of its members. If a pastor informs the Board that he needs aid for the establishment of a parochial school, or if a Synod call upon them for assistance in sustaining a college, such help may be afforded without any very extraordinary "gifts, knowledge, or experience" on the part of the officers of the Board.

We look back on the recent discussions on this whole subject with great satisfaction. It has no doubt done good. It has, on the one hand, led to a clearer view of the duty of the State in reference to the work of education, and to a deeper sense of the importance of Christians exerting themselves to give a truly religious character to the public schools; and, upon the other hand, it has served to produce a stronger conviction of the high part the Church is called to act in this matter, and of the importance of the Board of Education continuing and extending their efforts to establish schools, academies, and colleges, "on a definite religious basis, and under the Church's own care."

ART VI.—*The General Assembly.*

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, met, agreeably to appointment, in the Central Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, New York, on Thursday, the 18th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1854, at 11 o'clock, A. M., and was opened with a sermon by the Rev. John C. Young, D. D., Moderator of the last Assembly, from Luke xxii. 26: "But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve."

On motion of Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, it was resolved that all honorary titles be omitted from the roll of this Assembly.

The Assembly then proceeded to the election of officers, requiring, on motion, a majority of all the votes cast to constitute a choice. The Rev. Henry A. Boardman, D. D., was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Joseph R. Wilson, temporary clerk.

It was resolved, that the first half hour of every morning session of the Assembly should be devoted to devotional exercises, conducted by the Moderator. These seasons of devotion were generally well attended, and evidently produced a very happy effect.

In looking over the roll of the Assembly the reader will be struck with the unusually large attendance of elders. From some Synods there was not a single vacancy in the lay representation. We regard this as a very auspicious omen. No one present during the sessions of the Assembly could fail to notice the happy influence exerted by the many distinguished laymen who were members of the body. We believe few Assemblies have met in which there was a greater amount of intelligence, and good feeling, or in which a greater unanimity was arrived at in the decision of all important questions.

A paper was presented from the Presbytery of Lake, respecting a limitation of the number of Professors in our Theological Seminaries, which, on motion, was laid on the table. This was done for two reasons; first, because there was nothing in the paper itself to show that it came to the Assembly by order of

the Presbytery; and, secondly, because a commissioner from the Presbytery stated it was not its intention that the document should be forwarded to this body.

Church in the City of Washington.

The Rev. Stuart Robinson presented various papers relating to the erection of a new church in Washington City; including a report of the Church Extension Committee for the City of Washington, the special action of the Presbytery of Baltimore, and a memorial from the ministers in Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria; all of which were referred to the Committee on the Board of Domestic Missions. Subsequently the following minute was adopted:

The Committee on the Report of the Board of Domestic Missions have carefully considered the matter of the Assembly's Church in Washington City. In various parts of the country, misconceptions of the plan have attached themselves to it. Rightfully understood, your committee are perfectly satisfied that it has strong claims upon our friendly regard. But we are not called on to consider the subject as an original question. The Assembly is committed, and your committee unanimously recommend that in this matter we "take no step backwards." Were there no other considerations forbidding us to falter, the effects of such a course upon the interests and influence of our brethren in Washington, would be enough. They tell us in their memorial, and no doubt they tell us well, "the project came to us from abroad. We appreciate the kindness of the movement, but it will be for our deep injury if not efficiently executed. It was a step which once taken can never safely be delayed. Our character is largely at stake. It is now to be seen whether in this capital we represent a Church hasty in resolving, but feeble in action, or one which wisely counts the cost, and unflinchingly executes its plans."

With reference to the best way of accomplishing what we have commenced, your committee are perfectly aware that this Assembly cannot compel any action on the part of our Presbyteries or churches. The General Assembly can only plead with some the intrinsic merits of the plan, rightly understood, and with others that they should lay aside every objection that is

not a pure matter of conscience and of principle, and come forward to relieve this body from the embarrassments that surround it.

The Committee accordingly recommend the following:

Resolved, 1. That the Church Extension Committee of the City of Washington, appointed by the Presbytery of Baltimore, be requested by this Assembly to continue to act, with the addition of the Rev. Messrs. Gurley and Henry as members of the same.

Resolved, 2. That the papers presented to this Assembly on this subject, to wit, the memorial of ministers in Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, the memorial of the Presbytery of Baltimore, and the report of the Church Extension Committee of the City of Washington, be appended to the Minutes of this Assembly.

Resolved, 3. That this Assembly appoint one minister or elder in every Presbytery, to whom, as to a beloved son, this body will commit the charge of this business in the bounds of the several Presbyteries; that these ministers or elders be requested to adopt any plan which they in their wisdom may deem best for the speedy completion of this work; that they be requested, as far as possible, to carry this effort into every particular congregation, however small or feeble; and that they be requested to report as soon as possible, and remit the funds collected to Charles Stott, Esq., Treasurer of the Church Extension Committee, of the City of Washington, or to Samuel D. Powel, of Philadelphia, Treasurer of the Board of Missions.

Resolved, 4. That all our Presbyteries be requested to take measures, at their fall sessions, to carry out the wishes of this body as above expressed, in all cases of failure from whatever cause.

Foreign Missions.

The Rev. John C. Lowrie, D.D., one of the Secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions, addressed the Assembly in reference to the operations of the past year, and the wants and plans of the Board, giving an interesting and very encouraging account of its condition. The entire receipts of the year are about \$20,000 in advance of the year preceding—this, how-

ever, is principally from various societies outside of our Church, and from the Government. The receipts from collections alone, are slightly in advance of last year. It is a melancholy fact, that out of our 2879 churches, but 1350 have made any contribution during the last year—less than half of all of them; and yet an instance has never been known by the Board in which, when this cause was presented to the people, they did not respond to it. The Board feel some uneasiness as to their finances for the future. Of necessity they have been compelled to enlarge their plans, and this will require a larger amount of funds. The Church can easily furnish all necessary means if she will. At present, taking the average of all her members, they do not give one penny a week to this object! He believed our Church could give \$1,000,000 a year to Foreign Missions—it would be but \$5 a year from each member—or taking all who are accustomed to give into the account, not more than \$2 or \$3 from each donor. The financial affairs of this Board are satisfactorily conducted—three of the largest donors being members of the Executive Committee, who must know how things stand. The executive expenses of every kind at the office at home, are believed to be considerably less than those of any similar institution in the country. They amount to about eight per cent. on the whole receipts.

The Rev. Mr. Armstrong, Chairman of the Committee on the Board of Foreign Missions, presented the following resolutions:

The Committee to whom was referred the Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, having examined that report with as much care as the time allowed them would permit, recommend to the Assembly that it be approved, and printed for circulation, as in former years.

They would also offer the following resolutions, as embodying the results of their examination of this report of the labours of our Board of Foreign Missions during the year past, viz.

1. *Resolved*, That in the success with which efforts in the Foreign Missionary field have been crowned during the year, there is much occasion for devout thanksgiving to the great Head of the Church, and for an increase in our faith in the blessed promise given in connection with the missionary com-

mission of the Church, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

2. *Resolved*, That the Assembly heartily approve of the manner in which the Board, the Executive Committee, and officers to whom the management of the Foreign Missionary operations of our Church have been committed, have conducted their operations during the year.

3. *Resolved*, That in the multiplied openings for missionary labours, which God in his providence has made during the past year, as well as in the blessings with which he has crowned our efforts as a Church, the Assembly recognize the obligation laid upon the Church for an increase, both of the number of men, and the amount of the means devoted to this work.

4. *Resolved*, That the Assembly would earnestly commend this subject, of an increase both of missionaries and missionary funds, to the careful and prayerful consideration of the pastors and sessions of all our Churches, that they may adopt such measures as, in their judgment, will best secure the attention, awaken the Christian sympathies, and call forth the cheerful and liberal contributions of all the members of their respective Churches.

These resolutions were sustained by remarks from Rev. Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Lanneau, Judge Fine, Dr. Adger, Mr. Painter, and Dr. Spring.

Dr. Adger entered into some statistical comparisons, in order to show that the Synod of South Carolina had contributed more in proportion than other Synods to the cause of Foreign Missions, because, as he suggested, "the ministers and sessions just go forward and do the work themselves." "They had no machinery at all." "This," he regarded, "as an illustration of the admirable working of our Presbyterian machinery." This is very encouraging. The great design of machinery, so far as raising funds is concerned, is to induce "ministers and sessions to do the work themselves." And if South Carolina has advanced so far as to do without the machinery, which less favoured portions of the Church still need, it is a matter of rejoicing. We hope the example may have its due weight in exciting and guiding effort.

Dr. Spring urged with force the idea that the claims of the

cause of missions on the lay members of the Church, had never been duly recognized. The commission of Christ was given to the Church and not to the ministry, and scores of young men who are not ministers must go to promote the Gospel in heathen lands. This is a truth of great importance, and should be expanded and brought to bear practically on the missionary work.

Board of Education.

Dr. Van Rensselaer presented the annual report which treated first of Ministerial Education. The decrease of candidates, which has been so much the ground of regret, must be referred to widely operating causes, and not to such as are peculiar to our own Church. The Evangelical Churches at home and abroad are suffering in the same way. The number of new candidates this year is larger than for many years past, being one hundred and four. The whole number under the care of the Board is three hundred and forty. It was recommended that the appropriations to the candidates should be increased, so as to allow eighty dollars a year to students in academies, one hundred to those in colleges, and one hundred and twenty-five to those in Theological Seminaries. The Board urged in concluding this part of their report, that greater caution should be exercised in the selection of candidates, and greater effort made to increase their number.

Of the second part of the report we present a fuller abstract, borrowed from the public papers.

Christian Education in Schools, Academies, and Colleges—Parochial or primary schools.—The religious part of the instruction is promoted in three ways:—First, by acts of worship, such as prayer, reading the Scriptures, and singing; secondly, by religious instruction in the Bible and Catechism; and thirdly, by Christian government and discipline. A number of new schools have been established during the year; and the munificent offer of \$5,000 in aid of the cause has been of the most essential use. The number of schools is over one hundred. Some of the older scholars have professed religion during the year.

Presbyterian Academies.—The two points which require the constant care of Presbyteries are, first, to give religion its

due prominence in the course of instruction; and secondly, to make the Academies first-class institutions in all the departments of secular instruction. A large number of youth in our academies have made a profession of religion during the year. The average would give at least two to an academy. The number of our academies is forty-seven. The Ashmun Institute, designed for the education of coloured youth, under the care of New Castle Presbytery, is nearly ready for organization.

Colleges.—There are fifteen colleges under Synodical supervision, of which nine are well established, the others being of recent origin. In addition to these, three others have charters. After giving a brief account of each college, the Report refers to colleges not under the direct care of the Church, and advocates the position, that when such colleges have the confidence of the Synods, they should be regarded as Presbyterian institutions. The Report expresses the hope that fraternal co-operation will prevail in this department.

Miscellaneous and Teachers' Department.—Thirteen young men have received aid during the year; and among them several sons of our ministers. Two have professed religion during the year.

General Remarks.—1. The right of the Church to educate does not imply an exclusive right, or the necessity of always exercising that right; nor does it compel parents to send their children to Church institutions. Furthermore, it does not *depreciate* other educational agencies besides the Church. 2. The apprehension that Church education brings too much business into our Judicatories, may be removed by leaving most of the management to Trustees. 3. The withdrawal of our influence from the State system is then considered. The education of our own children religiously need not, and does not, prevent us from supporting the public system, any more than the charge which our deacons have of the poor in the Church prevents them from sympathizing with the poor in the community who are outside of the Church. Besides, there is room enough for all classes of schools; and the influence of religious schools will be most salutary upon the State schools, especially in improving their religious character. 4. The centralization of too much

power in the Board, is met by the fact that, in the Presbyterian system, the entire internal management of the institutions is in the Judicatories. 5. The propriety of blending the two departments of the Board in one administrative agency, is left entirely to the judgment of Assembly. Whether another Secretary shall be appointed, or a separate Board be established, or whether the affairs shall be conducted on the present plan, are questions, whose decision by the Assembly, in any way, will be acquiesced in by the Board without the least concern.

Funds.—The following is the state of the treasury:

	<i>Candidates' Fund.</i>	<i>Schools, &c.</i>
Receipts,	\$34,961 26	\$10,726 03
Balance,	8,068 91	1,998 46
	—————	—————
Income,	43,030 17	12,734 49
Payments,	35,105 75	12,643 78
	—————	—————
Balance,	\$7,924,42	\$90 71

Total income in these two funds, \$55,764 66; payments, \$47,749 53.

The Rev. Dr. Hall, as chairman of the Committee on Education, reported the following resolutions, which were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That in view of the greatness of the office of the Christian ministry, in its origin, its work, and its necessity in the divine economy of salvation, the diminution of candidates in our own and in other evangelical Churches for several years past, is deeply to be deplored, especially as the signs of the times at home and abroad indicate an increased necessity for a greater number of wise, devoted, and amply qualified ministers; and that this necessity is a providential enforcement upon the Church, of the injunction of her Great Head, to pray—to pray in private and in the sanctuary—to pray habitually that the Lord of the harvest will send forth labourers into the harvest.

2. *Resolved*, That the increase of new candidates during the past year demands our gratitude to God, who alone is able to turn the hearts of the sons of the Church from secular pursuits to the self-denying labour of preaching Christ, and him crucified.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly, in view of the hopeful signs of increase in the number of candidates, enjoin upon Presbyteries the exercise of great vigilance to guard against the introduction of the unworthy to a course of preparation for the sacred office, while at the same time they make earnest efforts to enlarge the ministerial resources of our Church.

4. *Resolved*, That the Assembly approve of the recommendation of the Board, to increase appropriations to candidates, so that those in the academical course shall receive \$80, those in the collegiate course, \$100, and those in the theological course \$120, with liberty, in special cases, of increasing the appropriations on the recommendation of Presbyteries.

5. *Resolved*, That the Assembly regard Christian training at all periods of youth, and by all practicable methods, especially by parents at home, by teachers in institutions of learning, and by pastors through catechetical and Bible-classes, as binding upon the Church, according to the injunction, "Train up a child in the way he should go," and as having a vital connection with the increase of the numbers and efficiency of the ministry, and of the stability and purity of the Church.

6. *Resolved*, That the efforts of the Presbyterian Church in behalf of schools, academies, and colleges, on a definite religious basis, and under her own care, have met with a success, important in present results, and hopeful for the future, and that these operations deserve to be continued and enlarged, with entire friendliness to all other educational efforts not positively injurious in their tendency; and especially that institutions under the management of members of our own Church, either privately or in corporations not subject to ecclesiastical supervision, in which religion is duly inculcated, ought to be regarded as entitled to confidence.

7. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly (by affirming the Church to be one of the parties in education, and by acting on that principle, in accordance with the practice of all the Reformed Churches) has never denied the importance of State co-operation in this great work, however defective it may be in some parts of the country; but, on the contrary, rejoices in the general enlightenment of the masses under the public school

system, and hopes that all Presbyterians, besides supporting their own institutions, will continue, as heretofore, to be known as the true friends of general education throughout the country, and as the advocates of the Bible in common schools.

8. *Resolved*, That the mode of conducting the operations of the Board on their enlarged scale, be referred to the Board itself, to take such action as shall prevent either department interfering with the other, and as may continue to keep prominently before the churches the education of pious and indigent young men for the gospel ministry.

9. *Resolved*, That the last Thursday of February next be recommended as a day of special prayer for the outpouring of God's Spirit on the churches, and of public instruction on Christian education, especially with reference to the necessity of an enlargement of the ministerial resources of the Church.

As no little discussion had been carried on in the papers, and by pamphlets on the education question, it was naturally expected that the subject would excite unusual interest on the floor of the Assembly. The public discussion, however, seems to have produced, by means of mutual explanations, such unanimity of views, that all the above resolutions, sustaining and endorsing as they do the course of the Board of Education, were passed with scarcely a show of opposition. That the Church has a right to educate—that, under existing circumstances, she is bound to establish schools, academies, and colleges under her own care, wherever the exigencies of religious education are not otherwise provided for; and that the Board of Education is the proper organ of the Church for bringing out and concentrating her educational efforts, seemed to be almost unanimously conceded. We do not believe there are two parties in our Church on any one of these points.

Domestic Missions.

Rev. Dr. Musgrave, Corresponding Secretary of the Board, read the Report. The financial condition of the Board was stated as follows:

The total amount received from April 1, 1853, to April 1, 1854, was	\$75,207 80
Balance on hand,	17,753 22
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total,	\$92,961 02
Amount paid out,	70,306 44
<hr/>	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1854,	\$22,654 58
Due to Missionaries April 1,	11,076 84
<hr/>	<hr/>
Unexpended balance,	\$11,577 74

The receipts were larger during the last months of the year than in the early portion. The amount received from the churches had increased largely during the year, showing that an increasing interest was awaking among the people. The balance on hand on the 1st of April, 1854, was larger than at the same time last year, and would have been still larger but for the payment of some heavy debts. The appropriations will be much larger this year, and therefore there will be need of large collections.

Dr. Musgrave stated how advantageous it was to have a large balance on hand at the commencement of the fiscal year, as the expenditures then called for were large, and the receipts during the first three quarters were small. A good balance in the treasury gave spirit and energy to the Board in the establishing of new missions, and granting increased appropriations. The Board have, however, had no desire to increase the balance. Indeed, they had increased the appropriations this year over the estimates of last year by the amount of \$18,000. This liberal course the Board intended to pursue, and they trusted that the efforts of the churches would authorize the increased appropriations, and enable the Board to continue in their present course.

The financial condition of the Church Extension Fund is as follows:

Balance of Church Extension Fund on hand April 1, 1853,	\$6,211 33
Receipts for year from individuals,	3,211 93
“ “ “ churches,	3,086 16
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	\$12,509 42
Appropriations paid during year,	6,177 25
<hr/>	<hr/>
Balance, April 1, 1854,	\$6,332,17

There are, however, unpaid appropriations of \$8,178 07, which would absorb the balance and leave the fund in debt. There had been founded in the year, sixty-three churches, extending over twenty-two Synods and forty-four Presbyteries. Of these, thirty-five churches had been finished.

The objects of the Board of Missions are to assist feeble churches in sustaining their pastors, and secondly, the extension of the Church by missionary labour and the formation of new churches. The average salaries of missionaries to domestic stations during the year was \$402 53. The average salary paid by the Board was \$151 55, and the average paid by the congregations \$250 98.

Much discussion occurred in reference to the affairs of this Board. On some points the Committee to whom the report was referred, were unanimous, on others they were divided, the Chairman, as it was understood, and perhaps one other member differing from the rest of the Committee. They united in recommending the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That considering the present and prospective population of our country, and the influence it seems destined to exert on all the nations, as set forth in the Report of our Board, the work of Domestic Missions, which the Assembly has committed to that Board, is exceeded in its importance and magnitude by no other interest of our Church.

2. *Resolved*, That this Assembly expresses its approbation of the diligent and faithful execution on the part of our Board and its officers of their important trusts, and its thankfulness to God for the measure of success which he has been pleased to vouchsafe to them.

3. *Resolved*, That this Assembly deplores the fact presented in this Report, that while our Church is not only increasing in wealth, but is steadily developing itself by an increase of members, churches, ministers, Presbyteries, and Synods, there is yet no commensurate increase in her Domestic Missionary efforts, as evidenced by the circumstance that the average annual increase of contributions for this object through our Board during the past four years is only \$1913, but during the ten years which preceded the past four years, it was \$2692, and the circumstance that we now have actually forty-seven Domestic Missionaries less than we had four years ago.

4. *Resolved*, That in connection with this discouraging view of the past four years, taken into comparison with the preceding ten, the Assembly would record with devout gratitude, that during the year just closed, there has been an increase of the regular church contributions to this cause, amounting to \$6000, and would express the hope that this regular flow of the charities of our churches may henceforth never know an ebb.

5. *Resolved*, That this Assembly would express their special approbation of the earnest appeals made in this report by the Board to our Presbyteries, in favour of more vigilant and energetic Presbyterial action in behalf of Domestic Missions.

6. *Resolved*, That this Assembly, while deprecating any wasteful or unnecessary expenditure of Domestic Missionary funds, would express particular approval of the conduct of the Board in increasing, as they have done, the salaries of missionaries in the field. The Assembly would express further the assurance that the Board may proceed to a much larger increase in the allowance to their missionaries, fully relying on the justice and liberality of our people to supply the Board with such an increase of means as will enable it to lessen, to some extent, the privations now endured by our brethren; and while the Assembly express thus decidedly their view of the duty of the Board, they would most earnestly exhort the churches to greatly increased exertions to meet the increased demands on the funds of the Board, which must result from any attempt to do justice to our missionary brethren.

7. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Board of Missions to encourage, as far as possible, the organization of the missionary field into districts, embracing several points of labour, with a view to adapting the system to the work of pioneering by an itinerant ministry.

8. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Presbyteries to encourage more and more the union of several small congregations in the support of one pastor, which, separately, are unable of themselves to sustain a minister, with a view to the more efficient support of the ordinances of God among them, with less expense to the missionary fund.

9. *Resolved*, That the following named ministers and ruling

elders be appointed to fill the vacancies reported in the Board of Domestic Missions.

(The names are here omitted.)

10. *Resolved*, That Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge be appointed to preach the next annual sermon before the Assembly, and that the Rev. John A. McClung be his alternate.

The discussion respecting that portion of the report in which the committee were unanimous, had reference principally to the salaries of missionaries, and was sustained by Dr. Breckinridge, Rev. Mr. Robertson, Dr. Musgrave, Dr. Young, Dr. McLean, Dr. Adger, Rev. Mr. Logan. There was a general concurrence of opinion as to the inadequacy of the support of our missionary brethren, and the resolutions given above were adopted without opposition.

The Rev. Mr. Woodbridge, a member of the Committee on the Board of Domestic Missions, presented a report on Church Extension from the majority of the Committee, recommending that a Secretary be appointed by the Board of Missions, to take special charge of that work; and also such agents as may be required; that the Committee be still attached to the Board of Missions, but enlarged; that the churches be called upon for annual collections for this object; and that a column be added to the Presbyterial reports for Church Extension.

The Rev. Dr. Adger, from the minority of the same Committee, presented a report, proposing to refer the whole subject of Church Extension back to the Board of Missions; that the Board have authority to appoint a co-ordinate Secretary, but without exclusive reference to Church Extension; that the Board have leave to contribute to Church Extension from their general missionary fund; and calling upon the churches to give more liberally to the Board, in view of this increased demand upon its resources. Dr. Adger said there was a wide difference between these two reports. The majority report looks to the erection of Church Extension into a separate Board. The minority dissent from the majority report, because unwilling to endorse further the system of agencies, and also because they object to a fifth specific collection.

With a view of putting an end to a discussion which promised to consume much time, and with the hope of conciliating the

friends of the counter reports, a motion was made and carried to lay them both upon the table, and to refer the whole subject of Church Extension to the Board.

It soon appeared, however, that this course was not acceptable to a large portion of the Assembly, who thought that the exigencies of the case required the Assembly itself to take some decisive action in the matter. The report of the majority of the committee was therefore taken from the table, and the following paper, embracing all its recommendations, was presented, viz:

Whereas, The Assembly has referred the whole subject of Church Extension, or the building of church edifices, to the Board of Missions; and whereas this Assembly believes this subject to be one of vast importance to the welfare of our whole Church; therefore,

Resolved, That the Board of Missions, in order to give greater efficiency to this work, be instructed, First, to enlarge the Committee of Church Extension. Secondly, to appoint a Secretary for this specific department, if they shall deem it necessary. Thirdly, to bring the cause before the churches in such way as they may deem best suited to secure attention to the importance of the work. Fourthly, to report separately to the Assembly receipts and disbursements of this fund.

And further, This Assembly would earnestly and affectionately enjoin it upon all our churches to take up collections annually for this object, (to be reported in a separate column in the Appendix of the Minutes of the Assembly) and upon all our Presbyteries to see that this is done.

Mr. Stuart Robinson, and Mr. Armstrong opposed the adoption of the above paper, and the latter moved a substitute, which was substantially the report of the minority. Both these gentlemen expressed the opinion that there was a growing dissatisfaction with the working of our Boards. It was time, Mr. Robinson thought, to consider whether there was not a more excellent way. Several brethren from the West spoke with feeling, from their own experience of the necessity of greater exertion in this cause. Among them, Mr. Pawling, from western Missouri, Mr. Goodhue, from Illinois, Mr. Stafford, and others, made very effective appeals to the Assembly. Mr. Comfort, an

elder, from Virginia, made a very forcible speech in defence of the Board, denying, in behalf of the laity, any of those feelings of dissatisfaction which a few of the ministers seemed to entertain. Dr. Spring spoke with much effect on the same side. Dr. Musgrave, Secretary of the Board, closed the debate by one of the ablest and most effective speeches delivered on the floor of the Assembly for a long time. The paper given above was then adopted, with scarce a show of opposition. The sense of the House was so strongly evinced in favour of the Boards, and in opposition to mere speculative objections to their existence, that we presume the controversy will not be renewed. It seems indeed unworthy of debate, whether the body appointed to carry on our benevolent operations be called a Committee, and be appointed by the Assembly, or whether it be called a Board. In the one case it would be a small body, in the other large. The former method has the advantage of simplicity, but the latter has considerations in its favour which are not likely to lose their influence on the Church. In the first place, they have been incorporated in our church policy for years, and a change, without adequate reason, is unbecoming and disparaging. In the second place, they are a necessary intermediate agency between the Assembly and its executive officers. The Assembly cannot conduct its Theological Seminaries otherwise than through the intervention of a Board. It cannot attend the examinations, see to the fidelity of the professors, and the conduct of the students. Neither can it otherwise conduct with advantage its missionary or educational operations. It cannot inspect the action of the executive committee and secretaries. It cannot go into any minute examination of the wisdom of their appointments and disbursements. Some of us are old enough to remember, how our New-school brethren endeavoured to break down the missionary operations of the Assembly, by insisting that, if the Assembly undertook to conduct missions, it must go into all the details; it must sit in judgment on the qualifications of every missionary, and on the economy of every item of expenditure. They saw, what the Church, with few exceptions, now sees, that to abolish our Boards, is virtually to give up the whole work of missions and education. In a small, compact body like the Church of Scotland, with a permanent commission

to refer to in every emergency, it may do for the Assembly to conduct all its operations by simple Committees. But, in a body as large and as widely extended as ours, a division of labour is absolutely necessary. You cannot send a great army on a foraging party, or to build a bridge.

In the third place, the abolition of the Boards would throw a responsibility and power on the Executive Committees and Secretaries which they ought not to be entrusted with. Their accountability to a body like the General Assembly, which, from its nature, is incapable of effective inspection, would be merely nominal. The whole work would really be in the hands of a very few men, without any real supervision and control. Our complaints against the management of the American Home Missionary Society, whose whole power was in the hands of a few men in New York, should make us sensible that any irresponsible power is a dangerous thing. And, not to prolong an unnecessary discussion, it may be remarked, that our Boards serve the purpose of break-waters. In calm weather they seem unnecessary and an incumbrance. But, when a storm comes, they are an essential protection. So long as everything goes on well, the responsibility of the Executive Committees to the Boards seems merely nominal ; and one might be disposed to think they might as well be out of the way as not. But let any thing go wrong; let any emergency arise in which long examination into details is necessary, the existence of a body intermediate between the Committees and the Assembly becomes all-important. As to the objection that the Scriptures know nothing of Boards; that they are not church courts, &c., we would only say, this is the *jus divinum* theory in its dotage. God has not sent his Church into the world as an infant in its swaddling clothes, without liberty of action; he has given her a work to do, which requires the free use of her limbs ; and it will be found hard work to bind her with split hairs.

Board of Publication.

Rev. Mr. Smith presented the sixteenth annual Report of the Board. The Report commenced with a general review of the importance of the Board, and the influence which the publication of books and tracts had upon the interest of the

Church. The power of the press was used by the Church as one of the great moral agents in the regeneration of man.

The Board have published sixteen new books during the year, (one of which was printed in German,) of which 38,250 copies were printed and circulated. They had published 10 tracts, of which 26,000 had been circulated. They had also printed and circulated 25,000 copies of the Presbyterian Family Almanac. Total copies of books and pamphlets printed during the year, 595,750.

The circulation of the *Home and Foreign Record* of the Church had increased during the year from 11,000 to 15,000 copies.

The *Sabbath School Visitor* was considered a work excellently adapted to the wants of the day, and was read with pleasure by adults as well as with profit by the young. Its circulation last year was stated to be forty-one thousand. This year it is larger.

The colporteur enterprise is every month increasing in importance. The distribution of books during the year amounted to 135,983 volumes. The number of pages of tracts distributed, 1,300,547. The number of families visited during the year was 68,185. The number of Presbyterian families without the Confession of Faith was 2340, and the number without religious books, except the Bible, 1608. The time spent by 151 colporteurs amounted to forty-one years.

The financial condition of the Board was submitted to the Assembly. The total increase in the receipts this year over last was \$12,052 35. The income had increased threefold in ten years. The balance in the treasury on the 1st of last April was \$18,000. This amount would appear large, and required some explanation. It arose from the facts that during the last months of the year the receipts had been large, and the Report had been made up only a day or two before drafts to the amount of several thousands of dollars had been presented and paid at the Treasury. The amount, with this deduction, would not be much larger than in former years, and than was required for the management of the business of the Board. There were also some valuable works in press, the publication of which had been unavoidably delayed, and would entail some expense upon

the Board. There had been a gratifying increase in the amount contributed by churches.

On a subsequent day, the Rev. Mr. McMullen presented the Report of the Committee on the Board of Publication, approving the operations of the Board; expressing strong approbation of the Colportage enterprise; recommending the publication of the Book of Psalmody in seven characters, and also an abridged edition of the Psalmody for youth, in both sorts of notes; recommending the publication of the Confession of Faith and tracts in German; suggesting the propriety of increasing Colporteurs' salaries; and expressing much gratification at the financial condition of the Board, and especially at the amount which has been raised without formal agencies; and urging the Presbyteries to establish local depositories. The Report was adopted.

Theological Seminaries.

Agreeably to the order of the last Assembly, a standing Committee was appointed to which the reports and other matters relating to Theological Seminaries were referred.

The Seminary at Danville, having been recently founded, claimed, on account of the numerous documents to be considered, the first attention of the Assembly. Dr. Edgar, as Chairman of the standing Committee on Seminaries, reported that the papers relating to this Seminary, are a plan for the government of the Seminary, reported to this Assembly by a Committee appointed by the General Assembly of 1853; a Report from the Committee of Endowment appointed by the Assembly of 1853; a Report from the Committee on Charters appointed by the same Assembly; the first annual Report of the Board of Directors; the first annual Report of the Board of Trustees; an agreement between the Synod of Kentucky and the General Assembly; an agreement between the General Assembly and the Centre College of Kentucky, and a charter with an amendment thereto, granted by the Legislature of Kentucky to a Board of Trustees under the care of the General Assembly.

This Committee recommends that the plan be approved by the General Assembly, certified by the Stated Clerk, and trans-

mitted to the Board of Directors of the Seminary for publication; and that the remaining papers be approved and printed in the Appendix to the Minutes; that the charter granted by the Legislature of Kentucky be accepted by the General Assembly, and that the agreements between the General Assembly and the Synod of Kentucky, and the Centre College of Kentucky, be ratified by the General Assembly; and that the Committees on Endowment, and on charters, covenants, &c., be discharged, the latter having fully accomplished their work, and the unfinished part of the work of the former being hereby, according to their request, turned over to the Board of Trustees of the Seminary; and that a day be appointed by the General Assembly for the election of some suitable person as a professor in said Seminary, the Board of Directors being permitted, according to their suggestion, to retain the services of the Rev. Joseph G. Reason as teacher of Oriental and Biblical Literature for the present, and for the election of suitable persons to the vacant places in the Board of Directors.

When the usual motion was made to approve of the report of the Committee, the Rev. Dr. McMasters moved as an amendment, that the approval of the report should not be construed as expressing, in any way, any judgment of the Assembly unfavourable to the continued operation of the Seminary at New Albany. This amendment he sustained in an able and well digested speech, in which he endeavoured to show that the location of the Seminary at Danville was obtained at the last Assembly by an improper withholding of information, and by the unfair suppression of discussion. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, with his usual ability successfully vindicated himself and the other friends of the Danville Seminary from the imputation of unfair suppression of information, or of freedom of debate. Dr. McMasters afterwards withdrew his amendment, with the understanding that it was to be subsequently presented as an independent proposition. The motion was then put and carried, to approve and adopt the report of the Committee on Seminaries, so far as it related to the Seminary at Danville.

It was probably owing to an oversight, that the motion was made so comprehensive, and not limited to the approval of the annual report of the Board of Directors; as it was, the vote car-

ried with it the approbation and sanction of the Assembly, of the new Plan of the Danville Seminary, and of the several charters and covenants above referred to, though not one of these documents was read, and the Assembly therefore was ignorant of their details. We doubt not, the approbation of the House would have been given, had these documents been read in full, but we consider it unfortunate, as a matter of precedent, that papers of so much importance should be adopted on the mere report of a committee, and in ignorance of their contents.

The Rev. Mr. McClung, on the day following, introduced a resolution to the effect, "That the General Assembly has no intention to interfere with the Seminary at New Albany, in any way, nor with such Synods as shall continue to be united in the support of such Seminary, nor with any of the churches under the care of said Synods."

The speaker put himself at once in sympathy with the house, by disclaiming all belief that there had been anything dis honourable in the conduct of the friends of the Danville Seminary, or any intentional suppression of documents. He then proceeded to sustain his motion, by showing that all the Synods asked for, was to be allowed to go on with their Seminary; that a large amount of money, some \$100,000, was at stake; that the institution had already done good service and was likely to do more. His speech was characterized by so much good sense, good feeling, wit and humour, that it carried the house completely with the speaker, and his motion was adopted without opposition.

Princeton Theological Seminary.—The Committee on Seminaries recommended that the annual report of the Board of Directors be approved, and printed in the Appendix to the Minutes. As this report contained the recommendation of the Rev. Alexander T. McGill, as Professor in the department of Church Government, Pastoral Theology, and the composition and delivery of sermons, in the Princeton Seminary, it gave rise to considerable debate.

By some few of the members the right of the Directors to make any such recommendation was called in question. To this it was replied, that by the plan of the Seminary, the Directors were authorized and required to recommend to the Assembly

such measures as they deemed the interests of the Seminary demanded ; and that the Assembly had, in numerous instances, sanctioned the exercise of this right to recommend candidates for vacant professorships, both in the case of the Western Seminary at Allegheny, and in that of Princeton. Experience had shown that such recommendations, without at all encroaching on the free exercise of the judgment of the Assembly, tended to produce unanimity and confidence. The Directors are appointed for the very purpose of watching over the institutions committed to their care ; they are reasonably supposed to know better than more distant members, what their interests demand ; and it is reasonable, that other things being equal, the wishes and judgment of the immediate guardians of an institution, should have great weight with the Assembly.

It was further objected, that it was not seemly or proper that a professor in one seminary should be called to occupy a post in another. To this it was answered, that there was no good reason why a man should not be transferred from one seminary to another, if his usefulness could thereby be increased. His physical constitution might be much better suited to the locality of one seminary than to that of another. His qualifications might be better adapted to the post to be filled in one than to that occupied in another. The real question for the Assembly in such cases to decide was, where can the person nominated best promote the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. The Church had acted on this principle. The Synods of South Carolina and Georgia had called Dr. McGill from the seminary at Allegheny to that at Columbia, without disapprobation from any quarter. It was, however, objected that there was something invidious in an older seminary calling a professor from an institution more recently established, and which had met with many severe trials. To this it was answered, that the Directors of the Princeton Seminary had always acted with peculiar deference and respect to the institution at Allegheny. Dr. McGill, while in the service of the latter Seminary, had been repeatedly invited to other institutions, but the Directors of Princeton, though needing his services, had never interfered to disturb his relation to Allegheny. When a year ago it was desired to bring about his election to a

chair in the Princeton Seminary, nothing was done by the Directors until it was ascertained that his connection with Allegheny was finally dissolved. On the present occasion his recommendation was without preconcert, and without the most remote intention of embarrassing a sister institution. The vote in the Board was without debate, by ballot, and simply expressed the sense of the Board as to the person whom they deemed best qualified to fill the vacant professorship. Having expressed that judgment, it was left to the discretion of the Assembly to say where Dr. McGill could best serve the Church.

Dr. Campbell, an elder, urged as a further objection that a fourth Professor, and especially a Professor of Pastoral Theology, was unnecessary. He thought it would be much cheaper and quite as effective to present each student with a copy of a good book on the subject. This speech, notwithstanding the ability and influence of its author, made on the house about the same impression that a recommendation by a minister might be expected to make on a medical convention, to educate a surgeon by putting a copy of Cooper's Surgery into his pocket.

The friends of the Allegheny Seminary, the elders, Messrs. Lawrence, Schoonmaker, and Campbell, and ministers, Messrs. Bronson, McAboy, and others, while defending the interests of that institution with zeal, and evincing a high sense of the value of Dr. McGill's services, manifested an excellent spirit, and the whole debate was free from everything adapted to give pain, or, upon reflection, to cause regret.

We think the whole matter, under Providence, was led to a conclusion satisfactory to the Assembly and to the Church at large, by the candid and conciliatory letter of Dr. McGill to the Rev. Dr. Breckinridge, and by him presented to the Assembly. The letter is as follows:

THURSDAY, May 23, 1854.

To the Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge—Dear Sir—Please announce to the General Assembly, on my behalf, at such time as you judge proper, that the nomination of myself to the vacant Professorship in the Seminary at Princeton, has been altogether unexpected, and without the slightest agency of mine. Were it a proposition to transfer me to another Semi-

nary, for the performance of the very same duties which I attempt to do at Allegheny, no inducement could lead me to entertain it for one moment. I could never consent to any act, which would appear to disparage an institution with which I have been identified so long, and whose patrons and Board of Directors I love and honour.

But the chair is different. The duties are more in accordance with my taste; less onerous, by nearly one-half, and such as would, so far as I can judge, comport better with my fragile strength. For these reasons, not to mention others of minor force, I have not felt it my duty to decline this nomination.

The Assembly, I hope, will appreciate my reasons for making this intimation. It is to satisfy the wishes of friends, to save misunderstanding, and to take a just share of responsibility, where the providence of God seems to indicate the path of duty. Very respectfully,

ALEXANDER T. MCGILL.

As this letter placed his acquiescence in the recommendation of the Princeton Directors on the ground of his health, and of his preference for the department which it was proposed he should fill, it enabled the Assembly to vote for his appointment, without even the appearance of preferring one Seminary to another.

The Report of the Board of Directors was therefore approved, and a day appointed to proceed to the election of a Professor.

Western Theological Seminary.—The Committee reported that the papers referred to them relating to this Seminary, were the Annual Report of the Board of Directors and the Annual Report of the Board of Trustees, which were approved and ordered to be printed in the Minutes.

Union Theological Seminary.—The Committee recommended that the Reports of this Seminary for 1853 and 1854 be approved and printed in the Minutes, and that a special Committee be appointed to bring in a suitable minute in reference to the death of the lamented F. S. Sampson, D.D., late Professor in that Institution.

Mr. S. P. Anderson, chairman of this special committee, subsequently presented the following minute, which was adopted.

The Assembly, in recording a memorial of this severe bereavement, would express its deep sense of the greatness of the loss which the Church has sustained in the death of one of her most learned, talented, and pious ministers. Fitted by nature and by grace for great and extended usefulness, he had devoted all his powers to the cause of Christ, undeterred by sacrifices which that consecration demanded, and which were remarkable in their degree, and protracted in their duration. He was eminently suited to the high and responsible post to which the voice of the Church had called him—a post which he again and again refused to abandon, even when tried by offers most tempting to human cupidity, love of ease, and ambition. To a varied and accurate scholarship he added uncommon powers of communicating knowledge and stimulating the intellects of his pupils, and a heart on fire with love to God and zeal for his service. As a preacher, a theologian, and an instructor, he occupied a place in the front rank.

The withdrawal of such a labourer from the field at such a juncture, is a loss to be felt by the whole Church, and to be recognized as one of those mysterious providences that are to be met in humble and adoring silence, rather than in a spirit of proud inquiry.

The Assembly, in view of this loss, would tender its affectionate Christian sympathies to the Directors and remaining Professors of the bereaved Institution, and would unite with them in beseeching the Great Head of the Church to raise up for them speedily, another of like mind and heart, to take his place and fulfil his duties.

Election of Professors.—The Rev. Alexander T. McGill, D. D., was elected to the chair vacant in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, the Rev. John N. Waddell, D. D. was elected Professor of Pastoral Theology and Church Government in the Danville Seminary, and the Rev. William S. Plumer, D. D., was elected to fill the chair, left vacant by the election of Dr. McGill, in the Allegheny Seminary. By vote of the Assembly the Directors of that Institution were authorized to arrange the departments of instruction to suit the wishes of the Professors.

Transfer of the Theological Seminaries to the care of Synods.—A memorial was presented from the Synod of South Carolina recommending such transfer, was referred to the Committee on Seminaries. That Committee reported to the House a resolution declaring the transfer proposed was inconsistent with the legal and moral obligations which the Assembly had assumed in relation to its Theological Institutions.

The Rev. Dr. Kirkpatrick said that the Synod to which he belonged would not desire to urge this measure in the face of legal and moral obligations, but he thought something ought to be done to relieve the Assembly of this burden. Dr. Adger said there was no zeal in South Carolina on this subject; that his own views on the subject had undergone a change. Mr. Armstrong, and Mr. Wilson, of Virginia, said that much discussion had been had in their part of the Church, in relation to the necessity of some such measure. Dr. Breckinridge showed that some \$400,000 or \$500,000 had been given to our Theological Seminaries on the expressed or implied condition that they should be under the control of the General Assembly, and therefore to transfer them to the Synods within whose bounds they happened to be placed, would be an obvious breach of trust.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted by the Assembly.

Election of Professors in Theological Seminaries by the Directors.—The Rev. Dr. Kirkpatrick presented a resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Seminaries, inquiring into the expediency of so altering the plan of our Theological Seminaries as to give the right of the election of professors to their several Boards of Directors. That Committee subsequently reported, “That in the present stage of the sessions of the Assembly, and the present state of its business, the questions involved in this overture cannot receive mature consideration,” and therefore, “recommend that no further action be taken with regard to this subject,” which was agreed to.

This is a very different proposition from the preceding. The Assembly might retain the absolute control of the Seminaries, so as to fulfil all conditions of the trust assumed in their management. The Synod of Kentucky retains the control of Centre College, though the Trustees appoint the Professors, because

the Synod elect the Trustees. If, therefore, the Assembly elect annually the Directors of a Seminary, renewing the whole Board year by year, or as now, in the course of three years, the control would remain with the Assembly. A motion to this effect was presented by Dr. Murray to the previous Assembly, at the close of its sessions, but not discussed for want of time.

There are grave considerations both for and against the proposed alteration, and it is desirable that the attention of the Church should be seriously turned to the subject before any decisive steps are taken in the matter.

Judicial Case.

The Judicial Committee reported the case of the complaint of the Session of the church of Wooster, against a decision of the Synod of Ohio.

The facts in this case appeared to be substantially these:—Dr. Day, a member of the church at Wooster, having married a lady belonging to the Baptist denomination, their children, out of deference to her feelings, were not baptized. Notwithstanding this fact, Dr. Day was elected an elder in that congregation, and served in that capacity for some years. The Session of the church becoming dissatisfied with this state of things, presented the question *in thesi* to the Presbytery of Wooster, whether a man who neglected to present his children for baptism, ought to be permitted to act as a ruling elder in any of our churches. The Presbytery answered the question in the negative, and gave a deliverance on the importance of infant baptism. In consequence of this action of the Presbytery, Dr. Day resigned his office as elder, and his name was omitted from the roll of the Session. After a time, however, he wished to resume his office, and the Presbytery not having contemplated his special case in their action, recalled their deliverance on baptism, and ordered the Session to restore Dr. Day to the Session. The case being carried to the Synod of Ohio, the action of the Presbytery was sustained. From the Synod, it came by complaint to the Assembly. The Assembly sustained the complaint, and adopted the following minute as expressing their judgment in the premises:

Whereas, It appears from the record that Dr. Day was re-

moved from the session of the church of Wooster, by his own resignation of his office in that church, and not by the judicial action of the Session, it was not competent for the Presbytery to order his restoration to office by the Session; and, therefore, the judgment of the Synod of Ohio, confirming such action of the Presbytery, was erroneous, and ought to be, and is hereby *reversed*, and the complaint of the Session, so far as it relates to this point, is sustained.

Division of the Synod of Philadelphia.

The Committee of Bills and Overtures reported, without any expression of opinion, the requests of certain Presbyteries belonging to the Synods of Philadelphia and Virginia, to be constituted into a new Synod.

Whereupon, the following resolution was presented by the Rev. Stuart Robinson:—

Resolved, That the requests of these four Presbyteries be granted, and that the Presbyteries of Carlisle, Baltimore, and Eastern Shore, from the Synod of Philadelphia, and the Presbytery of Winchester, from the Synod of Virginia, be hereby set off and constituted a new Synod, to be called the Synod of _____, which body shall meet in the F Street Church in the city of Washington, on the last Tuesday, (31st) of October next at 7½ P. M., and be opened with a sermon by the Rev. Wm. S. Plumer, D. D., or in his absence by the oldest minister present, who shall preside till another Moderator be chosen; and that thereafter the Synod convene on their own adjournment."

After an extended discussion, the resolution was adopted, and the blank was filled with "Baltimore," as the name of the new Synod.

Division of the Synod of Pittsburgh.

The following petition from the Synod of Pittsburgh was presented by the Committee of Bills and Overtures:

"*Resolved*, That the next General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States be petitioned to erect a new Synod, embracing that part of the Synod of Pittsburgh which lies west and north of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers; and in case it shall erect the new Synod for which this Synod

asks, to call it by the name of the ‘Synod of Allegheny,’ and to appoint its first meeting to be held in the First Church, City of Allegheny, at the same time at which the Synod of Pittsburgh shall hold its next meeting; to be opened with a sermon by the Rev. William Annan, who shall preside until the election of a Moderator.”

This petition was granted, and the Synod of Allegheny was accordingly constituted.

Systematic Benevolence.

Several overtures relating to this subject were received and referred to a special committee, of which Mr. David Hadden, elder from the Presbytery of Louisiana, was Chairman. This Committee subsequently presented a report, which after some modification was adopted, as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That this Assembly hereby enjoin upon the pastors of our churches to give greater prominence, in the ministration of the word, to the doctrine of the Scripture, as interpreted and set forth in our standards, (more particularly in Chap. XXVI. Sec. 2, of the Confession of Faith; in Question 141 of the Larger Catechism; in Chap. VII. of the Form of Government, and in Chap. IV. Sec. 5, of the Directory for Worship,) viz; that “Saints, by profession, are bound to maintain an holy fellowship and communion in relieving each other in outward things, according to their several abilities and necessities, which communion, as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto all those who in every place call upon the Lord Jesus,” “giving and lending freely according to their abilities;” and, in conformity to this doctrine, recognizing as one of the ordinances established by Christ, in connection with the sermon, prayer, and praise, “a collection raised for the poor and other purposes of the Church.”

2. *Resolved*, That the Presbyteries which have not anticipated the provisions of this action of the Assembly, are most earnestly and affectionately enjoined, 1st. At their meetings following the rising of this Assembly, to take order that the ministers and church sessions in their bounds shall be directed to adopt some practicable method by which an opportunity shall be afforded, and an invitation given, to all the members of their

congregations to contribute regularly to the objects of Christian benevolence recognized by the Assembly in the organization of the Boards of the Church, and to such other institutions as to them may seem right. 2d. And at every spring meeting to institute a proper inquiry into the diligence of ministers and church sessions in executing the provisions of such method.

3. *Resolved*, That the Presbyteries are further enjoined to enter on record, and report to the next Assembly, their action on the first part of the foregoing resolution; and also to record at their next and all subsequent spring meetings, the result of the inquiry prescribed, and report the same to the General Assembly with the usual Annual Presbyterial Report, stating the delinquencies and diligence of pastors and church sessions.

4. *Resolved*, That there shall be appointed by the Assembly a standing committee on Systematic Benevolence, which shall be charged with the reception and examination of such reports, and the presentation to the Assembly of their aggregate results.

5. *Resolved*, That the Boards of the Church are invited to aid in the proper execution of the foregoing arrangements of the churches in such official communications with the Presbyteries, as may seem proper.

6. *Resolved*, That the Professors in our Theological Seminaries are respectfully requested to give proper attention to the right training of the future pastors of the Church, in view of the duties herein contemplated.

Further, the Committee recommend the following plans for contribution:

1. A committee may be appointed by the session for each object of benevolence, and a particular month assigned in which they are to do their work, by calling upon the people, or otherwise obtaining contributions.

2. All the objects to be aided may be presented in separate columns, and each contributor called upon to say what he will give quarterly or annually.

3. Weekly or monthly collections may be taken up, and thrown into a benevolent fund, which the session may divide among the several objects approved by them, in such proportion as they think proper.

Ministerial Support.

A paper was presented from the Synod of New York, in relation to this subject, which was referred to a committee consisting of one ruling elder from each Synod, Judge Fine, of the Presbytery of Buffalo, being chairman.

1. *Resolved*, That we affectionately and earnestly recommend to the churches under our care, that they scrupulously avoid holding out any inducements to a minister to become their stated supply, or settled pastor, which will not be realized.

2. *Resolved*, That we earnestly recommend to every Presbytery, that unless suitable provision be made for the support of a minister or stated supply, they decline to give their aid or sanction, as a Presbytery, to settle him in any congregation which is unable to furnish such suitable provision.

3. *Resolved*, That we recommend to the elders, and deacons, and trustees of our churches and congregations, to meet together on some day before the 1st of November next, and yearly thereafter, or oftener, if necessary, and institute the inquiry whether the minister or stated supply is properly and fully supported; and if they find that he is not so supported, to take immediate measures to increase his support, and report to their Presbytery at its next meeting.

4. *Resolved*, That we recommend to the Presbyteries to require of every minister to preach on the subject of Ministerial Support—"that, laying aside all false delicacy, they enlighten their people upon this, as upon any other branch of Christian duty, pleading not for themselves, but for their Master, if happily they may reclaim their respective charges from a grievous sin, which must bring down God's displeasure;" and that the Presbyteries call upon every minister to answer whether he has complied with their injunction.

5. *Resolved*, That Messrs. B. M. Smith, Stuart Robinson, and James N. Dickson, be appointed a Committee to publish this report, and that the pastors be directed to read it from the pulpit at such time as may be considered most convenient.

On several different occasions the subject involved in the above report was brought to the attention of the Assembly. There was a general expression of opinion, especially on the

part of the elders, to the effect that the salaries of our ministers are in most cases inadequate; and much sympathy was manifested, especially for our domestic missionaries. We do not think, however, that the right ground was taken, either in the discussion of the subject, or in the report of the committee. We despair of seeing any thing effectually accomplished in this difficult matter, until there is a practical recognition of the two great scriptural principles, that every minister devoted to his work, is entitled to a comfortable support for himself and family; and that the obligation to furnish such support, does not rest exclusively upon the congregation which the minister serves, but upon the whole Church. The plan commonly adopted in our Church, has been, to allow a minister to look to his own people for a support; and if they are not able to furnish it, he must either suffer, or turn to some secular occupation. Two consequences inevitably follow—there is a great deal of privation unjustly imposed upon men who are among the most laborious and self-denying of our ministers; and a great deal of the time and effort of the clergyman is withdrawn from his appropriate work, and devoted to secular pursuits. The result, in a multitude of cases, is, that the minister becomes, in a great measure, a secular man, and often becomes rich. The paid clergy are those to whom the people give a sufficient salary to prevent the necessity of their resorting to making money for their own support.

The great difficulty is, that in proportion as you throw the support of the clergy on the Church at large, you encourage selfish negligence on the part of individual congregations. This is an evil, but it is far less than those which attach to our present plan—which is not only inefficient, but unjust and unscriptural. The Free Church of Scotland at first divided the “sustentation fund equally” among all its ministers, allowing each congregation to add what it saw fit to the amount received from the general fund by its pastor. This plan was found to encourage the selfish congregations to depend unfairly upon the more liberal. To avoid this difficulty, last year the plan was modified. “It was arranged that each congregation should undertake to raise annually a certain sum for the fund (the sum to be fixed by the committee and the office-bearers of the con-

gregation conjointly); that all the contributions up to this standard rate should form a general fund, calculated, if realized in full, to yield £127 (say \$635) a year to each of the present 730 ministers; that whatever sum should be contributed by any congregation above this standard rate should be added to the stipend of its own minister, until that stipend reached £157 (\$785), and that any contributions over that should form the fund for Church Extension." This plan does not operate to limit the salaries of ministers in expensive positions to the \$785 they may receive from the general fund, but it operates to secure an adequate compensation for all the ministers of the Church. The stipend actually furnished from the fund to each minister the past year was about six hundred dollars. If some man in our Church of the requisite influence, ability and leisure, would devote himself to devising and carrying into effect some fair and scriptural plan of ministerial support, he would be one of the greatest benefactors of the Church and country.

Finance Committee.

This Committee presented the following Report, which was adopted.

The Committee on Finance, to whom the Reports of the Treasurer of the Trustees, and of the Board of Trustees of the General Assembly, and the memorial of members of the Committee on Finance of 1852, were referred, respectfully report, that they have examined the Report of the Treasurer for the year past, and find the same correctly stated from the Treasurer's books, and recommend that it be approved.

The whole financial affairs of the Board of Trustees have been thoroughly investigated twice within three years; first, by an able special Committee appointed by the General Assembly in 1851, who reported in 1852; and again by an able special Committee of the Board of Trustees, whose report is presented to the present General Assembly. Both committees have thoroughly explored the sources of financial information, from the commencement of the funds and accounts; have expended months of faithful labour with untiring perseverance, to furnish all the intelligence it was possible to glean from books and papers, and have performed a work of exceeding value and

importance to the interests of the General Assembly. It is but just that these labours, both of the special Committee of 1852, and the Committee of the Board, prompted by love to Zion and her interests, should be gratefully acknowledged by the General Assembly.

Your Committee recommend that the losses sustained heretofore by the trust funds, be repaired; and that a special committee be appointed by the General Assembly for that purpose.

The principle of averaging the losses that have heretofore occurred, between the several trusts represented in the common fund invested at the time the losses occurred, seems to your committee, under the circumstances set forth in the Report of the Board of Trustees, equitable; but in future, this committee recommend that there be endorsed on each security held, a distinct designation of the particular trust or trusts to which it belongs, so that any future losses shall fall upon the trust or trusts interested in the investment.

The Report of the Board of Trustees is reported to the General Assembly, with the recommendation that the following resolutions be adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That the Report of the Board of Trustees is approved, and it is recommended by the General Assembly to the Board of Trustees to open a new set of books in accordance with the Report of the Board, and to cause hereafter a distinct account of each trust fund to be kept therein.

2. *Resolved*, That (unless the authors of the fund otherwise specially direct,) any investment may cover more than one trust, at the discretion of the Board of Trustees, *provided* the amount of the interest of each trust in the investment shall be endorsed on the mortgage or ground rent; so that hereafter, in case of loss, the same may be charged to the account of the trust or trusts interested in the security.

3. *Resolved*, That so much of the direction of the General Assembly of 1852 to the Board of Trustees as implied that each trust must be separately invested, be rescinded.

4. *Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished by the Stated Clerk to the Board of Trustees, and that the Reports of the Treasurer, and of the Board of Trustees, with the memorial of members of the Committee on Finance of

1852, referred to this Committee, be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes of the present General Assembly.

The special Committee recommended in the foregoing report, was accordingly appointed, and consists of Messrs. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, John C. Backus, Kensey Johns, Stacy G. Potts, R. L. Stuart, and James N. Dickson.

It was then

Resolved, That the thanks of the Assembly be given to the two Committees referred to in this report, and their chairmen respectively, the Hon. Stacy G. Potts, and the Hon. Kensey Johns, for their time, labour, and skill in preparing their reports on the finances of the Assembly, and that the Clerk send them a copy of this resolution.

Commissions.

Rev. Dr. Young from the Committee on Bills and Overtures, reported,

Overture No. 7. An overture from the Synod of Kentucky, as to the right and propriety of appointing commissioners for the trial of judicial cases. The Committee recommended the following action:

Resolved, 1. That the appointment of commissioners for the trial of judicial cases is consistent with the Presbyterian form of Church Government, and agreeable to the usage of our Church, as well as to the usage of the Church from which she sprang—the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

Resolved, 2. That in the formation of judicial commissioners, the General Assembly direct that the following procedure be observed: (1.) That the number of members appointed on any such commission shall be equal to the number required to constitute a quorum of the appointing body. (2.) That any member of the Court that forms the commission, if he shall see proper to do so, be allowed to sit as a member of the commission, in addition to the number appointed. (3.) In a commission formed by the General Assembly, not more than one member shall be appointed from any one Synod, and in a commission formed by a Synod, not more than three members shall be appointed from any one Presbytery.

Dr. Young sustained this overture at length. Chancellor

Johns spoke with effect on the other side of the question. Dr. McMasters moved to postpone the resolutions offered by the Committee with a view to send down a proposition to alter the constitution, so as to answer the end contemplated in the overture. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge moved as a substitute a proposition to be sent down to the Presbyteries changing the representation in the Assembly from Presbyterial to Synodical. He thought the Assembly, and of course the lower courts, had the power to appoint commissions, and that the best way was for them to do so whenever necessity called for such action, without any declaration of the Assembly in its favour. Finally the whole subject was laid on the table. It was evident the House was not prepared to adopt the overture proposed by the Committee, and perhaps it is best to let the matter rest until the Church is brought to see that our present mode of conducting judicial cases is impracticable, and that we must in some form introduce the principle of judicial commissions.

SHORT NOTICES.

A German Dictionary, by J. Grimm and W. Grimm. "In the beginning was the Word." Vol. I. Leipzig, 1854: xcii, and 1824 columns. (Deutsches Wörterbuch, von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm. Im anfang war das Wort. Erster Band. A—Biermolke. Verlag von S. Hirzel.)

The completion of the first volume of the long expected German Dictionary of the Brothers Grimm gives us an opportunity of saying a few words about it. The labour of editing this Dictionary has been taken upon two pairs of shoulders, but at the same time it engages *two heads*. To obtain the necessary freedom of action for both these scholars, they have agreed to divide the labour in such a manner between themselves that each volume shall be from the hand of *one* of the brothers; so that the first volume is entirely from the hand of Jacob Grimm. This

scholar is now in his seventieth year. He is a Hessian by birth, and very much attached to the particular section which he calls his native country, although he seems at the same time zealous of promoting the unity of Germany. That which really constitutes the indissoluble chain by which all Germans are united, in spite of their divisions, is their *language*, and to the study and elucidation of this, Jacob Grimm, by a peculiar train of events, has been enabled to devote his most successful labours. He was born at Hanau, on the 7th of January, 1785. His father died when he was very young, and the limited means of the family would have made it impossible for his mother to give her children a liberal education, had not an aunt of theirs, who was lady of the chamber to the Electress, sent Jacob and his brother Wilhelm to the Lyceum at Cassel. His grandfather was a Reformed minister; the grandson, we fear, has now widely departed from the faith of his youth. He studied law at the University of Marburg, where he lived on the narrowest allowance. Among his teachers he liked Savigny best, and soon attracted his notice. Numerous visits to Savigny, and freedom of access to his rich library first introduced him to that branch of study in which he was afterwards to become so celebrated. In 1805, Savigny proposed Grimm's joining him at Paris, to assist him there in his literary occupation. Here his inclination for the study of the literature and poetry of the Middle Ages was very much increased by the great amount of leisure at his command, his access to the manuscripts of the Paris libraries, and the purchase of some scarce books. On his return he was appointed to some office in the War Department at Cassel, with a yearly salary of 100 thalers. In this employment he was kept indescribably busy, and the quantity and the dulness of the work were very distasteful to him. In 1808 he obtained the situation of librarian to the king of Westphalia; his salary here was above 1000 thalers, and his duties but nominal; he devoted himself, therefore, without intermission to the study of the old German language and poetry. From 1813 until 1815 he was Secretary of Legation to the Hessian minister, in which capacity he was frequently in Paris and Vienna, where he made good use of his opportunities for philological studies and researches. With the next year begins the most tranquil, laborious, and productive portion of his life. He had at length obtained the place of librarian in the Cassel library, which he had so much desired. Here, too, he was once more with his brother Wilhelm, who was employed in the same way. In 1830 the two brothers were called to the University of Göttingen, which they left seven years after to return to Cassel. From

this retirement they were called in 1841 by the new king of Prussia, who put an end to their continual anxiety about the means of subsistence and gave them an honourable position as Academicians and Professors at the University.

It was in 1837, when they returned from Göttingen, that a Leipzig publisher proposed to them to engage in the preparation of a great German Dictionary. With some reluctance they assented; and after the lapse of seventeen years, and through the assistance of more than a hundred scholars all over Germany, we are now in possession of the first volume. Were we to tell about it all that is ready to leap from the point of our pen, of the satisfaction and the disappointment we have experienced in glancing over the columns of this long expected work, this notice would soon swell into an article of no ordinary length. This *Word-book* is not a *della Crusca*, nor is it like the Dictionary of the French Academy, nor could it be compared to Johnson or Webster; it is *sui generis*; the only work to which we would even attempt to place it parallel, is Richardson's English Dictionary; but still the likeness would be a remote one. The examples form the great bulk of the book; and yet these are selected from a curious range of authors, arbitrarily fixed as to its beginning, arbitrarily stopped, and arbitrarily selected. The etymology, the very *eye* of the work, is bright of aspect, keen of penetration, and large of scope. The definitions are mostly given in *Latin*, sometimes in German, sometimes in French, Spanish, Italian, and even Lithuanian, and a great many times not at all. In short, it is a great, it is a learned work, such as the Grimms alone could produce. A *Dictionary* in the common acceptation of the term, a work for the various general purposes of consultation, for natives or foreigners, it is not.

Ueber den Naturlaut, von J. C. E. Buschmann. Berlin, 1853. Quarto.

Everybody is acquainted with lists of words of different languages, made out to exhibit a certain affinity between those languages or groups of languages. The *nature* of this affinity is not determined by the similarity or identity of certain words expressing the same idea in different languages. For a word may be simply *borrowed*; such terms as *alkali*, *oxygen*, *jungle*, *tattoo*, *violoncello*, *dragoman*, would be no proofs whatever of any connection between the English and the Arabic, Greek, Hindustani, Polynesian, Italian, and Turkish languages; a single individual may transfer such a word from one country or language into another. Or a word may be *derived* from another

language, and naturalized, as *beef*, *veal*, *mutton*, from *bœuf*, *veau*, *mouton*. This would only go to show that at one time there was a connection between the nations speaking these languages; what that connection was, may frequently be inferred from the kind of words introduced in this manner; thus, the words here cited would imply, as Wamba expounds, that each of these animals (viz. the ox, the calf, the sheep,) "is Saxon when he requires tendance, and takes a Norman name when he becomes matter of enjoyment;" in other words, that the conquering race, and, in consequence, the higher classes were Normans, whilst the conquered race or the lower classes were Saxons. The same thing would be testified to, if it were found that ecclesiastical and legal terms are French, whilst those referring to common life are Saxon. Again, when we find that the English *red* is in German *roth* (pronounced *rote*), *dead—todt* (pronounced *tote*), *lead—loth* (pronounced *lote*), and find a similar uniformity prevailing in the modification of many other words thus belonging to the two languages, with such slight changes as the one pointed out, we shall justly infer that the ancestors of the English and the German must have spoken the same language, and that the present difference of their languages must have arisen from a continued separation in space, which now is still producing the different dialects in one and the same country. But if we find that the English word *sack* is in German *säck*, in French *sac*, in Spanish and Portuguese *saco*, in Italian *sacco*, in Latin *saccus*, in Greek *σάκκος*, in Dutch *zak*, in Danish *sack*, in Swedish *säck*, in Welsh and Irish *sac*, Cornish *zah*, Armorican *sach*, Anglo-Saxon *sæc*, Hungarian *saak*, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Ethiopic *sak*, Coptic *sok*, Polish *sak*, etc., etc., we may at first attempt to show that one nation derived the use of the thing together with its name from another nation. But this expedient will fail, when we find such instances of the wide prevalence of a single word for the same thing, not to be rare; or when it is unlikely or impossible for one reason or another that one nation should have borrowed the term from another, or when the nations are so widely separated that such a conclusion would be preposterous. The only legitimate inference would be that this and similar instances are but the scattered relics of an original unity of languages, a conclusion which forms one of the grand results of comparative philology. Still, if we were able to show that such identity or similarity of sound applied to designate the same thing, arose from something in the human mind and the organs of speech, which necessitated man to use it whenever and wherever he wished to designate such a thing, the argu-

ment would cease to be valid for the original unity of speech, but it would become very strong for the unity of the race. The proper reply to such a mode of proceeding, however, would be twofold. First, such a necessity supposed to exist would degrade man to a brute. It is only the lower creation which make their wants known by the same barking, howling, neighing, or grunting in every age, and in every country; and it is only the same species of bird that sings the same song in every land, and at all times; whilst man is *free*; man is above instinct. The second reply is, that even the greatest philologists have never yet ventured to approach what is fitly termed "the mystery of roots," i. e. the philosophy of the phenomenon that, for example, the root *I* in such a multitude of languages means *to go*, and not *to stand*, and the root *STA* means *to stand*, and not *to go*.

Now, in nearly every one of those lists above alluded to, we find the terms for *father* and *mother*. These certainly, as far as their roots are concerned, are thought to be remarkably alike, in a great number of languages. What is more natural, than to suppose, that whatever else of the recollection of their homes and childhood the migrating nations lost, they carried with them these, the appellations of their dearest relations? It had indeed been remarked, at a very early period, that as the sound *pa* and *ma* appeared so easy, and, so to say, natural to the child's lips, it is probable that the parents got those words from the child; still, this conjecture, if to such it really amounted, merely asserted that this was the case in the original language, and that thence they were derived into other languages. *Buschmann*, who was early distinguished by the friendship and by the high esteem, as a linguist, of Humboldt and Bopp; who edited the former's great work on the Kawi language; to whom the whole enlargement of the original plan, and hence, the greater part of the work itself, is due; who is also known by his other works on some of the Polynesian and American languages, and who has lately begun a learned work on Aztec names, is the first who has attempted, systematically, to show that these appellations are due to what he terms the *Naturlaut*, a law by which the child designates its first acquaintances by sounds most easily articulated. To prove this view, he puts the hypothesis: the child would choose the harder sounds *pa*, *ta*, *ap*, *at*, to designate the father, and the softer sounds *ma*, *na*, *am*, *an*, to designate the mother, and farther, that this process, would, in many instances, be reversed; and then he collects these designations in a great number of languages (their names alone cover several pages), and classifies

them according to those four pairs of sounds. In a philological point of view, the labour the writer has performed is a thank-worthy one; as to the conclusion at which he arrives, it cannot claim to be anything more than a hypothesis, and that not a new one.

The Numerals in the Tschudic Group, as also in Turkish, Tungusian and Mongolian. A dissertation read in the Academy of Sciences, on the 17th February, 1853, by W. Schott. Berlin, 1853. 4to.

(Das Zahlwort in der Tschudischen Sprachenklasse, wie auch im Turkschen, Tungusischen und Mongolischen. Von Wilhelm Schott, Ferd. Dünunter's Verlagsbuchhandlung.)

The numerals have always been considered as peculiarly fit for philological ‘monographs,’ and that because the other parts of speech are so closely interwoven with one another that any single one can scarcely be treated of without involving a discussion of the whole grammar besides. Then, also, numerals denoting ideas which, of necessity, are not exposed to modification, are less likely to change greatly, when passing from one language into another; or, when one language separates from its trunk, and becomes independent. All who have even glanced at this subject, must have been struck with the remarkable likeness of these words in the Indo-European languages. So the numerals of the more improved tribes belonging to the Malay-Polynesian family, with few exceptions, are the same in all. Among the less improved ones, the relics of an original unity are more frequent in the lower numbers than in the higher. Hence we have a number of valuable works confined to this subject: Alex. von Humboldt's “*Considérations générales sur les signes numériques des peuples*,” Bopp on the Numerals in the Indo-European Languages, Lepsius on the Origin and Relationship of the Numerals in the Indo-Germanic, Semitic, and Coptic Languages; Donaldson, too, has made the Hebrew numerals the subject of a special investigation in his *Maskil le Sopher*. Yet the first remark above made, perhaps, needs limitation; for even the isolated numerals are at times discovered to be rather closely connected with some other parts of speech. Not to mention the ordinals, where, for instance *primus* is but the superlative of *prae*, as $\pi\rho\tilde{\omega}\tau\sigma$; of $\pi\rho\acute{o}$, *first* of *fore*, and *erst* of *ehe* (*ere*); or *secundus*=*sequundus*, that which always follows;—compare the Sanscrit *pancā*, five, with *pāni*, hand (with its five fingers); in Hawaiian *lima* denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘five’; in Polish *piec* is “five,” and *piesc* “fist;” compare the German *finger* with *fünf* (five); language considers only *one* hand, because one hand generally does the work, whilst the *feet* always go together; hence we must compare *toe* with *ten*, and Germ. *zehe*

with *zehn*. The terms for *ten* in the Malay languages have nearly all been shown by Bopp to be related to the Sanscrit *pûrna* 'full,' because that number *completes* the series of the decimal system.

The numerals, then, having generally more of the nature of abstractions than other parts of speech can have, form the easiest and most obvious tests of relationship; and it is for this purpose that SCHOTT has subjected the apparently widely differing numerals of the Tschudic, Turkish, Tungusian, and Mongolian languages to a rigid analysis, and that with great success. The nature of the work admits of no abstract. We would only state for the benefit of our non-philological readers that the Tschudic group comprises mainly the Finns, the Esthnians, the Laplanders, the Livlanders, and the Ugrians including the Magyars and the Ostiacs, whilst the Tungusians are spread over the whole of Eastern Siberia, and are better known in China under the name of Mantchu-Tatars. Schott is really the highest authority on this class of language, generally comprised under the name of the Tataric family, having first established their connection some fifteen years ago.

Ueber die Sprache der alten Preussen, in ihren verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen, von Franz Bopp. Gelesen in der Akademie der Wissenschaften, am 24 Mai, 1849, am 25 Juli, 1850, und am 24 Febr. 1853. Berlin, 1853. 4to.

This treatise, which consists of three discourses held at the sessions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, has been reprinted from its Transactions. It forms an addition to BOPP's Comparative Grammar, and really enlarges its plan. That grammar compares the Lithuanian alone with the other Indo-European languages, whilst this treatise gives an interesting view of *the language of the ancient Prussians*. These two languages, together with the Lettic, form a narrower circle entirely distinct from the Teutonic on the one hand, and from the Slavic on the other, though of sufficiently near relationship to the latter to give plausibility to the author's conjecture that the separation of the "*Lettic*" languages from the Slavic took place in Europe. For the degree of affinity among languages depends entirely upon the time when they separated and individualized themselves. So we conclude that the Slavic and Lettic languages were separated later from the Sanscrit, than the Classical, Teutonic, and Celtic languages, and yet earlier than the Medo-Persian and East Indian languages, because we see, for instance, that none of the European branches partakes as much as the Zend, the ancient and the modern Persian, the Kurdish, the Afghan, and the Armenian, of the degeneracy of

S into *H* before a vowel, both in the beginning and in the middle of a word. Thus has Comparative Philology enabled Ethnology to say in what order of time pre-historic migrations, from a common Asiatic centre, of the different nations of Europe took place. The investigation before us is confined to a single document, as otherwise the language is quite defunct. Bopp with his usual ingenuity gives a grammatical analysis, especially of those forms which deserve more attention on account of their more striking relations to the Lithuanian and Lettic proper.

Geschichte der Englischen Sprache und Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Einführung der Buchdruckerkunst. Von Dr. Ottomar Behnsch. Breslau, 1853, 8vo. pp. 228.

This is a learned work on *the history of the English language* before it *was* English, a work not attempted before, either in English or in German. In the introduction it discusses the influence, permanent or transitory, of the Celts, the Romans and the Germans, on the language of the inhabitants of what is now called England. In the body of the work we have a very interesting view presented of the mighty and important changes which the language and the literature of that portion of the Island have undergone in ancient times. We have here, for the first time, a clear representation of the transitions observable in the progress of that language; first from the extinction of the Celtic and Latin languages to the appearance of the Anglo-Saxon, and the formation of a rich Germanic literature, through the influence of Christianity with its flood of ecclesiastical and theological (Latin) terms; then from the invasion of the Norman-French to the final disappearance of the old Anglo-Saxon; and finally, from the mutual interpenetration of these two languages to the rise of an entirely new, and yet old, language, the English, now so widely spread, and so justly extolled. Thus, the whole history naturally falls into three periods: the Anglo-Saxon, from 500 to 1066; the Norman, from 1066 to 1362, when Edward III. decreed that the language used in the pleadings before the tribunals, should be in English, and not in French, as before; and thirdly, the old English period, from 1362 to 1500, closing with William Caxton, whose first printed work, "The Game and Playe of the Chesse," was finished on the 31st of March, 1474. The printing press, of course, gave the language that firmness and security which it has possessed since, and which has preserved it from such great changes as those to which it was exposed before.

The Pronunciation of Greek; Accent and Quantity. A Philological Inquiry. By J. S. Blackie, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1852, 8vo.

Studien ueber die Alt- und Neugriechen und ueber die Lautgeschichte der griechischen Buchstaben. Von Dr. Johann Telfy, K. K. Professor der Klass. Philologie u. Lit. an der Pesth Un. Leipzig, 1853, 8vo.

Greek scholars are aware that the controversy concerning the proper pronunciation of Greek, once rallying round the standards of Reuchlin and Erasmus, has been revived in our day. Thus far, however, the firing has all been on one side. The "conservatives" of every land, however much they differ from one another, have tacitly agreed, it seems, to let the storm pass, to hide their heads, ostrich-like, in the sand, and, in the meantime, to remain in quiet possession and continued practice of what their opponents call gross insults to the spirit of a noble language, and arbitrary, ridiculous absurdities; whilst the "reformers" have hitherto failed to make any decided impression for want of agreement among themselves, and on account of a haste and rashness observable in most of them, which, as is well known, are not the characteristics of a true reform. The two treatises whose titles we have given, are some of the grape shot fired into the obstinate enemy's castle. The one comes from Hungary, the other from Scotland; both from Professors of the Greek language. The Hungarian is an enthusiast for Modern Greece, denies that the Slavonians left any permanent traces in Greece, maintains that the Greeks of the present day are the genuine, almost unmixed offspring of the Pericles, the Demosthenes, the Thucydides; that their language is a true counterpart of the classical Greek, and that everybody that does not pronounce Greek as modern Athens does, commits sacrilege. Professor Blackie is more moderate. He admits that the modern Greeks have widely departed from the pronunciation of the language of their forefathers, as it may be ascertained from other sources, that the Erasmians, on the whole, come very near the ancient classical pronunciation; and yet he demands that in deference to the present inhabitants of Greece and Turkey, we should adopt the modern Greek pronunciation. Telfy gives us the steps of his investigation, Blackie nothing but results. The latter, however, claims an attentive hearing, because, as he tells us, he has worked his way through Havercamp's great collection of older writers on this subject, he has compared the arguments used in the old Cambridge controversy with those advanced by "a well-informed modern member of the same learned corporation;" he has consulted the learned Germans; he has been in Greece, and continues to

read modern Greek; and because he has examined those passages of the ancient rhetoricians and grammarians that touch upon the various branches of the subject. Among the proofs adduced to show that the language of Homer is not dead, occurs a passage from a newspaper, beginning: ‘Ο Κοσσούτ ἐπ’ Ἀμερικῆν Τὴν δεκαβέβην κ.λ. We must confess that the enthusiasm and the violence evinced by both these writers are not calculated to convince their opponents, unless these should happen to possess more candour than opponents generally do.

Apocalyptic Sketches. Lectures on the Book of Revelation. Second series
By Rev. John Cumming, D.D., minister of the Scotch National Church.
Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1854. pp. 532.

These lectures are not a continuous commentary on the Apocalypse, but discourses on subjects, founded on passages in the last three chapters of the Revelations. The author believes that the glories predicted in this part of the word of God, “are about to emerge far sooner than many believe.”

Manual of Missions; or, Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church: with maps, showing the stations and statistics of Protestant Missions among unevangelized nations. By John C. Lowrie, one of the Secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 683 Broadway.

This volume meets a widely extended want. Every one interested in the work of missions has felt the need of a compact and accessible account of the whole field, so as to be able to see at a glance what is now doing in this department. The author has accomplished an important work in the most satisfactory manner.

The Twenty-four Books of the Holy Scripture, carefully translated according to the Massoretic Text on the basis of the English version, after the best Jewish authorities; and supplied with short explanatory notes. By Isaac Leeser. Philadelphia: Published at 371 Walnut street. Quarto, pp. 1011.

This large and handsome volume is the work of the learned leader of the Synagogue in Philadelphia. He says of himself that he “is an Israelite in faith, in the full sense of the word; he believes in the Scriptures as they have been handed down to us; in the truth and authenticity of prophecies, and their ultimate literal fulfilment.” The object of the work is to furnish not a commentary, but an improved version of the Jewish Scriptures. The author adheres generally to the English version, departing from it, however, in innumerable cases, in the form of expression. The notes have reference almost exclusively to the sense of words and phrases, giving the different renderings, in many cases, of his authorities, which include all

the most important Hebrew writers on the Scriptures, ancient and modern. The reader will perceive, from what we have said, that the plan of the work is excellent; and he will find much to instruct and interest him in the manner in which it is executed. A work on a similar plan, from a competent Christian scholar, would be a very valuable contribution to our biblical apparatus.

The two views of Episcopacy, Old and New. Philadelphia: Stavely and McCalla, 12 Pear street: [orders supplied at two dollars a dozen, and mailed at that price postage paid.] 1854. pp. 57.

There is no form of doctrine for which we have less respect than High Church Episcopacy. Our evangelical Episcopilians seem to be much of the same mind, judging from the portraits which they draw of the high church party. The two systems are contrasted, and the contrast sustained by authorities in the above pamphlet, which will be found well worth a perusal.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

A. H. Baier, Symbolism of the Christian Confessions and of Religious Parties. Vol. I. Symbolism of the Roman Catholic Church. Division 1. The idea and the principles of Roman Catholicism. 8vo. pp. 252. 28 ngr.

H. Ewald, History of the People of Israel till the time of Christ. Second Edition. Vol. III. David and the Kingdom in Israel. 8vo. pp. 787. 3½ thalers.

E. W. Hengstenberg, Christology of the Old Testament and Commentary on the Messianic Prophecies. Second Edition. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 603. 2 thalers 12 ngr.

J. N. P. Oischinger, Speculative Development of the Principal Systems of Modern Philosophy, from Descartes to Hegel. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 328. 1 thaler 12 ngr.

M. A. Uhlemann, Inscriptionis Rosettanæ hieroglyphicæ decretum sacerdotale accuratissime recognovit, latine vertit, explicavit, cum versione græca aliisque ejusdem temporis monumentis hieroglyphicis contulit atque composuit, glossario instruxit. 4to. pp. 181. 4 thalers.

By the same, Philologus Ægyptiacus, or explanation of Egyptian words gathered from Greek and Roman writers. 8vo. pp. 32. 8 ngr.

C. Frantz, History of the Worship of Mary and Anna in the Catholic Church. 8vo. pp. 202. 18 ngr.

L. Saalschuetz, Form and Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry of the Bible. 8vo. pp. 116. $\frac{2}{3}$ thaler.

Joach Curaei, Exegesis perspicua et ferme integra controversiae de sacra cena, first published in 1574, now again edited by D. G. Scheffer. 4to. pp. 63. $\frac{1}{2}$ thaler.

J. C. K. Hofmann, The Scripture Proof. Part II. Division 1. 8vo. pp. 407. 1 thaler 24 ngr.

M. Baumgarten, The Night Vision of Zechariah. Part I, containing the first three chapters. 8vo. pp. 386. 2 thalers.

A. Bisping, Exegetical Manual to the Epistles of the Apostle Paul, to be completed in three volumes of two parts each. Vol. I. Part 1. Epistle to the Romans. 8vo. pp. 372. $\frac{5}{6}$ thaler.

The Book of Enoch, translated and explained by A. Dillmann. 8vo. pp. 67 and 332. 2 thalers 4 ngr.

H. Ewald, Annual of Biblical Science. Vol. V. for 1852-3. 8vo. pp. 356. 2 thalers. Containing the Christian Book of Adam, translated from the Ethiopic, with remarks by A. Dillmann. (Also issued separately, pp. 144. $\frac{2}{3}$ thaler.) The Scripture Canon of the Abyssinian Church, by the same. Explanation of Persian words of the Old Testament, by M. Haug. Explanatory remarks upon the Psalms. The external testimonies in favour of the Gospel of John. Review of the writings upon Biblical Science which have appeared in 1852-3. On Religion and Government in Germany.

W. Neumann has published an essay on the Peace Offerings of the Old Testament, under the title *Sacra Vet. Test. Salutaria*. 8vo. pp. 45. 8 ngr.

The third division of Kurtz's Church History, just published contains an account of the Oriental Church, from the Trullan Council to the fall of Constantinople. 8vo. pp. 205. 21 ngr.

H. Heppe, The Development of the Confessions of the Old Protestant Church of Germany, the Old Protestant Union, and the present position and task of Protestantism in regard to Confessions. 8vo. pp. 425. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ th.

J. Nickes, De libro Judithæ. 8vo. pp. 71. 12 ngr.

W. Gass, History of Protestant Dogmatics in its connection with Theology generally. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 488. 2 thalers.

Ascension and Vision of the Prophet Isaiah, translated from the Ethiopic and Latin into the German, with a commentary and a general introduction by Dr. H. Jolowiez. A contribution to the sources for the knowledge of early Christianity. 8vo. pp. 94. 18 ngr.

T. Kock, Sophoclean Studies. No. 1. On the Aristotelian idea of Katharsis in the tragedy, and its application to King Edipus. 4to. pp. 75. $\frac{2}{3}$ thaler.

T. Benfey, Manual of the Sanskrit Language. This is now completed by the appearance of the Glossary. 8vo. pp. 374. The former parts contain a grammar and Chrestomathy; the cost of the whole is 14 thalers.

E. Lekebusch, The Composition and Origin of the Acts of the Apostles investigated anew. 8vo. pp. 434. 2 thalers.

E. Meier, The Song of Solomon, with a German translation, explanation, and critical edition of the Text. 8vo. pp. 168. $\frac{2}{3}$ thaler.

J. P. Lange, The History of the Church. Part I. The Apostolic Age. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 654. Cost as far as published, 5 thalers.

E. v. Lasaulx, The Fall of Hellenism, and the confiscation of its temple property by the Christian emperors. A contribution to the philosophy of history. 8vo. pp. 150. 26 ngr.

M. A. Lenzi di Torcegno, Compend of the history of Italian Literature from the tenth to the eighteenth century inclusive. 8vo. pp. 103. $\frac{2}{3}$ thaler.

E. Bertheau, The Books of Chronicles, as the 15th part of the Condensed Exegetical Manual to the Old Testament. 8vo. pp. 432. 2 thalers. The exposition of Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther by the same author is promised shortly.

J. Richers, The History of the Creation, Paradise and Flood explained. (Genesis, i.-ix.) 8vo. pp. 474. 2 thalers, 8 ngr.

J. T. A. Wiesinger, The Epistle of James explained. 8vo. pp. 211. 24 ngr. This is in continuation of Olshausen's Biblical Commentary on the New Testament. The rest of the General Epistles, which are now alone wanting to complete the work, are to appear in a short time.

M. F. Rampf, The Epistle of Jude, the Apostle and Brother of the Lord, historically, critically, exegetically. 8vo. pp. 432. $1\frac{5}{6}$ thalers.

W. O. Dietlein, Lectures on Catholicism and Protestantism. 8vo. pp. 243. $\frac{3}{4}$ thaler.

H. Ewald, On the Origin, Meaning, and Composition of the Ethiopian Book of Enoch. 4to. pp. 78. 24 ngr.

W. Neumann, Jeremiah of Anathoth. An exposition of his Prophecy and Lamentations. No. 1. 8vo. pp. 160.

E. Gerhard, Greek Mythology. Part I. The Greek Divinities. 8vo. pp. 601.

Bibliotheca Tamulica, or the principal works in Tamul, edited, translated and provided with notes and glossaries. By C. Graul. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 203.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1854.

No. IV.

ART. I.—*India: Its Past and Future.*

1. *Indische Alterthumskunde* von Christian Lassen, ord. Prof. an der Universität zu Bonn. 1ster Band. *Geographie und die älteste Geschichte.* Bonn, 1847. 2ter Band. *Geschichte von Buddha bis auf die Ballabhi und jüngere Gupta Dynastie.* 1852.

2. *The Calcutta Review.*

A well known writer of Great Britain at times indulges in the imaginary vision of some traveller from New Zealand taking his stand, in the midst of a vast solitude, on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's. This, to a majority of readers, suggests a time immeasurably remote, a time that will, that can never come. And this we must call natural. The same spirit exists in all ages. Doubtless, the men of Nineveh, in their pride and power, never dreamt that civilization and knowledge should once fix their abode in continents utterly unknown to them; and that travellers from distant regions, from an isle, cold, dreary, and barbarous in their time, should in vain labour to decypher on some mouldering pedestal the name of their proudest chief. Doubtless the princes, the philosophers, the merchants, of tumultuous Alexandria,

with its harbour of ten thousand masts, its observatory, its immense library, its numberless work-shops, furnishing Rome and Italy with the necessaries as well as the luxuries of life, never once imagined that at some future day their harbour should be filled with sand, their streets with poverty, their houses with ignorance, their very atmosphere with moral and physical pestilence; that their learning and their arts should flee to unknown shores, to men who but rarely think what Alexandria once was, and what Alexandria now is. Doubtless the great Cappadocian teachers, almost the only depositaries of true Christian doctrine of their age, never once conceived of a time when the very name of their country should almost be forgotten, when superstitious, well nigh savage rites, should be practised where their proudest temple stood, and when a country of which a philosopher of their tongue once had a dreamy vision, should send messengers to re-christianize their degraded successors. We, and all other nations, are in the same condition. Self, and the desire for self-advancement excludes from our view what is more distant, and, after all, on that very account, more hopeful.

Such thoughts spontaneously and irrepressibly arise when we think of a country whose future is but just beginning to unfold itself, and whose almost forgotten past furnishes the materials for the prodigious work of Lassen.

Lassen, the pupil and coadjutor of Schlegel, the well-known editor of a Sanscrit Chrestomathy, the author of the most complete Pracrit Grammar that has appeared in Europe, one of the earliest successful decyphers of the Persepolitan cuneiform inscriptions, the Nestor of Sanscrit learning on the continent, has begun to erect for himself a *monumentum ære perennius*—of which thus far we are permitted to see the pedestal—*A History of Ancient India*. As qualifications for the accomplishment of his task, he brings with him a most extensive acquaintance with the whole literature on Indian topics, a complete mastery over the languages in which the original records are contained, a life-long study of the primary and secondary sources of the history, a glowing enthusiasm for his subject, and much of the “historic spirit,” though this is perhaps too deeply tinged with Hegel’s views.

The work which was commenced sixteen years ago, and of which we have two volumes at present, containing more than twenty-two hundred pages, is to consist of six Books. The first Book contains the geography of India; it describes the whole peninsula as to size, form, division, and relation to other countries, its climate, its natural productions, and thus arrives at the physical condition of its ancient inhabitants. Though, from the nature of the case, there must be much in a geography that is dull, dry, and uninteresting, yet we have found this part of Lassen's work attractive, and even fascinating reading, from the vivid aspect which the *ensemble* furnishes of India, from the minuteness with which the more interesting particulars are detailed, from the intimate relation to life and men in which facts are exhibited that would otherwise claim the attention of the botanist or zoologist merely, and especially from the frequent recurrence of the most valuable suggestions and observations of a philological and ethnological nature.

The Second Book, which commences at Vol. I., p. 353, and is not yet concluded, contains the external history of the different divisions of India, and of the races and nations which have existed there successively or contemporaneously. The Third and Fourth Books are to give a representation of the development of the Hindu mind, as it appears in their religion, their literature, in their arts, and in the state and advancement of science among them. The Fifth and Sixth Books are to review the civilization of the ancient Hindus, as it appears in their social and political condition. The conclusion of the whole is to be formed by a philosophy of the history of India, which is mainly to serve for correcting the views which Hegel has put forth on this subject.

Considering the thorough manner which distinguishes all the labours of Lassen, we could hardly say too much in praise and recommendation of this gigantic undertaking of his; our fear, however, is, that like so many other German works, it will never be finished. Already does the length of the period through which these two volumes have been in the course of publication, entail on the reader the hardship of getting much that is merely raw material, where he expects to find a *work* fit for his entertainment and instruction: *the author has found it necessary to*

append, thus far, one hundred and sixty pages of corrections and additions.

One point, however, has considerably abated our admiration ; it is the manner in which Lassen constructs the history of the remotest period. Since Sir William Jones's fortunate discovery that the *Sandrocottus* of the classical writers is the same as the *Chandragupta* of Somadeva's poem, and the subsequent and repeated verification of this discovery* by other scholars, the absurd and extravagant chronology of the Hindus has been superseded by one which has served as the framework of veritable history down to the conquest of Hindostan by the Mahometans, and up to the very origin of Buddhism. But, before this point, all is still dark as night. The Brahmans were no historians. No record of actual facts, except a few local accounts (of Ceylon, Orissa, Cashmere, and the kingdom of Pandya) has come down to us, and, in all likelihood, none ever existed ; for where the system of caste prevails, external changes of the whole do not affect the relative position of the castes—there is, therefore, no change, no movement, hence no history. Besides, in their Pantheistic theosophy, men and their deeds constitute such a mere speck in the immensity of the Deity, that they lose all importance and interest. The marvellous and unreal they regarded as natural and real, so that the latter were insipid and valueless.

Another cause of this indifference to history may be found in the insulated village-system that prevails all over India, which stifles the rise of all patriotic sentiment, or rather never induces a consciousness of a common country. Moreover, if we remember the inactive, indolent, contemplative mode of life which is the Brahman's *beau ideal*, we shall not wonder that all their literary energies were expended upon the production of their fanciful poems, their legends, and their mythology. Now it is these which Lassen relies upon as the sources of his history. We would guard against being misunderstood.

* The change of sounds from *Chandragupta* to *Sandrocottus* is easily accounted for. The Greeks had no sound like *ch*; the nearest to it was *s*—just as *se, si*, is heard in the Venitian dialect where the other Italians have *ce, ci*. The form of the latter part of the word is due to a wide-spread corruption of the mode of spelling it in the MSS. The true reading is fortunately preserved in a single passage of Atheneus, who writes : Σανδρόκουττος.

It is undeniable, we presume, that the popular literature and the poetry of a people may be, and in many cases must be used, as furnishing the truest view of their character, their customs, their vicissitudes—in short, their history. “Every well-instructed historian now sees more history in Demosthenes than in Plutarch; values the Clouds of Aristophanes at least as highly as Xenophon’s *Anabasis*; finds more facts in the ‘Canterbury Tales’ than in all Higdon’s *Polychronicon*; studies the Italian annals in Dante rather than in the Villains; and holds the Novels of Fielding to be trustier historical authorities than Smollett’s continuation of Hume.” The creations of the human mind in all ages are as real materials of history, as outward actions and monuments reared by handicraft. In this sense none would object, and everybody expect, to see poetical productions and fictitious writings used for the resuscitation of the forgotten life of a nation.

But Lassen employs the Hindu mythology in a different manner. Resolving it into separate sagas and myths, he admits hardly any of them to be purely poetical myths, but few to be philosophical, or cosmogonical, and uses as many as possible as geographical, etymological, and historical myths, from which he attempts to eliminate true history. The process is by no means new; it was adopted in one direction by the early Greek philosophers, when they wished to disenthral the intellect from the faith of Homer and Hesiod, who, as *they* taught, personified the powers of nature, and deified the sons of men.

In modern times, Vico was the first to introduce into philosophical history this crystallizing of fancies into deeds. In his *Scienza Nuova*, the Egyptian Hermes is the type of the ancient Egyptian science, representing a whole series of the early natural philosophers of Egypt. The legends concerning Orpheus embody the ideas of the invention of music, its power over the passions, and the subduing of the passions as preceding and necessary to the organization and foundation of society. Hercules is the type of the Greek heroic age. Romulus represents the Roman people. Numa typifies the rule of law and order, and stands for the unknown founder or founders of those institutions which formed the basis of the ceremonial religion of the

Romans. "In this way," says Vico, "all contradictions and anachronisms are explained. It ceases to be a mystery, for instance, how seven cities should claim each to have been the birth-place of the one Homer; for there were many Homers, and every Greek city had one, or more than one, of its own. Nor is it more mysterious how so much doubt and contradiction should exist, as to when, precisely, Homer lived; for Homer lived all through the four or five centuries of the Greek heroic age—singing in his youth Achilles' wrath and force, and in his riper years of the wisdom and calm endurance of a many-counselled Ulysses."

In our own day we have seen some very disastrous results and egregious failures in the application of this process to a more solemn system. To be sure, the application was preceded by the unprecedented feat of first turning veritable history into myths; but even when there was unanimity in the first step, the theories obtained by the second were as various and as numerous as their origination.

Even taking the most favourable view, and granting that some legends rest upon a historical substratum, the most successful search for this substratum can amount to nothing more than a felicitous guess, without any collateral evidence, without the possibility of verification. If we adopt, as our author does, a principle of semi-historical interpretation, we may obtain a long series of events and historical personages, but they are still due to nothing but to the "chemistry of thought," which resolved fables into facts.

For instance: The Mahabharata relates, that Kansa, king of the Jadava, made a league with Jarasandha, king of Magadha, and married his two daughters, Asti and Prapti. But, says Lassen, as these last two names signify *Existence* and *Acquisition*, it is plain that the legend means that Kansa *confirmed* and *increased* his power by a league with the king of Magadha.* To adduce other and more striking exemplifications would lead us too far. But it is obvious, that conclusions obtained in this manner rest on too slight a foundation to claim, with any degree of justice, to be regarded as legitimate deductions from well attested facts.

* Vol. i. p. 624:

But it cannot be our object to criticise a work, for which, with whatever exceptions may be taken to it, we must feel grateful. Our object here shall merely be an attempt to reproduce the impression which we have received on consulting it, together with some numbers of the periodical at the head of our article, in quest for information on some points of the history of India.

India has always been called the land of wonders, and daily the judgment thus given finds confirmation. The objects which formerly excited the attention of the world, its precious productions, the division of its people into castes, its strange penitents, its gigantic architecture, are no longer the only things which meet the astonished glance. There was a time, it is true, when the intellectual world found no interest in Indian researches. Scientific men would, perhaps, be excited for half a day, on hearing that a stone, with an inscription in strange characters, had been dug up in Central India, which proved the wide extent of country under the sway of a single monarch, before the commencement of our era; or that a new temple had been found on a mountain in the midst of some dark, unhealthy, and almost impenetrable forest, which spoke of a time when the jungle was a garden, and a populous city flourished at the foot of the hill—but soon all this would be forgotten. There was another time, again, when men in the cloisters of Oxford and the halls of Bonn were busy tracing connections between the rocky soil of Greece and the highland of Central Asia, between early Asiatic conceptions and the refinement of Hellas; still, the acting and thinking world at large would remain untouched.

At the present hour, however, when men have become more fully acquainted with the *country* of India, especially with its wonderful Alps in the North, with its immense internal resources, its external advantages, its hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants, its unexampled wealth in navigable rivers, accessible coasts, fertile plains, its industrious population, and the richness of its ancient and multifarious literature, when the concatenation of man with man, of nation with nation, and race with race, becomes constantly closer, the position of India in the world's history, and its future destiny, obtrude themselves more and more upon the attention of men. Stretching from

equatorial regions to everlasting layers of snow, neither exclusively highland, nor exclusively lowland, it unites within itself the phenomena and advantages of the tropics and polar climes. The giant range of the Himalaya, the sandy deserts of Rajputana, the fertile plains of the lower Ganges and of Tanjore, the mighty Ghats, and the healthy plateau of Mysore, alike rank among its territories. It is a central land in which the West, the North, and the East of Asia meet; the roads of the caravans from all these points here encounter one another. Its coasts are open to the merchants of Egypt, of Africa, of Babylonia, of Persia, of the Isles, and of China not only, but also to those of Europe and America; it is the central point of a world's commerce. The conqueror, too, from Asia, from Persia, and from Europe, is attracted to it; its conquest would be the crowning deed of all his glory.

The most diverse races may here be found; the Mongolian, the Chinese, the Malay, the Iranian, the Semitic, the European, and the African: and all these comprehended in one vast fabric of Indian society, with its intricate system of castes, its various forms of government, its peculiar civilization at once heterogeneous and uniform, its history losing itself in the obscurity of the fabulous ages, and its multitudinous and so often strange and mysterious religions. For there are found not only Christians, Nestorian, Syrian, Romish, and Protestant; not only Jews; not only Turkish, Persian, Afghan, and Arabian Moslems; but also fire-worshipping Parsees, Jains, Sikhs, the disciples of Nanuk, followers of Confucius, uncounted sects of Brahmans, and the adherents of that most prevalent system, Buddhism, which contains the germ of the scepticism of every age, and in its apparent respect for any creed, but foreshadows the tendencies of the *educated* mind among ourselves. The boasted discoveries of modern sceptics are but a metempsychosis of primeval error. That which was the fashionable creed of philosophers only, in the high and palmy states of Athens and Rome, that which is the vaunted result of the highest flights of our modern "lords of the air," as their gentle countryman calls them, is the creed of the million in India. Ask the plodding ploughman who it is that speaks and acts when *he* speaks and acts, and he will unhesitatingly answer, "God."

Yet, notwithstanding, or rather, *hence*, the Hindu is the most religious being in existence. Rising up and sitting down, walking and standing, drinking and eating, waking and sleeping, obeying the precepts of his moral code, and disregarding them, all he does is with the spirit of religion. Not an action he performs, not a step he takes, not a word he utters, not a breath he draws, but he does all agreeably to the institutes of his religion. It is prescribed to a Brahman which foot he must put first in getting up; he must then carefully cleanse his teeth; then follows religious ablution of the whole body; next he recites inaudibly certain sacred texts; his hair and nails must be cut round, though he must never cut them himself; his mantle must be white; his staff, made of the canonical wood, must be of such a length as to reach his hair, straight, without fracture, of a handsome appearance, with its bark perfect; he must wear golden ear-rings. He must not eat with his own wife; nor look at her eating, or sneezing, or yawning, or sitting carelessly at her ease, or setting off her eyes with black powder, or scenting herself. He must not blow the fire, nor warm his feet in it, nor stride over it; he must not sleep with his feet wet; he must not step over a string to which a calf is tied; he must not pass over the shadow of a red-haired man. He must read the Vedas in various ways; every word singly, or every other word twice, or backwards. He must not look upon the rising or the setting sun, nor when it is clouded over, or upon its image in the water. He must avoid standing upon hair, or ashes, or bones, or potsherds, or seeds of cotton, or husks of grain. He must not remain even under the shade of a tree with outcasts, or idiots, or washermen, or other vile persons.

In no other country has there been an exhibition of so many modifications of the religious sensibility. Transcendental Theism in all its loftiness, absolute Pantheism with all its horrors, murky Mysticism with its multitudinous brood of morbid feelings, and Idolatry of the most grovelling species, have all had, and still have their representatives in India. No wonder that the manifestations of this feeling should be so various. At one time you see streams of pilgrims pouring into Puri, visiting with devout earnestness its sacred tanks, and dipping their feet in the rolling surf; subjected to the grasping exaction of vile

panders or priests; journeying homewards laden with heavy baskets of holy food, travelling in heat and rain and storm, weary and footsore, sleeping like sheep upon the bare road, or on the soaked grass, and suffering deeply from fatigue and disease; at another time you encounter the worshipper of Brahma, the loathsome Kapalika, a naked mendicant, smeared with funeral ashes, armed with a trident or a sword, carrying a hollow skull in his hand, half intoxicated with the spirits which he has quaffed from that disgusting cup, and prepared to perpetrate any act of violence and crime; now you are shocked at the licentious practices and ferocious observances of the Saktas; or you hear of the fearful hecatombs daily slaughtered on the reeking altar of that bloody idol, the monstrous rite of Entrajati, which enjoins the conveyance of the sick and aged away from their homes, to be exposed on the banks of the Ganges, and before death, to be submerged beneath the waters of the sacred stream; the fires of Suttee are scarce extinguished; the strangling cords of the Thugs, those religious, systematic, professional assassins of unsuspecting men, are not even yet laid aside. But how enumerate what may only be comprehended by all that experience can teach and fancy suggest of stages and phases of religiousness possible between the grovelling ignorance of the wretched hermit on whose flesh vermin are preying, or the fanatical faquir who reclines on a bed of spikes, on the one hand, and the cunning deception of the haughty Brahman, or the cold indifference and the philosophic airs of the young Vedantist on the other.

No wonder that in such a land the "lamp of sacrifice" burns brightest, and that the most gorgeous temples and the grandest remains of architecture are here to be found. These are but the shadows of their dazzling mythology. Who that has heard of the hall of Sudra with its roof of gold, and its pillars of chrysolite, where three hundred and thirty-three millions of gods sit in solemn conclave; of the huge sea-serpent which upholds on his head the world we dwell in; of Krishna and his shepherdesses; of Shiva with his forehead of fire; of Kali with her tongue dripping blood, and the ocean-churning Asuras, that has them not to pass at times before the mind's eye like some unhallowed dream?

It is these conceptions which have given form and splendour to their temples and altars, their statues and porticoes, whose pure white marble vies in brilliancy with that profusion of the most precious stones and the gold, the turkis and the ruby, the emerald and the porphyry, which would verify the fables of Golconda. This it is which has produced their variegated forms and proportions, that graceful trellis work, and those exquisite carvings, the marvellous sculptures of their pediments and friezes, the delicately worked meanders and ornaments winding beneath those cornices, that lavish array of vivid colours which give the impress of a joyful and festive beauty, and strike the sense of the traveller with bewilderment. And now let the eye of our imagination be placed in a point where we can see these temples and palaces, as they harmonize with the brightness and transparency of the encircling atmosphere, and stand out amidst the fragrant flowers among which rich orange and citron trees, entangled with jasmines and groups of magnolias, waft their choice perfume around, and where the tall palms rustle, where the tapering bough of the bamboo arches, where the white lotus floats on the bosom of the lake, where mangotopes form their grateful shade beneath the tropic sun, where the small leaves of the tamarind whisper in the breeze, where the cocoa waves its long plumes, where the slender betel, like an ancient pillar, raises aloft its richly wrought capital, where the banyan, that wondrous sacred tree,

“ Spreads her arms
 Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
 The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
 About the mother tree, a pillar’d shade
 High over-arch’d, and echoing walks between;
 Where oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
 Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
 At loop-holes cut through thickest shades;”—*Milton.*

where in deep recesses is heard the soft twittering of the birds, the loud chirpings of the merry minah, and the shriller tones of the martin and the green parrots; where the light squirrels are playing through the quivering foliage; where “the beast that mocks our race” sits with the calmness and gravity of a Socrates; where the slow buffalo wallows in mud; where the

tiger unseen lurks in the jungle; where the sly snake pursues its sinuous course; where

“Trampling his path thro’ wood and brake,
And canes which crackling fall before his way,
And tassel-grass, whose silvery feathers play,
O’ertopping the young trees,
On comes the elephant, to slake
His thirst anon in yon pellucid springs.
Lo! from his trunk upturn’d aloft he flings
The grateful shower; and now
Plucking the broad-leaved bough
Of yonder plane, with wavy motion slow,
Fanning the languid air,
He moves it to and fro.”—*Southey.*

Imagine* these elements forming the background of a landscape representing an Indian morning when the husbandmen are afield; when the women of the different villages, in their airy and fanciful costume, are busily engaged going and coming from the wells, with water-jars nicely poised upon their heads; when a party, perhaps, of Belooch horsemen, grotesquely habited and accoutred, with their plaited hair and ponderous turbans, their swords and matchlocks, may be seen dashing across the plain; when the haughty Moslem, mounted on his fine Khorassani steed, decorated with rich trappings, himself wearing the tall Sindian cap of rich brocade, and a scarf of gold and silk, is approaching from the city; where you may find the Affghan, with his dark-blue scarf cast over his breast, his long black hair falling in masses on his shoulders, his olive cheek painted by the mountain breeze, and his eye full of fire and resolve; and the Seyund of Pishin, in his goats’ hair cloak; the fair Herati; the merchant of Candahar, with flowing garments and many-coloured turban; the tall Patan, with heavy sword, and mien calculated to court offence; the swart Sepoy of the Deccan; the sturdy Goorkha of the hills; the robust husbandman of Oude; the tall, thin, dark warrior of the Punjab; the rapacious Mahratta; the Cashmeree, with his manly features, his herculean build, his symmetrical proportions, his classical make; and then, again, the filthy Sindian, and the small, miserable-looking, cringing Hindu—and these elements will

* It is perhaps needless to observe that it would not be easy to find such elements united in any *one* region of that vast country.

represent India in the beauty and the variety of its animate and inanimate nature.*

This variety of races and nations, however, suggests the inquiry after its origin; and this leads us to the *history* of India. But India, it has been said, *has* no history. And truly, if we understand the history of a land to comprehend only such events as form an indispensable, a necessary link in the long chain of progress and development which unites the aggregate of humanity, in this sense India has no history. Neither the successive conquests to which it has succumbed, nor the differing systems of faith which it has assumed, have at any time, as yet, placed it in a conspicuous position on the high-road which our world's destiny is travelling. Nay, Indian society itself never seems to have been lastingly or materially affected by the varying fortunes of its rulers and of its religious sects. Whether Tartars or Arabs, Greeks or Portuguese, carry their victorious arms into it; whether Brahmanism bears undisputed sway, or Buddhism, pointing the dagger against the very heart of its foster-parent, inculcates its doubting subjectivity; whether Islam overruns it with its religious zeal and exterminating hate, or whether the missionary of the cross lifts up the warning voice of his peaceful doctrine, Hindostan's son appears the same. The descriptions of Herodotus and Megasthenes, of Strabo and Justin, are the exact counterparts of modern accounts of its men and manners, its laws and customs, its towns and cities. Where stability is stamped on all that elsewhere moves, how can there be any interest in history—how can there be any history at all—the record of change?

Yet, in another aspect, can we believe that India is always to remain thus? That a mighty continent of such extent and such resources, as vast almost as the whole of Europe, with more inhabitants than either America or Africa, inhabitants that have furnished to the world the shawls of Cashmere, the muslins of Dacca, the jewellery of Cattack; inhabitants, whose unparalleled patience and taper fingers surpass the ingenious machinery of England; whose literature, whose architecture, and whose mythology are constructed on a Titan scale, whose country has been the source of our languages; who, notwithstanding their natu-

* Vide Captain Postan's Personal Observations on Sind.

ral languor, have always astonished their conquerors by their bravery, and among whom the ancestor of the German, the ancient Goth, may still find a brother among the Jats, whom Jomandes called *Getæ*,* and where the Brahman still represents the type of the ancient Greek; that such a country is never to play its part in the world's great drama?

To have affirmed this, even in the days when Vasco de Gama had first doubled the Cape of Storms, would have been less plausible than to have said that the newly discovered Western Continent would always be but the great gold mine of the Spaniard; and that America has long ere this commenced to roll back mighty waves to disturb tired old Europe, whilst isolated India still is but a trading station of distant Albion, is so far from favouring such a view, that it rather is nought but what should have been expected. Two facts we must observe: *History*, like the sun, the history of the world and of the Church, moves westward; and India is not, as we are accustomed to think and say in our Europe-inherited modes of speech, East, but West of us. The distance from our ports on the Pacific to Calcutta is scarce half of that travelled over in our usual circuitous route eastward. In our position, on the true watershed of nations and of history, we may in truth exclaim, *India is west of us*; and thitherward the course of history is pointing.

Let us pause a moment and see where history begins. Doubtless in the garden of Eden. But where was this? The almost universal voice of man points East, to that region now so largely overrun by a race, who, though admitting much that is true concerning the origin of man and his early history, have yet exchanged the true revelation of God for the Koran. But in what particular region shall we locate the garden of Eden? The Mahometans assign four places for the *Jannat-i'Adan*, as the Persians call it, (*Gan-Eden* in Hebrew): the first, Ghute of Damascus, a valley of surpassing beauty between Lebanon and Anti-Libanus; the second, towards Ubulle, in the Arabian Irak

* The names *Gothi* and *Getæ* were also used interchangeably by Orosius, Jerome, Augustin, Cassiodorus, Procopius, Ennodius, and King Alfred. Grimm's History of the German Language is nothing but a demonstration of the identity of the Goths and the Getæ. The close relationship of the Getæ and the Thracians, and the Eastern origin of the latter, are facts much more widely and readily acknowledged.

or Chaldea; and the third, on a spot bordering upon the desert of Noubandijan in Persia, called Sheb Buvan, watered by the Nilab; whilst others fix it at Samarkand.* More ancient traditions of theirs, however, place it in the island of Sarandeb or Ceylon, where they say Adam was interred; and the Portuguese have named the mountain, where they point out the grotto and the sepulchre of the father of mankind, *Pico d'Adam*. Ghute has been affirmed by many to be the same as Eden mentioned in Amos i. 5, and Clericus and Schulthess also thought the latter to have been the same as the place of primeval innocence mentioned in Genesis.

As for occidental opinions generally, two centuries ago, Stephen Morinus, when on this subject, broke out into the exclamation: *Vix possunt in numerum redigi omnes de Paradiso terrestri sententiae.* What shall we say at this day, when these opinions have been multiplying with tenfold rapidity? We would nevertheless attempt to reduce them to three general classes: the mythical, the allegorical, and the literal interpretation. (We pass over that large class of ancient commentators who confounded the garden of Eden with the Paradise mentioned in the New Testament.)

The objection to the mythical interpretation is simply the fact, that the Scriptures are not a mythology. How an Israelite—and none of these *mythographers* have denied, as yet, that the book of Genesis was written by an Israelite—should have *fabled* about rivers and countries, some of which, at least, were sufficiently known to his readers, however imperfect otherwise their notions about geography generally might have been, it is hard to tell.

The allegorical interpretation is open to the fatal objections, there is no end to the theories as to what is taught under this dark guise; and that the narrative purports to be a veritable history, the foundation and corner-stone of what all admit *and feel* to be history. We say nothing about the naturalistic and hieroglyphic modes of interpretation; their life was too spasmodic, and their death too disgraceful. *Requiescant in pace!*

Among the literal interpreters we may again distinguish

* So in the Scholia to the Twelfth Makame of Hariri. (Vide Baur, Amos, p. 242.)

three classes. Some deny the possibility of identifying the locality on account of the changes which the surface of the earth must have undergone at the deluge. This is easy, but not very philosophical, nor very true. The opinions of Christian geologists in modern times incline the other way. Buckland in his *Reliquiae Diluvianæ* has made it very clear that the deluge did not change the general features of the earth's surface.* Dr. Macculloch, one of the ablest geological writers of modern times, says: "There is nothing to make us suppose that the deluge could have disjoined islands, excavated valleys, or deposited alluvia."† Professor Hitchcock says: "The Mosaic account does not require us to admit that any traces of the Noachian deluge would remain permanently on the face of nature. Currents of water could have affected only the surface of the globe, and their effects would be similar to those now produced by rivers and floods. Yet as they would be spread over the whole surface, and not so much confined as rivers, to a particular channel, they would be less striking, and sooner obliterated."‡

But besides, it is evident from the narrative itself that the sacred writer had in view existing geographical relations, and that he describes countries and rivers known to him. The names which he uses occur also in other passages of the Old Testament, and some localities, which he supposes to be less known to his readers, he describes with the aid of others which are better known to them; so with the river Pison, and the land of Havilah, whilst of the fourth river he merely says, it "is Euphrates," and of the well-known "land of Cush" he omits all description. There is very little dispute, indeed, as to two of the rivers, the Euphrates and the Hiddekel, (Tigris); these are certainly "known quantities" in the problem, if such it must be considered. Moreover, in enumerating the productions of the land of Havilah, can he be supposed to enumerate those of a country that has disappeared from the earth? In addition to this, if we take into consideration how the writer mentions Eden in Genesis iv. 16, when pointing out the situation of another

* S. Raumer's *Palestina*, p. 454.

† A System of Geology, London, 1831.

‡ The Historical and Geological Deluges Compared.

country, the land of Nod, it were strange, indeed, to suppose that he would take the trouble to add the words “on the east of Eden,” if he thought that either one or both of these countries could no longer be found.

But the most conclusive argument is derived from the grammatical structure of the description given, which precludes the possibility of applying it to anything but to a continuing, lasting state. The words rendered in the English version “went out” (v. 10), “which compasseth” (v. 11), “that compasseth” (v. 13), “which goeth” (v. 14), are participles, a form of speech in Hebrew which denotes a lasting, continuing, fixed, actual, present state or condition, and which can only be made to refer to past or future time by accompanying verbs in these tenses respectively.* So entirely convinced of the correctness of this rule is Delitzsch, who, as a Hebraist, is *facile princeps* among the commentators of the believing school at the present day, that he is obliged to change the pointing of the first verb (^{שׁבָּ} into ^{שׁבָּת}) in order to support his interpretation, which in itself is quite plausible and innocent—viz: that although the four rivers still exist, yet as *the garden* no longer exists, so the *one river* which watered the garden, and which, after its exit from this garden, “was parted” into four branches, is no longer to be found.

From these considerations we conclude, that the sacred writer described geographical relations existing in his day, and that we cannot evade the solution of the problem by the plea, that the Deluge effaced all traces of Eden. Yet neither would we attempt to fix its site, and especially that of the garden, so exactly as is done by those whom we regard as the second division among the historical interpreters, and whose variant conclusions alone should deter us from such an attempt. For among those we find some, who, with Credner, locate Paradise on one of the Canaries in the Atlantic Ocean; others, with Hasse, on the banks of the river Pregel, in the province of East Prussia; Olaus Rudbeck locates it in Sweden; Sickler, near the Caspian Sea; Harduin, in Galilee; Lakemacher, in Syria; Buttmann, in Farther India. It has also been placed near the

* See Ewald's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 168.

sources of the river Amazon ; and there is but little doubt that, when the interior of Australia shall be more fully explored, the four rivers, with Havilah, bdellium, and the onyx-stone, will by somebody be discovered to be there.

To the third division we would assign those, who, adhering more strictly to the Scripture narrative, locate Eden, with greater or less definiteness, somewhere in Central Asia. Thus v. Hammer advocates Bactria ; v. Bohen, Persia ; Herder and Hartmann, Cashmere ; Milton,

“From Auran eastward to the royal towers
Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian kings;
Or where the sons of Eden long before
Dwelt in Telassar.”

Armenia has had a large number of advocates, among whom we would only mention Reland, Calmet, Faber, Verbrugge, Link, Gesenius, v. Lengerke, v. Raumer, Bertheau, Baumgarten, J. Pye Smith, and Kurtz. To these we would add the great mass of sensible interpreters of all classes, represented by such names as Calvin, Fr. Junius, Grotius, St. Morinus, Hottinger, Michaelis, Wahl, Rosenmüller, Beck, Ewald, Bush, Delitzsch, and Knobel, who apply the description given in Genesis to some tract, larger or smaller, situated in the region between the Euphrates and the Indus.

Lassen* supposes that Gen. ii. 10–14, only gives the general outlines, and that a country is designated which is bounded by the Euphrates and Tigris in the West, and by the Oxus and Indus in the East. These rivers inclose the table-land of Iran, which is ascended from the plains of Mesopotamia, Turan, and the Punjab, and bounded by the Zagros and Armenian mountains in the West, and by the Belurtag, Hindukush, and Sulaiman mountains in the East—a conception of the cradle of the human race such as the unbeliever Lassen concedes, need not be rejected by the most philosophical geographer.

In support of this hypothesis we may state, in the briefest possible way, that the river Oxus, even at the present day, also bears the name of Gihon, and especially among Arabian, Persian, Turkish, and Syrian writers; the same opinion as to this

* Vol. i., p. 528 sq.

river is maintained by J. D. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, v. Hammer, Hartmann, Knobel, and others. The name Pison, meaning *overflowing*, is a translation of *Sindhu*, the native name of the river Indus; so Cosmas Indicopleustes, Schulthess, Gesenius, Bush, Ewald, with some hesitation Delitzsch also, Knobel, and others.* The verb (בָּנָה), rendered in the English version "which compasseth," may with greater propriety be translated by "passing through, or about;" it is used (1 Sam. vii. 16,) of Samuel, who *went over* the cities Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, of "the watchmen that *go about* the city" (Cant. iii. 3), and in many other passages similarly. The name *Cush* must have belonged in earlier times to countries farther North than those to which it is afterwards applied; that is, the migrating tribes carried the name of their original abode with them, just as the *Northmen* carried the name of their mother country to France, or as the wandering Greeks carried *Hellas* into Italy; we may also compare the French *Bretagne*, which is applied to two different localities. Nor is it difficult to find names, both in ancient and modern geography, of tribes and places in the vicinity of the Oxus, far more strikingly similar to *Cush* than *Tigris* is to *Hiddekel*.† *Havilah* has often been identified with India. Lassen compares the name with *Kampila*, a region in the North-west of India, mentioned by Ælian under that name. Bush compares it with *Kabul*. The Targum of Jonathan directly renders the word by *India*. In Gen. x. 7, 29, Pseudo-Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum render it in the same way. Knobel very strenuously, and with good arguments, as it appears to us, maintains the correctness of this rendering. Castelli, Gesenius, Bertheau, and others, hold the same view.

We shall therefore, perhaps, not be charged with presumption, if we venture to fix our first parents' original abode, which

* In the above enumerations of the different writers on this subject, we have frequently placed mythical interpreters among the historical, because the fact is, that many of them bring their whole learning and ingenuity to bear on the elucidation of what the sacred historian's conception really was. This is all that we ask; the individual writer's opinion as to the correctness of that conception may well rest on its narrow, subjective basis.

† V. Grotius on Gen. ii. 13; Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, i. p. 285, 287; Knobel, *Völkertafel*, p. 250; Ejusd. *Genesis*, p. 27.

was, at all events, in the *Eastern* part of Eden, on the banks of the Indus. There man's history *first* began. Its second beginning finds him already a short distance westward, on the mountains that stretch from the borders of India to the sources of the "great river." Thence he descends into the plains, and founds powerful kingdoms and mighty empires. As soon as the record of history begins, it has but to exhibit successively the downfall of an Eastern, and the rise of a Western kingdom; each of which in turn becomes the bearer of history. Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, successively disappear before one another. Persian conquest stretches far towards the West; but its central point being East, it must give way before the westward march of history, and Greece, its language, and its power, becomes the beacon-summit of the world's bright youth. But still towards the setting sun Clio's car is rolling, and Rome, with iron hand and speech of pride, becomes the mistress of the world. The struggles between the powers of the ancient world and the new nations in the West is wavering long, but still decided in due time; and the *Western* Roman Empire, with its emperors crowned in the imperial city of Germany, by its very name bears witness to the onward current of the stream of time. But the glories of Imperial Germany fade before the rising splendours of the farther West, and the armies of the Lily and the navies of the Rose become the umpires of the world. And, as the greatest display of the marine power of Spain was but the immediate precursor of its rapid decay, so the sceptre may even now be departing from the mighty mistress of the seas;—but, even without a positive decline, Albion must soon be overshadowed by her youthful rival. Here, too, the nations and their civilization, their wealth, their power, and their influence, are visibly moving westward. This fact is so familiar, that it has ceased to be observed; and it has become a trite remark, that the undeveloped, yet already well known resources of this mighty West, prepared by a bounteous and omniscient Providence, point to the greatness of their future possessors.

Christianity has pursued the same course: lights in the East were extinguished, to direct the eyes of men to the rising brightness farther West. The candlestick of the Asiatic

churches has been removed; Antioch, Alexandria, Byzantium, (and even these had their culminating periods in due succession,) saw their patriarchates fall, to make room for the Eternal City; but here, too, pallor and gloom gathered and thickened, until that unprecedented effulgence burst forth in the heart of Germany, which placed it high above the nations, and caused the language of men to fossilize the fact, that Germany was then the bearer of Church history, by calling it the Land of the Reformation. But soon a great dragon with three heads, called Philosophy, Physics, and Criticism, blew pestilential vapours over its fair fields, and desolation and destruction covered the once gladsome plains. Protestant England, almost alone among the nations of the earth, stood now forth the beacon-light of Christian joy. But at *this* moment, when the corruptions of an effete Prelatism, the ambition of a bigoted Cardinal, and the increasing infidelity of a once pious people, dim the bright light of the gospel, it is not presumption to say that the Church of the Future, the Church of the Present, has erected her tabernacle among us—that upon us are directed the waiting eyes of the nations, to see what the law of Christ is to effect through this favoured country.

And already has this land shadowing with the wings of the eagle, which is beyond all the rivers, the nations, that Ethiopia ever sent forth—already has it sent ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters, saying, Go, ye swift messengers, to nations scattered and peeled. Already are the hills of the islands of the sea gleaming in the rays of saving light that have shot across the dark waters; already has a long secluded nation felt that the Pacific is no longer an impassable barrier, and that the forests of Maine and the groves of Florida furnish the bridge that spans the wide ocean; and already has a still mightier nation begun to feel the upheavings produced by new, by Christian ideas, that entered it almost by stealth. The least meaning that can be attached to such events —(and who would say they mean nothing?)—is that they are guides which point out clearly and steadily the course of history and the march of Christianity, its great centre.

The single apparent exception that presents itself, the mighty empire of the North, is more than an exception; it is an omi-

nous anomaly. Progressing and increasing, as it seems to be, it has no principle of growth within itself; its accretions are those of a stone. *Petrified* in its policy, petrified in its manners and customs, petrified in its theology, and petrified in its religion, it is like that great image of terrible form, its head of gold, its breast of silver, its thighs of brass, its legs of iron, yet its feet of clay; it is unable to stand. Its colossal weight may yet be hurled by Providence upon the West to crack into a hundred shivers the hollow intellectualism of modern Europe; it may yet crush miserable Turkey, which, to use Lamartine's expression, is dying for want of Turks; it may even serve to circumscribe and oppose the aggressive spirit of Britain, in Asia; still, it lies out of the path of man's *progressive* march, and leaves untouched the wheels of time; the magic car that began its course at the creation, moves on until it reach its goal.

The design of creation was pronounced in the command: *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.* When this command shall be fully obeyed, then the design of creation will have been accomplished. The design of redemption was pronounced in the command: *Go ye into ALL the world, and preach the gospel to EVERY creature.* When this shall have been fully obeyed, man's work will be done. The remotest end of the great circuit to be completed is doubtless India; and how this land has been prepared by the past for its future, we would now inquire and endeavour to answer in the most hasty manner.

The internal history of India may be divided into *four periods*, according to the faith of each dominant power: First, *Brahmanism* terminated by the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century before Christ; second, *Buddhism*, whose power was broken by the irruption of the Mahometans at the beginning of the eleventh century; third, *Islam*, the dominating power until 1765, when the great Mogul acknowledges England as the ruler of Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa; the fourth period is occupied by the extension of the *British power* in India. To pass this history even in the most cursory review before us, is out of our power in these pages; we can only fasten on three or four of the most conspicuous peaks of the landscape, on the "fastigia

"*rerum*," to gather from such prominent features what can be gathered from them.

Of the earliest period we have no records, except those contained in the Vedas, the ancient hymns of the Hindus, and the two great epic poems, the greater of which, the Mahabharata, relates a war waged in the fourteenth century before the Christian era, two centuries before the fall of Troy, in consequence of the first invasion of the Deccan by the sovereigns of Northern Hindostan. However, the scene presented by these poems is all phantasmal; it is all dim and indistinct. We see the preparation for the combat; we hear the din of the battle, the clashing of the swords; we are surrounded by the raging fury of the warriors panting to meet the foe, the snorting of the steeds, the buzzing of the hurled javelins; all sounds and colours are there; yet we can hardly tell who wages this fearful fight. Their hymns present scenes of peaceful repose; we recline upon the soft grassy ground; we behold the verdant palms, the twittering birds, the deep blue arch above, the glowing sands of the desert; yet all this, in the trembling distance, the hum of the breezes, the whispering sounds, with wave-like motion swims together into a chaotic mass; nothing distinct emerges, and the image melts away like the shade of Creusa.

Our knowledge of the second period rests upon more solid materials gathered from every side. For this Chinese literature furnishes its stores of information, although the difficulties in the way of obtaining it are very great. For the Buddhist doctrines were derived by the Chinese from works in the Pali language, and are now contained in an immense mass of books exceeding perhaps 10,000. Few of these books are translated into Chinese, the greater portion being supposed to retain the original language, but attempting to give it in Chinese characters, thus producing a very curious jargon. Gutzlaff never met with a single priest who could explain these books. Whatever has been obtained from this source has been found in consonance with the accounts rendered by Burmah, Tibet, Nepaul, and Ceylon. And besides, the earth and the mountain have been made to yield up their monumental treasures; caves have been penetrated, relics dug up, rock inscriptions decyphered. In this period falls the first contact of the Hindu with European

nations. Numismatics has exhibited the history of three great nations, the Graeco-Bactrian, the Bactro-Scythian, and the Indo-Scythian. The coins have shown how the Greeks consolidated their power, and extended it to the furthest East: how they preserved their religion, arts and civilization, and yet cemented the bonds of political union with their Eastern subjects: how they led on their people in the onward course of commercial activity and national prosperity; how they held the Barbarians in check; and how, weakened by internal strife, and struggling with their rivals, the Parthians, they fell an easy prey to the Scythian. Then Northern India was the battle field, not only of ambitious autocrats, but also of races, religions, and opinions;—it was the scene of such contests as might be anxiously looked upon by the gods of Greece, by the Hindoo Triad, by the Gautama of Buddhism, and by the elemental divinities of Parseism. For at that time, and in that country, on both sides of the Indian Caucasus, met all the different forms of life and thought which antiquity exhibited, in such close and immediate contact that their commingling produced either a new life or a speedy suffocation. There met the worshippers of Jaratustra and Brahma, the preachers of Buddhist quietism and artists who would substitute the beautiful gods of Hellas for the deformities of Oriental symbolism; the cautious Banian met with the Chinese merchant; and in the armies of the kings there marched Hindus on their elephants, and Saca archers by the side of the close Macedonian phalanx, and the well-ordered Bactrian horsemen. Hence the value of the Greek accounts of this age. For it was, as it were, on the cross-roads of historical formation that the Greek in Bactria stood. From this point he could open with his right hand the Vedas of the Brahmans, and the Nosk of the Mazdajasnians, and draw with his left the bolt that closed the gates of the great Chinese wall which guarded the entrance of the Middle Kingdom.* Still, the Greek could produce no lasting effects in India, for he came from the *West*; streams do not ascend.

Nor could the *Mahometan invasion* effect a real and perma-

* Lassen, Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige in Bactrien, Kabul und Indien, durch die Entzifferung der Altkabulischen Legenden auf ihren Münzen.

nent change in the character of that nation. For though the Arab incursions commenced early in the eighth century, Moslem rule was not established until the eleventh, and although the Mogul emperors were perhaps the most splendid the world has ever seen, though their succession was a long and prosperous one, one that can boast an Akbar and an Awrungzeb among their number, still, history moves westward, and they came from the West. Yet these monarchs erected tombs over the remains of their relatives, that would elsewhere have been thought fit for temples and palaces. Their pavilions were formed of the purest white marble, wainscoted with lofty mirrors and tapestryed with the richest brocades. They had but to give the word, and in a few years a range of rocky hills became the site of a new metropolis. "Some of the halls in the palace of Delhi had their floors and ceilings covered with plates of silver, and the walls and columns, of the finest marble, were inlaid with elegant flowerwork composed of carnelians and other precious stones." But now, those "walls and ceilings have been stripped of their silver ornaments; the inlaid gems have been picked out of the marble, and the only tapestry that is now seen on the shattered walls and columns is what the spider weaves." In those desolate halls dwells the helpless descendant of a long and illustrious line of princes, dependent for his daily bread on the bounty of foreign conquerors.

The first of these conquerors were a lustful and unscrupulous band of tyrants and marauders. The calendar of Portuguese conquest presents an unceasing succession of tales of blood. These, the first European followers of Jesus which modern Hindostan saw, were fierce, cruel, and remorseless, insolent and overbearing in their demeanor, tyrannical and exacting beyond all Hindu or Mahometan precedent, with hearts set on gold, and hands stained with blood. They were bound by no laws, and restrained by no scruples. But they have long since passed away. "The rapid growth of the Portuguese empire in India had been the natural forerunner of its rapid decline. The extraordinary success which attended the first efforts of the Lusitanian conquerors inflated them with a boastful self-reliance, and urged them on to those excesses which precipitated their

overthrow." Yet their rule is memorable, if it were for nothing else, for the introduction of Romanism into India. Among that race of effeminate there towers a form majestic in mind and body, Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies; the eye rests relieved on the page that records his deeds, as he toiled, shrinking from no amount of labour, from no suffering, from no humiliation, with his restless zeal overcoming every obstacle, "committing to memory translations, at the time unintelligible to himself, of the creeds of his faith," to recite them with tones and gestures that should speak at once to the senses and to the hearts of his hearers. Solitary, poor, unprotected, he burst through the barriers which separate men of different tongues and races.

Yet the defects of his work were enormous and radical; for, as has been well expressed in a comprehensive and incontrovertible climax, "Xavier was a Fanatic, a Papist, and a Jesuit." The worship which he established was idolatrous; and the morality which he inculcated, placed ritual forms and outward observances above virtue and holiness. His successors, trained in the theology of Laynez and Molina, addressed themselves to the dominant classes, and for the sake of proselytes, they turned aside from the practice of no deceit, from the exercise of no hypocrisy. They lied in word, and they lied in action. They called themselves Western Brahmans; and in the disguise of Brahmans they mixed themselves with the people, talking their language, following their customs, and countenancing their superstitions. Clothed in the sacerdotal yellow cloth, with the mark of sandal-wood on their foreheads, their long hair streaming down their backs, their copper vessels in their hands, their wooden sandals on their feet, these new Brahmans found acceptance among the people, and were welcomed by the princes of southern India.*

Who can wonder at the opposition which the Hindu offers to the attempts at converting him, that considers not only that among them, apostasy to another faith amounts to an abandonment of ancestral fidelity, to religious pollution, and even to civil outlawry, but who also remembers who and what were the

* Tennent's Christianity in Ceylon.

first representatives from the West of that religion which is now preached to them?

Nor is this all; for when in *the fourth period* of the history of India, Protestant missionaries came among them, men that were actuated by the intensest zeal for their Master, by a burning love to their fellow men, by an eager spirit of adventure in spreading Christ's kingdom, by the greatest powers of self-denial, and by an entire devotion to God, they were placed in the most anomalous position by the irreligion and the avarice of the new conquerors of the land—British *Christians*. The East India Directors not only resisted the introduction of missionaries into India, and sanctioned their deportation from its shores, but they even placed themselves on the side of idolatry by restoring temples, adorning pagodas, taking charge of their funds, and attending in parade their festivals. And even at the present time the Government are still the managers of lands which afford endowments to heathen temples. Very large sums of money are paid out of the Company's treasury for the support of heathen idolatry and Mahometan worship, and the patronage of some of these priestly appointments still remains at the disposal of the East India Company.* But this, thanks to God, is gradually disappearing; a better spirit has begun to prevail; the sneer that called the missionaries little detachments of maniacs sent out to command the allegiance of a hundred million of men, has become obsolete; the preacher of the gospel is now recognized as the messenger of peace by the conquerors, and as the teacher belonging to a superior race by the conquered; he is no longer pushed aside by the eager merchant for fear that he would injure his trade; and while the one is busily gathering gold and precious stones, the other can freely offer the pearl of great price.

Truly, in more than one respect has India undergone a great revolution; the most notable for our present purpose is, perhaps, that which is indicated by the fact that whilst all the previous incursions of foreign nations into India passed through the narrow mountain gorges in the West of India, these modern conquerors spread from the East, by making Bengal the original seat

* The Calcutta Review, March, 1853, p. 113.

of their empire, and by making Bengal the great portal through which history in its western course must pass into India. And unless the course of history, thus far so uniform, should all at once change its direction, we might almost presage that England is not destined for ever to hold India as its own. As neither Greek, nor Mahometan, nor Portuguese, nor Dutchman, nor Frenchman, all coming *from* the West, was able to prevail in India, so it may yet be with the Englishman. India in its ultimate development is to be an *endogen*. Such vast continents as Australia and India (that look like immense tumours on the small body of England,) whenever they shall be peopled by a race of *men*, conscious of being such, cannot but feel the cramping, crippling, crushing effects of a management of their dearest interests in the hands of a body of *merchants*, or of a distant and expensive government. Their eye may chance to fall on a page in the chronicles of the world, headed July the Fourth, 1776. History is philosophy teaching by *example*. It is true, before such an event *could* happen, India will have to be born again. But is not the time at hand for this regeneration?

What hinders men that love their fellows, that are true and right-hearted, to set themselves to the work of eradicating the prejudices and superstitions which debase that great nation, that they may put away the follies and subdue the passions which lead to crime and guilt, and live together in a brotherhood of peace and love, to have a true faith, a sure hope, and the same God? A people in its infancy is to be moulded by the hands of faithful teachers. Shall we permit, can we endure, that the world and Satan are to take their instruction into their hands? Our poetry and our arts, our science and our philosophy, will soon be transplanted thither; but what can these do? They may charm the intellect, and pour into it an increasing flood of wonder and delight; but what is this, if death and suffering, sorrow and crime, continue to waste and blur God's fair creation? Can there be anything more elevating than the very attempt to rescue our fellow-creatures from mental bondage, from cruel, murderous delusion, and to lead them to Christ and holiness? What though our own personal efforts, or the efforts of our generation seem to be unavailing? What though we

strike hard and long, and not a stone of the great wall of superstition seems to move? We have no trumpets to cause it to fall at the blast; but we have faith, and times and seasons are in God's hands. We must insert the insignificant seed in some crevice of the mighty structure, and "soon roots will be felt striking their tiny fibres within the solid masonry, loosening every stone, and insensibly, but surely, bringing the day of overthrow, when the pile itself shall yield to almighty power."

But for this work devotion and zeal are not the only requisites. The spiritual husbandman must also know the ground which he is to till; he must make himself familiar with the customs, the prejudices and the susceptibilities of the race to which he is sent, and especially must he seek to know their religion and their philosophy. The Hindus will not listen to one who comes among them strong only in his own faith and ignorant of theirs. "Read these translations," said a clergyman to a sect of religionists at Benares, who were already seceders from idolatrous worship, and were not indisposed for argument upon the comparative truth of different creeds. "We have no objection to read your books," was the reply, "but we will enter into no discussion of their contents with you until you have read ours." The practical religion of the Hindus is by no means a concentrated and compact system, but a heterogeneous compound, made up of various and, not unfrequently, incompatible ingredients. The superposition is based upon ignorance, and until the foundation is taken away, the superstructure, however crazy and rotten, will hold together. The whole tendency of Brahmanical education is to enforce dependence upon authority; in the first instance, upon the Guru, in the next, upon the books. A learned Brahman trusts solely to his learning; he never ventures upon independent thought; he appeals to memory; he quotes texts without measure, and in unquestioning trust. It will be difficult to persuade him that the Vedas are human and very ordinary writings; that the Puranas are modern and unauthentic; and even that the Tantras are not entitled to respect. As long as he opposes authority to reason, and stifles the workings of conviction by the dicta of a reputed sage, little impression can be made upon his understanding. Certain it is

that he will have recourse to his authorities, and it is important to show that his authorities are worthless.*

The missionary, therefore, must know his own peculiar strength, as well as the peculiar weakness of the system which he opposes. He must know not merely that he is strong and his opponents weak, but where and why he is strong, and where and why they are weak. The Brahman not only admits, but declares it to be most worthy of God to reveal himself as man—that this is the only true revelation of Him—that an incarnation is the fittest outcoming of the glory of God. The Buddhist admits that in God we live and move and have our being. But both the Brahman and the Buddhist lose their precious truths as some noble river that is lost in the sands.†

The missionary can teach the deluded heathen the coherence and the foundation of these truths; nay, more, he has already done so; and great and marvellous beyond precedent has been the result of his labour. The Brahmans, those earthly gods, do not now meet with the unqualified reverence which they once claimed and received. The fire which they are said to have emitted from their mouths at one time for the destruction of their enemies, has long since been extinguished. Some servile castes of Menu's ordinances have become masters and leaders. The Brahmans no longer pass the four stages prescribed by their lawgiver, nor do they abstain from lucrative employments, however inconsistent with their vows; they even sell their learning, live by their pens, and condescend to the most unpriestly avocations for the sake of gain. The degrading superstition, which hung like a cloud over the length and breadth of the land, from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, from Coromandel to Malabar, is passing away. The bed of the stream, which had erst been dry, is filled half way up with the pure and healing waters. The simoom-blast is giving place to a gentle breeze. Green pastures start up in the midst of the wilderness, and astonish the eye. The work of regeneration has commenced, and is advancing fast. Soon, if we fail not, soon, the hundreds

* Such is the view presented by that excellent authority, *H. H. Wilson*, in his *Lectures*.

† See these considerations more fully carried out by *Trench*, in his *Hulsean Lectures*.

of millions that now bow to Buddha, the god of their own creating, will break away from his dominion, and bless the Prince of Peace. Soon, the Shasters, those lying vanities, will be exchanged for the oracles of the true God. Soon, the wretched worshipper of Gunga, who seeks salvation and cleansing in the muddy waters of the Ganges, will be saved by the death of Christ, and washed by his blood. The sound of the gospel will soon be heard everywhere; the worshipper of the true God will soon be found "in green Bengala's palmy grove," near "Gunga's mimic sea," "on broad Hindostan's sultry meads," and "black Almorah's hills."

And when the commerce and nautical skill of Arabian merchants shall have taken the place of those of Spain and Portugal of old, as these overshadowed Tyre and Sidon; when Siamese and Burmese philosophers shall have supplanted the ancient Greek sages, as these superseded the Egyptian hierophants; when Persian mathematicians shall be cited in place of the French, as these took the place of the Chaldeans; when the learning and researches of those that now worship the Dalai Lama shall have won the fame now possessed by the Germans, as these cast into oblivion the schools of Tiberias and Pumbeditha; when China shall represent a rejuvenated and regenerated Russia, and the culture and arts of India shall be what the culture and arts of Italy were, then the philosophic Bishop's prophecy, uttered centuries ago, shall yet prove true:

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

ART. II.—*Origin of Writing.*

The Development of Writing, by Dr. H. Steinthal, Privat-docent in the University of Berlin, 1852. 8vo. pp. 113.

Palaeography an aid in Linguistic Investigations shown particularly in the Sanscrit, by Dr. Richard Lepsius, extraordinary Professor at Berlin 1842. 8vo. pp. 101.*

WE have placed the names of these treatises at the head of this article without the design either of discussing or of reproducing the philosophical speculations which they contain. We are constrained to admit that they are too dreamy or too intangible for our taste or our comprehension. Nor is it our purpose to bring forward an original discussion of our own, with the hope of throwing new light upon a question so often and so profoundly treated, and which nevertheless remains involved in so much mystery and obscurity. We shall simply, without committing ourselves positively in its favour, but for the sake of its readier presentation, appear as the advocate of one of the most plausible of the many ingenious hypotheses, by which the attempt has been made to account for the origin of writing. And in so doing we shall pretend to no refined ingenuity and no profundity of research: we shall aim at nothing farther than in the plainest and most familiar way to render this scheme intelligible even to non-scientific readers.

It is surprising how the evidences of divine wisdom and foresight thicken about him, who has once commenced to observe them. The defect of one of the smallest members of the human frame would have rendered all the skill with which the rest was constructed abortive, and have made man's creation a failure. Without the eye, for instance, mankind could not have subsisted. Without the tongue they would have remained for ever in a state of idiocy or barbarism. There is no more elementary truth in human advancement, than that mind must be acted on by mind in order to its culture and development. The material world furnishes an abundance of objects for every sense,

* *Die Entwicklung der Schrift*, von D. H. Steinthal u. s. w.

Paläographie als mittel für die Sprachforschung zunächst am Sanskrit nachgewiesen, von Dr. Richard Lepsius, u. s. w.

and its phenomena afford endless food for reflection. But in order that the spirit may be brought to act upon what is thus furnished for it, it must be roused and stimulated by spirit. "Iron sharpeneth iron," said the wisest of men; "so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend." A man isolated from his species from the first moment of his being, would of necessity be scarcely lifted above the brutes. Only by intercourse with his fellows can he be humanized. Hence language, the medium of intercourse between man and man, is the great humanizer; and without the gift of speech civilization and culture would be impossible. How sublime in its simplicity, and how grand in its results, is this conception of making thought audible, and opening thus, through the medium of an outward sense, communication between mind and mind! These invisible, intangible, immaterial, mysterious agents within us can thus be brought in contact: the thoughts, ideas, feelings, knowledge, experience of one can be forthwith imparted to another. The man of hoary hairs can put the stripling, in the outset of his course, in possession of that which he laboured long years to obtain. The man of earnest thought can stamp his impress upon those around him, and waken in them an activity like his own. Set free by the faculty of speech, man's spirit no longer lives alone, shut up a prisoner in solitary confinement in its mortal cell. The doors are thrown wide open and the man is set in living connection with all around him. Knowledge no longer streams in barely through his single perceptions, or is the product of his single reflections. The eyes of those around see for him: their minds think for him; for their experience and their thoughts can now be added to his own. And his intellectual power and wealth grows without limit, as the tiny drop, by kindred drops falling thick and fast around it in a summer's shower, forms first a rill, a rivulet, a brook, a river, and at last a flood.

And yet the sphere of man, though thus vastly widened by the gift of speech, is still narrow and contracted. Speech has opened communication for us with a little circle just around us, those whom we personally meet. If we would gather up the experience of men in other lands, and add their thoughts to our own, we must, like the wise men of ancient times, Pythagoras, Plato, Herodotus, travel far and near. But few can do this;

and how few of their species can be personally visited, even by those who do possess ability to travel! From how large a part of the race are we necessarily cut off! And then the men of past generations are buried in the dust. Are they by consequence lost for ever to the world? And have all their earnest thoughts and zealous labours, and careful observations been sunk irrecoverably like lead in the wide waste of waters? Have all the genius, and the intellect of former days vanished thus, leaving no trace behind? And must those of each age be in this way lost to their successors? Who will give to the absent a tongue, and to the dead a tongue? We need an instrument to annihilate for us time and space, and to prevent this monstrous waste of intellectual power and acquisition; to take the evanescent thought, and to convert it—not into an equally evanescent sound that dies away upon the ear as soon as it is uttered, but give to it a permanent and tangible and portable form. We need some magic wand, some potent spell to give immortality to thoughts; to bring around us the great and good of this and of every land, of this and of all past ages, and bid them talk with us at our own homes, and unlade all the wisdom they have gathered at our feet; to put our minds into living contact with all the world at once, and all who have ever lived, so that all their rich furniture of cultivated thought and pure and elevated taste, and ripe judgment and matured experience, the intellectual treasures of mankind gathered through long ages, may be displayed before us. This would sound like some wild dream of enchantment, had it not all been realized, and that by a method as simple in its principles as its results are magnificent.

You can sit in your library, in your easy chair, with your fire blazing brightly on your own hearth before you, and you can there converse with men of every age and every clime. You can travel back long centuries before the Christian era, and can stand face to face with Moses and Solomon and Isaiah. Or you can sit at the feet of the Son of God himself, or talk with his apostles of all that they were commissioned to make known of the salvation he achieved. Turn to Grecian antiquity; and the father of history will tell you all that he could learn in his long journeys and careful observations of the state and origin of ancient empires. Blind old Homer will sing again for you

his immortal song. Demosthenes will thunder as of old at the rostrum. Socrates and Plato and Aristotle will entertain you with their profound and elaborate inquiries. Or Rome will send you her historians and poets and orators and logicians and philosophers, all ready in their turn to communicate to you their maturest thoughts, their most brilliant conceptions, and their gathered stores of knowledge. Still seated by your own cheerful fireside, you can follow down the stream of time, and summon around you, at your bidding, the rare, commanding intellects of each successive age—those who have toiled most and achieved most in any favourite department of thought or learning—till you come to the busy, bustling present. And then, if you choose, you can take up the newspaper of to-day, and learn what twenty millions have been seeing and hearing and thinking and doing yesterday, from Maine to Louisiana—in fact, what has, within a few weeks, been taking place all round the globe. You have, thus, the whole civilized world put into your service; looking out for you, listening for you, labouring to increase your stores. The astronomer, with his telescope, be he at Harvard, at Greenwich, at Berlin, or at Washington, is determining for you the magnitudes and movements of the stars. The chemist is experimenting for you in his laboratory. The geologist is examining for you the structure of the earth. The traveller is inspecting for you the manners and the sights of foreign climes. The antiquarian is digging for you among the hoary ruins of Nineveh and Thebes. The orator, the metaphysician, the poet, are busy, each with their several labours, that they may increase the stores of your intellect, or add to the refinement of your taste. You have all the intellect of the world, all the eyes and ears and fingers of ancient and of modern times laid under contribution: the entire results of their labours are at your service. Instead of picking up scanty bits of knowledge by your single observations, with no assistance and no stimulus, nothing but the natural and uninstructed workings of your single powers, you have here gathered into one accessible and available mass the combined labours, experience, and reflections of the greatest sages, most profound thinkers, and acute observers. This is what our fairy has achieved. The fairy's name is WRITING—her magic wand,

the pen. Her office is to record thought; no matter how that record be made, so that it be brought into a permanent, accessible, intelligible form, for the use of other men and other times. This alone gives permanence to intellectual achievements, and makes progressive advances in knowledge and civilization possible. But for this, the acquisitions of each generation would be buried with it, and an increase of knowledge from age to age would be as impossible as it was in the old mythology, for the daughters of Danaus to fill with water their casks without a bottom.

Perhaps all our readers have smiled over the amazement of the savage, of whom the missionary Williams speaks, when he for the first time saw ideas conveyed by writing. It was impossible for him to conceive how a chip, on which rude characters had been traced by a bit of charcoal, could say to Mrs. Williams that her husband needed a hatchet. The idea of conveying intelligence by written signs is so familiar to us, and seems so simple, so very common-place, that many may scarcely have thought of there being any thing wonderful or mysterious about it. But the more we reflect upon it, the better we will be able to enter into the surprise of the South Sea Islander, and the less strange we will think it that he held fast to that mysterious chip, and displayed it as a charm exultingly to his equally astonished fellows. The moment we ask ourselves seriously, how the conception was first reached—how the first idea of it ever came to enter any one's mind, we will begin to be sensible of the amazing difficulties of the subject. We interrogate profane history, Who first taught mankind to write? The only answer that we hear comes from far, far back beyond authentic records. The subject is all involved in mythology and fable, from which no credible account can possibly be disentangled. Baffled in our search we turn to the sacred history. It informs us of the origin of many arts. It tells us who first wrought in brass and iron, who first taught men to dwell in tents with flocks and herds, who first constructed the harp and organ. But it says not a word as to the origin of writing.

Throwing these things together which have now been recited, the importance, the indispensableness, in fact, of the art of

writing to the culture and progress of man, the difficulties seemingly almost insurmountable attending its first conception, and the silence of history, sacred and profane, as to its origin, many have been led to think that it could not have been a human invention at all, that it must have been equally with speech itself the direct gift of God; and that there is truth as well as fable in the pagan mythology which made letters the invention of the gods. And there are some circumstances which at first sight do throw an air of plausibility as well as sanctity around this theory. The patriarchs, it has been alleged, were not acquainted with writing: else when Abram bargained with the children of Heth for the cave and field of Machpelah, why was not a written deed drawn up in evidence of the contract? To be sure, this very transaction has been appealed to on the other side, and from the money current with the merchant, which we are told he paid, it has been argued that coins imply figures and inscriptions, and these the art of writing. Passing this by, however, we find no plain mention of the art of writing till Israel were in the wilderness journeying toward Sinai. It is mentioned but once, (and may not that, it is said, have been by anticipation?) before the people were assembled around that sacred mountain to receive the ten commands written in stone by God's own finger. Now what hinders our supposing that those letters, so mysteriously graven on the two tables of stone, reveal the origin of writing—that God taught this sacred art to Moses, he to Israel, Israel to the world? The plausibility of this solution is increased by the fact, well known, or easily ascertained, that all the alphabets of Europe, and several of those of Asia, can be undeniably traced back to the Hebrew letter as the common centre from which they are severally derived. Why not then accord to the chosen people, chosen to bless all nations with the true religion, the additional honour of first receiving, then dispensing for the benefit of mankind, the divine gift of letters?

Nor does it seem derogatory to the Most High that he should thus interfere for such a purpose. It is not barely that letters are so essential to the progress of the race in civilization and worldly culture. But there was a juncture in the economy of grace which seemed just then to call for special interposition.

A traditional revelation had been tried long enough to prove its insufficiency for the purposes of man. A great addition was now to be made to the revelation previously existing: such as could not be preserved pure for a single generation, if left solely to tradition and the memory of men. For the salvation of the race some method must be made known by which it could be permanently recorded. There is much that is attractive about this theory. The whole difficulty of the origin of letters is in an instant solved by the interposition of God for such a worthy cause. And it gives a pleasing sacredness to letters, thus to connect them with God as their immediate giver, and with the everlasting welfare of man as the immediate end of their bestowment.

This theory, however, cannot in fairness be maintained. It has against it the fact, that no intimation is given in the sacred record that writing was first made known at Sinai; that it is even mentioned once as employed before the giving of the law, so that the knowledge of it could not have been derived from that event; and, that from intimations in the books of Moses, it would appear, that the people possessed a familiarity with writing for the most ordinary purposes, which supposes a longer acquaintance with the art than on this theory could be allowed. Besides, there have been facts developed recently, from the monuments of Egypt, which seem to put the Sinaitic origin of writing completely out of the question. Actual alphabetic writing has been discovered there, which they who pretend to knowledge in such matters say is demonstrably older than the time of Moses. At any rate, it is not God's ordinary method to give to man, by inspiration, instruction in the arts of civilized life. The faculties with which he has been endowed are sufficient for these purposes, and he is left to develope them for himself. But letters lose not, thus, one whit of sacredness in our eyes, nor is our indebtedness to the Most High at all diminished for this inestimable boon. What comes to us through the instrumentality of second causes, should wake our thankfulness to the Author of all good, no less than if it came directly, or by miracle. And it exhibits more the wise orderings of a far-reaching Providence, that when the necessity for the art of writing came in God's scheme of grace, there it

was, already furnished; all the steps had been already taken, and the invention was complete: there was no such lack of foresight, as failed to anticipate the crisis till it came, and then must supply the deficiency by miracle.

If, then, writing is to be regarded as a human invention, there is a probability in the supposition, that, like other inventions, it reached its perfection, not all at once, but by slow degrees. And, in fact, various steps can now be pointed out, through which it has with considerable plausibility been argued that this art passed, in its progress toward its present development.

The first in order is what is commonly called picture-writing. This simplest, most elemental stage of the process, consists in conveying the ideas of things, or of events, by the representation of the things, or the events, themselves. To convey the idea of a house, or of a man, the picture is drawn of one of those objects. If the house has been burned, or the man has been slain, the former is pictured as in flames, the latter as pierced through by the weapon that inflicted the fatal wound. This method has naturally been employed, even by the most barbarous people, to transmit the memory of important historical facts. Its existence among the Mexicans, and the Aborigines of North America, is well known. Nearly one hundred pages are devoted to the elucidation of this subject by Schoolcraft, in the first volume of his great work on the Indian Tribes, published by the authority of Congress, and many curious illustrations are given. So, too, the Egyptians and the Assyrians portrayed upon the walls of their temples and palaces events which they would hand down to memory. And it is mainly from this very source, that the learned are now laboriously gathering up the lost history of these ancient empires. There it is written by themselves. And we can now obtain as clear an idea of many of the usages of these nations, and of the character of their life, though they have been extinct for ages upon ages, as though they were in existence still—so vividly and so minutely has all been depicted. The soldier may be seen plying all the enginery of his dreadful art, the husbandman engaged in the various processes of agriculture; and they who are curious in such matters, may learn the fashions of

ladies' dress, the style of domestic furniture, and the etiquette of a public entertainment in the time of the Pharaohs. This mode of conveying ideas is, evidently, very limited in its application, and belongs, in its exclusive use, only to the rudest state of the art. We say, *in its exclusive use*—for it has, within its own limited range, advantages peculiar to itself, and in which no other method of conveying thoughts can rival it; and, consequently, it has not yet been, and never will be, abandoned. The vividness of pictorial delineation is far beyond anything that can be attained by verbal description. It is employed at this day by the painter, who has carried it to its highest perfection. It is no less the grand conceptions of a vigorous mind which impress those who gaze upon the productions of a Raphael and a Michael Angelo, than it is the same which thrills his soul who follows, in his thundering periods, the prince of Grecian orators.

But, whatever advantages may attend this primary method of recording thoughts, it is, evidently, very limited in its range. It is only sensible and material things which can be thus depicted. The immaterial and the abstract, the whole world of ideas and emotions, find no appropriate representation. What painter can represent a soul, or thought, or abstract ideas, such as goodness, greatness, and the like? To cover this new field, a second step became necessary in the progress of our art. This is ideographic writing—in which ideas, incapable of direct pictorial exhibition, are represented by some conventional sign, some natural symbol, it may be, or some symbol purely arbitrary. The figurative language of every tongue under the sun suggests such symbols in abundance, whence the transition to their employment in written signs is natural and easy. The idea of innocence might as easily be conveyed by a lamb in a picture, as in a figure of speech: so, by the dove, gentleness; by the lion, courage; and by the ass, stupidity. By an extension of the same process, a circle might represent eternity, as having neither beginning nor end; the eye might represent omniscience; a crown, regal dominion; and so on. Such ideographs are to be found, as is well known, in the hieroglyphics of Egypt; though these are not exclusively composed of such symbols, as was once supposed.

This method of writing must also be very limited, or it will grow to be exceedingly cumbrous. Every fresh idea must have an emblem of its own; and as the list is extended, it becomes more and more burdensome to the memory. And yet it would be unjust to pass it by without acknowledging that it too has advantages peculiar to itself, and speaking as it does to the imagination, or to the power of association, it has a power greater even than that of words. It is of precisely the same nature with figurative language or symbolic actions. We would feel that a great element of power in our language was lost, if we were deprived of all figurative expressions, or of all expressions based on figures. It is often represented as though ideographic writing were necessarily ambiguous or obscure, as though the symbol might stand for anything the interpreter might fancy, and there were nothing in any case to determine its signification. As an example of ambiguity, may be mentioned the symbolical letter sent by the King of Scythia to the Persian Darius, when the latter in his inconsiderate pursuit had become entangled in that wild and inhospitable region. It consisted simply of a bird, a mouse, a frog and five arrows, left without explanation. This Darius interpreted as a surrender of themselves and of their country: the mouse representing the land, the frog the water, the bird the air, (or, according to Herodotus IV. 131, 132, their swift horses,) and the arrows their military power. But one of his advisers more shrewdly explained it to mean, that unless the Persians could soar through the air like a bird, or burrow in the ground as a mouse, or dive beneath the water as a frog, they could not escape the arrows of the Scythians. Symbols are ambiguous, however, only to those who possess not the key. If it be agreed upon that a given sign shall represent a certain idea, there will be no difficulty in knowing, when the sign is seen, what is the idea intended by it. In fact, words themselves are arbitrary signs of thought addressed to the ear, as ideographs are addressed to the eye. And yet those who have been instructed in the meaning of words find no difficulty or obscurity in their employment; though to a foreigner, unacquainted with their meaning, they might convey not a single idea, or an erroneous one. Symbols, however, have this advantage even over words,

that in many cases they are not arbitrary, but naturally, and of themselves expressive. Who does not feel the power of that beautiful allegory which the immortal Bunyan has drawn of the Christian life? Under his graphic pen it stands all pictured before us: the Slough of Despond, the Strait Gate, the Narrow Way, the Hill Difficulty, the Delectable Mountains, the Land of Drowsiness, the River without a Bridge. Who thinks of any obscurity here? Could the meaning be plainer if stripped of its symbols, and expressed in literal terms? But how much of its beauty and of its force would then be gone!

An important part of divine revelation was, under the former dispensation, conveyed by the language of symbols. And yet the sacrifices and the ritual of the Old Testament spoke with no doubtful meaning to the devout worshipper. So too in the case of those sacred symbols perpetuated among Christians, the holy supper, and baptism with water. There is no obscurity about them, because their meaning is wrapped up in symbols; and there is an impressiveness about them which no form of speech could equal. The national flag is a symbol purely arbitrary, and yet intelligible. What American can see the stars and stripes, and not recognize in them the emblem of the sovereignty of his own glorious land? The devices of heraldry were a species of ideographic writing composed of arbitrary symbols. And travellers tell us that the Turkish ladies, brought up in ignorance of letters, are yet ingenious enough to hold correspondence with their lovers by the ideographic method, and that a bouquet of flowers skilfully selected is made to speak unerringly the language of the heart. The language too of the deaf and dumb is in part ideographic. They have an alphabet, to be sure, which they play off upon their nimble fingers; but besides this they have another mode of communicating their ideas, in which each sign denotes not a letter, nor a word, but a thing or a thought, and their whole meaning can be thus conveyed more quickly, as well as more forcibly, than by the employment of words. If it be said of a man that he is a dog in the manger, or that he is a snake in the grass, no one would have any difficulty in divining the meaning. And why should there be any more difficulty in suggesting the ideas of surly snappishness or sly hostility by

the pictorial representation of a dog in the manger, or of a snake in the grass, than by the employment of the words?

It has been claimed already in favour of this method of writing, that it may be free from ambiguity, and that it has an expressiveness peculiar to itself. It may even be proper to go further, and to add, that in application to some purposes it is really the best method of writing ever discovered. The language of mathematics, for instance, is purely ideographic. The figures 1, 2, 3, &c., are signs not of sounds, nor of words, but simply of ideas. They simply suggest numerical relations. So the various algebraic signs denoting addition, subtraction, division, powers, roots, equality, &c., and the additional signs of the Calculus, and of Astronomy, the symbols for the various planets, for perigee, apogee, conjunction, opposition, etc., are all ideographs. They have nothing to do with the names of the things, much less with the sounds of the names; they signify directly the things themselves. Consequently they are independent of all variety of language, and are just as intelligible to the man who calls them one thing, as to the man who would call them another. The same mathematical calculation can be read and understood with equal ease by English, French, Italians, Spaniards, and Russians, though they may not know respectively a word of the others' language. The mathematical signs would convey exactly the same idea to every one of them; and yet were they to undertake to pronounce what they read, it would be a perfect jargon; one would render it into English, another into Spanish, and so on, each into his own tongue.

So again the notation of music is ideographic. The signs stand not for the names of things, but for things themselves; its staves, and clefs, and rests, and flats, and sharps, and repeats, and staccato, and crescendo, its minims, and crotchets, and demisemiquavers, are all ideographs. They have nothing to do with words, but only with the relations of harmony which they are designed to indicate. They belong not to one language nor to another. They are lifted above all differences of language, and can be read irrespective of them. The performer of one land will read off the same harmony from a piece of music, as a performer from any other land.

This facility afforded by mathematical and musical signs of

being read with equal ease by men of every language, has suggested to some minds the inquiry, whether some universal method of writing cannot be invented, which shall be independent of all differences of language, and shall be capable of being used and being equally understood everywhere, thus affording a medium of communication between all the nations of the earth. Mathematics and music have each their own system of writing, intelligible equally to all cultivated nations. Cannot the same thing be done in other matters? Cannot some similar process be extended over the whole range of human thought and intercourse? It is a grand conception, but one, we fear, which is destined never to be realized. We doubt if even this inventive age will be able to bring out of it anything of practical value toward such an end. And, yet, who can pronounce it utterly impracticable? This very thing is now done, on a somewhat limited scale indeed, and by an unwieldy process; but who knows how it may be simplified by some inventive genius? The Chinese character is at this day read differently in different sections of that great empire. There are parts of the country whose spoken tongues have perhaps scarcely anything in common, and yet the written Chinese is equally intelligible in all. It would be understood alike, yet read by each in his own tongue. We confess, however, that we are little inclined to believe that any complete ideographic system could be introduced without its being as cumbersome as the Chinese, with its 25 to 50,000 characters; for every fresh idea must have its distinct sign.

The palpable inconveniences and objections attending this method of writing led to a third step in the progress of our art, of still greater importance than either which had preceded, and which finally issued in that employed now and for ages past by the great body of the civilized world, to wit, phonographic writing, or writing representative of sound. This is the radical difference between this method and either of its predecessors, that it aims not at images of things, nor signs of ideas, but signs of sound. This connects it at once with language. The picture writing and the ideograph, as we have seen, have nothing to do with language. They represent directly things or ideas. Phonographic writing only represents their names.

Language is the utterance of thought; writing is the notation of language; and therefore only indirectly and mediately expresses things and thoughts. To employ a commercial figure: thoughts are our intellectual property. Spoken language is the currency by which the value of that property is directly represented. Writing is the bank note or the bill of exchange drawn at sight and payable in coin, representing directly not the property itself, but the gold and silver, which are the immediate representatives of property.

Here, if anywhere, is the halting place of the theory of the gradual invention of writing. The transition from the methods before described of representing things, to this of representing sound, seems indeed very abrupt; and it may be, and has been doubted, whether they furnished any preparation for this whatever; it may be thought that phonographic writing might as easily have been invented without those initiatory stages, or before them, as it could after them. Indeed, there have been some to claim that the writing of sound was the primary original method, and that the ideograph was only used in the Egyptian hieroglyphics for instance, as a secret cypher to conceal from the vulgar and the uninitiated a meaning known only to the priests. But in the view of the advocates of the theory which we have undertaken to represent to our readers, it may be shown from the writing in use among the Chinese, that this seeming chasm can be bridged. Theirs was manifestly, at first, picture writing. There are 608 of their characters, and those among the first invented, in which a plain resemblance can be traced between the original form and the object represented by it. Their primary forms, as given by the Chinese philologists, are simply outlines of the objects themselves. These have been modified in the course of time, and by the changes in their writing materials from the iron style and bamboo tablet to the hair pencil and their paper; but the resemblance is still very perceptible. Then they have another class of 107 characters, which are simple ideographs; thus the moon, half appearing, is made to represent *evening*; the sun, just above the horizon, signifies *morning*; the mouth, with something in it, means *sweet*.

A third class, of 740 characters, consists of compound

ideographs, in which two or three symbols are combined in one character to express a single idea: thus the figures of the sun and moon, placed in juxtaposition, express brightness; two trees put side by side, mean a forest; three trees forming a triangle, mean a thicket; the emblems of *dog* and *mouth* combined, mean to bark; *woman* and *broom* denotes a wife; *pencil* and *to speak*, is a book or to write, which is the pencil speaking.

From these as their initial points, they proceeded to form another class of characters, which is by far the most numerous of any in the language, amounting to 21,180. They consist of a picture or imitative symbol, united to another character, which loses its own meaning, and merely gives its sound to the compound. Without some such method as this, the Chinese would be obliged to employ an entirely new and independent character for every different idea. But by this plan of forming new combinations by the union of symbols expressing idea and sound, they are enabled to increase the number of their characters to any extent without multiplying the original symbols. To make this more plain we will cite an example from Williams's Middle Kingdom, I. p. 464, from which the preceding facts relating to this language have been chiefly derived. "Supposing," he says, "a new insect was to be described, whose name had never yet been written, but which was well known in its native localities by the term *nan*. It would be sufficient to designate this insect to all persons living where it was found, by selecting a well understood character, but without reference to its meaning, only having the exact sound *nan*, such as the insect itself was called in that place, and joining it to the symbol *chung*, meaning insect." *Chung*, in the combination, loses its sound; and *nan*, which, standing by itself, means *south*, in the combination loses its sense. "It would [accordingly] signify to every one who knew the sound and meaning of the component parts, the insect *nan*: and be read *nan*, meaning an insect." In like manner the Chinese have no difficulty in writing foreign proper names by combining characters to represent the sound of the various syllables, disregarding their proper original meaning: thus the character for *beautiful*, prefixed to the character for *scholar*,

spells *Mr.* : and the two characters signifying *frame* and *not*, spell *coffee*.

These facts show that symbols of sound could arise, and have arisen, out of symbols of thought and picture representations of things. The same transition, precisely, has taken place in the hieroglyphics of Egypt. It was at one time supposed that these mysterious characters, which were a puzzle even to the old Greeks and Romans, were all picture symbols or ideographs. It has been discovered, however, by the laborious and successful investigations of modern times, that a great proportion of them are phonographic. The necessity of finding some method to record the names of their monarchs upon the monuments erected by them, or in their honour, seems to have given birth to the idea here. The picture of an object is made to stand for the first sound in its name, and thus the word is spelled out by a combination of such pictures. This would be the same as if it were desired to represent the word *hat*, and for that purpose we were to join together the figures of a *hand*, an *apple* and a *top*, which, taking the first sounds of each, would spell h-a-t. Now this method has been pursued to a great extent in the Egyptian hieroglyphics. From the proper names in which it seems first to have been employed, it was extended to other words and sentences, so that it is found that a great part of these strange devices are capable of being spelled into words and read; and there are grammars and dictionaries of this, just as there are of any written language. For example, the Coptic name of an eagle is *aham*: consequently the picture of an eagle stands for the letter A. A lion stands for L, because its Coptic name is *lobo*: and an owl for M, the first sound in its name, *moulad*, &c. Of course it will be easily seen that by this method of writing the same sound might come to have several representatives: and this has actually been found to be the case. Thus A may be represented by an *arm*, or by the leaf of the aquatic plant *achi*, etc., as well as by an eagle.

It is thus found in two entirely distinct and independent examples, the writing of the Chinese and that of the ancient Egyptians, that what was originally pictorial or ideographic passed over by a natural, perhaps it may even be said, by a neces-

sary process, into the phonographic. And thus is reached the grand idea which has given birth to the modern and most perfect systems of writing, viz: the idea of representing by written characters not things nor thoughts, but sound. The idea has been reached; but it is yet only a rudimental conception and needs to be developed. Just so he who produced the first simple pipe from reeds had fallen upon the idea of instrumental music; but how far his primitive notes were removed from the swelling harmony of the full-toned organ, he who has an ear may judge. And he who first discovered that the steam issuing from a heated flask could be instantly condensed by plunging it into cold water, had seized the embryo idea of the steam engine. But it is an enormous stride from that original idea to the locomotive and the steamship.

We have seen the Chinese emblems employed as signs of sound, not of a simple elementary sound, however, but the complex one of a syllable or a word. In the hieroglyphics we find a further analysis of sound into simpler elements; but the very same sound may have three, four, or a dozen representatives. This is still too complicated and cumbrous. Two or three hundred signs, although a wonderful relief to him who has known nothing but the ideograph, and simplicity itself compared with the 25,000 characters of China, are yet too burdensome. Gradually one sign established itself for each sound, and the rest were dropped as superfluous. This would effect, of course, a vast reduction in the number of the characters, and in the complexity of the system. But it was still a slow and tedious process, if for every sound represented a full picture must be made or a complicated symbol; accordingly the individual symbols of sound which were still retained, were gradually simplified. From the full picture they were reduced to the mere outline; from a complete outline to a simple draught of the most necessary parts, until a form was reached that could be made by a single, or at the utmost, by a few strokes of the pen. Thus, if an ox (in Hebrew and Phenician *Aleph*) represent A, the figure of the ox is successively lopped off and abbreviated until nothing is left but the rude outline of the head with the projecting horns; and as in the course of successive mutations this letter has gone round a complete circle so as to have come back

again very nearly to its original form, as it appears on the oldest Phenician monuments, any one may see for himself that the capital Roman A inverted bears a rude resemblance to the head and horns of an ox. A similar recurrence to something like its original form has taken place in M, denoting water, (Hebrew *mayim*) and borrowing its shape from the waves on the surface of that element. O took its form from the eye. Q from the head. T from a cross, the upper arm having been in the course of time neglected.

Thus by a variety of steps, such as those detailed above, the true theory of phonographic writing may be supposed to have been reached. This theory is, that the various sounds of a spoken language should be reduced to their simplest elements, and these be represented each by a single sign, and that of easy formation. The perfection of the various systems which practically grew out of this theory, depended wholly upon the skill and success with which these principles were in various cases applied, the power of the analysis by which the sounds were reduced to their primary elements, and the simplicity of the characters respectively employed to represent them. Here the modes adopted divide into two branches. The less simple is the syllabic writing, in which, as its name implies, each character represents a syllable, a consonant followed by a vowel. Of this the Ethiopic is an instance, in which there are 182 signs, representing as many syllables. These are all based, however, upon 26 forms, indicating so many consonants, which are variously modified to denote the character of the accompanying vowel. The Sanscrit also follows a syllabic system. So do the Cherokee Indians of our own country. The other branch referred to above, and far the simpler of the two, is the alphabetic. This is superior to every other method of writing which has yet been adopted, not only in simplicity, but in compass and power. Its capacity for expressing the various combinations of sound is immense beyond conception. The 26 letters of our alphabet, which a child can learn in a day, at least it is said, if we remember correctly, that John Wesley's mother taught them all to him in one day, are capable of expressing not only the 30 or 40,000, or whatever number of words we may have in the English language, but with a few additions for peculiar sounds

occasionally met with in other tongues, they would record with perfect ease every word in all the thousands of languages spoken over the habitable globe. Thus 26, or at the utmost 30 or 40 characters, and these capable of being made by one or two strokes of the pen, are made the key to all the mysteries contained in language, and unlock every treasury of human thought; and by their aid, somewhat simplified and abbreviated, the practised stenographer will record word for word the utterances of the most rapid speaker for hours together. By them and the aid of movable types, an invention which alphabetic writing first rendered possible, our presses are scattering intelligence and learning broadcast over the world. By the aid of a notation founded upon them, the telegraph carries our messages with the speed of lightning. What a change from the stately and laboured and multitudinous hieroglyphics!

The single characters arrived at, the mode of grouping them is a matter of convenience or of taste. It by no means follows as a thing of course that each succeeding letter is to be set to the right of its predecessor, simply because we have been accustomed to that method all our lives. The direction of their writing has been as various among different people as could well be imagined. Thus the Chinese dispose their characters in perpendicular columns written from the top to the bottom of the page, the columns being themselves arranged from right to left, each column as it is added being placed to the left of that before it. The Tartars write also in perpendicular columns, but commence at the opposite side of the page, at the left hand, disposing their columns from left to right. The Mexican picture writing differed from both the preceding in beginning at the bottom and being written upwards to the top. The majority of languages, however, are written horizontally; those of Europe generally in the same direction with our own, towards the right; some of the Asiatic languages, the Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic particularly, in the reverse direction toward the left; while the ancient Greek was at one period written both ways at once, that is to say, in alternate lines, first toward the right, then toward the left; just as in ploughing a field it is first traversed in one direction, then in the opposite; an analogy which,

as every lad advanced enough to have a smattering of Greek grammar knows, gave name to that method of writing.

The method of connecting the characters together is equally arbitrary. In Sanscrit the different letters are not joined immediately with each other, but are suspended in common from a line drawn over them all, like so many pot-hooks and hangers ranged upon the old fashioned crane of our grandmothers. In Syriac the position of the uniting stroke is beneath the letters, in place of above them, and the individual characters appear to rise in succession out of it. In Japanese the line of junction is perpendicular, and the letters are strung along on either side. While in many languages, as in the running hand of our own, the terminating stroke of one letter attaches it to another, and the final letter of the word is perhaps distinguished by a larger than the ordinary flourish. Or yet again, as in the case of the Hebrew and the Ethiopic, each character stands distinct by itself unconnected with any other. Some methods of writing make no distinction between words, scarcely even between sentences; in others each is plainly distinguished.

Much might here be said upon the correlation subsisting between different languages and their respective alphabets, how alphabets have been modified to suit languages, and what reflex influence has been exerted again upon languages by their alphabets; also upon the history of various alphabets, (for some of them, our own for example, have quite a history,) and the mutations they have undergone as they have passed from hand to hand and from people to people, with the causes and the results of these mutations; then upon all the questions arising in comparative palaeography, which has of late grown to be quite a science, and is not without important practical results, affecting not literature merely, but even points debated in theology, showing the filiation of various alphabets, their common derivation and relation to each other; and, to mention no more of the topics growing out of this theme, the wonderful resuscitation which has been effected by the combined efforts of eminent scholars of our own day, of several lost alphabets, particularly the discovery of the key to the hieroglyphics, that enigma of ages, the singular arrow-headed character of the Persian monuments, and of those recently exhumed at Nineveh, and the Zend character,

containing the writings of the famous sage Zoroaster. We shall however, pass these by, and refer to but a single point in conclusion, which seems a necessary finish to the train of thought which we have been pursuing.

We have traced the history of our art, agreeably to the hypothesis which for the time we are representing, from its rudest, its most elementary beginnings, to its present development. It has been seen how to pictures of things may have been added symbols of ideas, and to these may have succeeded the grand conception, in which was wrapped, in embryo, what has since been unfolded into existing systems of writing—that of giving representations of sound. It has been seen how, by successive modifications and improvements growing out of this radical conception, the modern modes of writing, whether syllabic or alphabetic, may have originated. The vast power and superior advantages of this last have been pointed out. Has the term of all progression in this respect been now reached? or is there anything yet latent and unfolded in the future superior to what has been already attained? Our alphabet, plainly, is not perfect. Like our language, it has been of slow and gradual growth. Neither owes its existence to one man, or one age, or one class of circumstances. The necessities of the people who have employed them have consciously, or unconsciously, given to both their present shape and character. The result of this gradual and unpremeditated evolution has been, that neither our language nor our alphabet is strictly philosophical in its character, nor rigidly uniform in its details. A careful analysis of the sounds of our language would show, that they do not correspond exactly in number with the twenty-six symbols of sound that compose our alphabet. And the most superficial inquiry into the powers of our letters will reveal, that each letter does not stand strictly as the representative of a single sound, but in some cases of two, three, or even four: and that, on the other hand, the same sound is in different connections represented not by one sign merely, but by several. A in *fate*, *fat*, *far*, and *fall*, has four different sounds, though that one letter stands for the whole of them. C is sometimes sounded as *k*, sometimes as *s*, sometimes as *sh*, and, combined with *h*, has still another sound, distinct from any of the

preceding, *ch*. And every one, probably, has made himself merry with the half-dozen different sounds which have been tacked on to the poor, unfortunate termination, *ough*. It is one thing in *though*, another in *through*, another in *plough*, another in *tough*, another in *cough*, and another in *hough*. Again, the sound *k* is, in *cat*, written with a *c*; in *kitten*, the very same sound is written with a *k*; in *back*, with *c* and *k* together; in *chord*, with *ch*. Besides all which, letters are sometimes used to signify no sound at all. What is the use of six letters in spelling *tongue*? or of four in the first syllable of *beauty*? or of three out of the four with which *phthisic* commences?

There are, undoubtedly, blemishes in our system of orthography, which will be considered fair game by pedants, and a pretext for changes by innovators. And the present mode of writing the English language is not, perhaps, to be considered an absolute fixity, nor need it be supposed that those laws of change, which have wrought such revolutions in it already, have wholly ceased to be operative. It is altogether possible that some future generations may regard some of our modes of spelling as barbarous and uncouth, as we do those of the days of Chaucer or of Spenser.

And yet, we must confess that we are not prepared to follow in the wake of those who advocate a reconstruction of our whole orthographic system, who propose to abolish our present alphabet, or, at least, to tinker it into a more philosophical shape, and then to apply the phonetic principle in its utmost rigour, and to spell every word precisely according to its sound, tolerating no unnecessary letters, nor any of variable power. This thing, as is well known, has been already done by some of the more adventurous sort. And any of our readers who may have chanced to see books, or papers, printed after this new-fangled method, have probably had to look twice, before they could satisfy themselves whether what they saw was really English, or was some foreign and outlandish tongue. There is, to be sure, something plausible in the principles alleged by the advocates of this new system; and the undeniable awkwardness in the present mode of spelling some words in our language, gives them, occasionally, quite a show of reason.

But we have little faith in the introduction of such an exten-

sive system of change as they propose. It would involve a complete revolution in our whole literature. There is not a book now existing in the language, that would be intelligible to a generation brought up after the new alphabet. The whole would have to be remodelled. And we would like to be sure that a thing was perfectly right, and that it would not need to be presently remodelled afresh, before incurring the responsibility and the inconveniences of such a change. It will be better to let the alterations which take place in the future be like those which have gone on in the past—adopting no novelty until it has first approved itself to the mass of intelligent readers and writers, who employ the language, and who must, after all, be allowed to shape it.

Besides, we are not so sure that this absolutely rigid system, of spelling with a sole regard to sound, is, even in theory, the very best for our language, and for others like it, the French, for example, where it would make even greater havoc than with us. The strict idea of phonographic writing certainly requires that each character should always represent one and the same sound, and that each sound should always be represented by one and the same character. Now this is very nearly the case in some languages, viz., the Spanish and the German. But, in the English, it is not so. The phonographic has been modified by the presence of another element, the etymological. In many of those spellings which seem so anomalous at first sight, the written word has preserved indications of its origin and history, which have been lost in its pronunciation. Pronounce the word *reign*—and it might be doubtful from the sound whence it was derived, or how it came to mean kingly sway; but write it, and the merest tyro in the languages will tell you that it is derived from the Latin *regnum*. So the *b* in *doubt*, and the *g* in *phlegm*, and the *p* and the *l* in *psalm*, seem to be needless incumbrances; and yet those very letters give the key at once to the derivation of those words from the Latin *dubitare*, and the Greek φλεγμα and φαλμος. And even the outrageous waste of letters in spelling *phthisic* points, true as the needle to the pole, to its Greek original. Words of similar sound, but different derivation, are also kept apart by the variety of their spelling.

An innovation which would, at a stroke, obliterate all this, and it runs very beautifully through our orthographic system, is much more bold than useful. We are inclined, therefore, to insist upon the necessity of adhering to the old-fashioned spelling for some time yet to come, in spite of the danger we incur of being condemned as foes to progress and reform.

ART. III.—*St. Ignatius and the Jesuits.*

Vie de saint Ignace, fondateur de la compagnie de Jésus. Par le P. Dom. Bouhours. Paris, Méquignon junior, 1826.

Histoire générale de la naissance, et des progrès de la compagnie de Jésus, et analyse de ses constitutions, et principes. Par Christ. Coudrette. Paris, 1761.

IN a former number,* while considering the “character of Pascal,” and noticing his “Provincial Letters,” we had occasion to exhibit the doctrines and policy of the Jesuits; to vindicate the justice of the author in unfolding their system; and to show the probable tendency of the work in hastening their downfall. We are not, however, satisfied with that examination; we would extend our inquiries further, and learn still more of this extraordinary society. The investigation requires impartiality. We have placed at the head of our article two works—the one by an advocate, and the other by an opponent of the Jesuits; and by looking at both sides, we shall be prepared to seek and find the truth. We have no desire to multiply the faults of those whose character we describe; to impute to them principles, or consequences of principles, which they disown; to charge evils upon a system of which it was only in part the cause; or to draw stronger conclusions than the premises warrant. Though we may express ourselves strongly, yet we wish to avoid all animadversion not supported by fact; to indulge in no rancorous denunciation, and to weep, rather than triumph, over the exposed faults of those who call themselves Christians, and bear the sacred name of Jesus.

We shall consider the character of him who instituted the

* The No. for January, 1854.

order, and that of his immediate successors—the constitution and rules which embody the designs and principles of the Society—their system of education—their missions—their code of morals as exhibited by their own writers—their suppression and downfall—and finally their revival, and present condition.

The *founder of the order*, it is well known, was Ignatius Loyola, descended from an illustrious family in Spain, a courtier and cavalier, distinguished in youth for a nice sense of honour and gallantry which well fitted him to shine in courts, and in camps. Being severely wounded in the leg in the defence of Pampeluna against the attacks of the French, he was conducted to the paternal castle, at no great distance. There he endured weeks of anguish, and months of languor; there his limb, though restored, had suffered so much injury and was so deformed, as to spoil him for war or pleasure; there he was almost ready to despair, believing that he could not live without some great ambition, or be happy without some absorbing passion. To while away the tedious hours, he asked for a book. No work of chivalry being at hand, there were brought to him the “Life of Christ,” and “the Lives of the Saints.” The latter so full of strange adventures and wonderful exploits, naturally fixed his attention. The reading acted like a magical charm upon his spirit, roused his ambition, and kindled a burning desire for religious fame. As he read, and mused, and pondered, a bright idea struck him—“what if *I* were to do what St. Francis accomplished—what St. Dominic achieved?” From that moment the current of his soul was changed, and the chivalry of romance was abandoned for that of a spiritual crusade—his plan was fixed—his system devised—his will determined. He proceeded at once to make the preparation that was needed to equal—to excel the sublime heroes of whom he had been reading, with a courage which convinced him that all things were possible. The soldier and the page became an ascetic and flagellant. He sought an image of the virgin Mary, prostrated himself before her with sentiments of the profoundest homage, and tenderest affection, and swore to her inviolable fidelity. Effulgent in celestial majesty, she appeared to him, and accepted his vow. A favour so signal produced a sensible effect, weaned him for ever from things earthly, gave him a permanent

disrelish for sinful enjoyment, deadened within his bosom all worldly ambition, and set him free from the enthralment of every evil passion. He arose, and suspended at her shrine that sword and spear which had once been desecrated to worldly ambition. Under her immediate guardianship he continued through life; and if he was able to subdue his evil propensities, or at any time to perform any good actions, it was, he declared, "through the intercession of the most Blessed Virgin."

As the "saints" had acquired for themselves celebrity and renown by their self-imposed penances, he resolved to surpass them by severe discipline and austerity. Arraying himself in the garb of a mendicant, with his loins girt with a chain of iron, he traversed the country, begging from door to door in the villages and cities. At one time we see him plunged in a gloomy cavern, pursuing a course of the severest mortification, remaining for hours upon his knees, fasting for days, scourging himself with rigour, and causing the grotto to resound with cries of agony. At another time, we view him in a hospital, seeking the most disgusting patients, and performing with alacrity the very lowest offices. All this would have excited our admiration, if we were not told by his biographers that he was thus "working for merit"—deceiving himself with the mockeries of the sublime virtue of benevolence.

After the most painful self-denial and rigorous fastings, the tempter, who had violently assailed him, was signally defeated; and then, we are told, not "angels," but "the queen of angels" "ministered unto him;" she granted him heavenly consolation; disclosed to him the mysteries of the Holy Trinity; showed how the wafer is transubstantiated into the body and blood of her Son; presented to him, in mystic symbols, the wonders of creation and providence, and unfolded to him other truths which to him were not the objects of faith, but the objects of immediate inspection. Thus favoured, why should he esteem as necessary the light of the Scriptures? Why regard as worthy of his study the revelations made to patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles?

Loyola had bound himself by a solemn oath to visit the Holy Land; and after many difficulties which to any other would have been insuperable, he arrived at the city of Jerusalem.

His object was, not merely to visit the memorials of the Saviour's life and death, but also to restore the schismatical Greek communion to the true Church, and to convert the millions of the followers of Mahomet. His purpose, however, was frustrated; the Provincial of the Franciscans, who had charge of the sepulchre, forbade him to remain, and threatened him with excommunication, if he submitted not to his authority. On his return to Europe, he revolved his future course, and seeing that it was the divine will which prevented him from attempting any good work in the East, he now anxiously considered to what field of labour he should devote himself. From this time there was a complete change in his conduct; he was no longer the sordid and half-distracted anchoret, but a man distinguished for good sense, profound sagacity, calm perseverance, ability to conceive gigantic designs, and address to effect their accomplishment. Being deficient in education, knowing only how to read and write, possessing no language but his own, no science but that of the camp, no knowledge of books but that of the lives of the knight-errants and the saints, he, at the age of thirty, resolved to become a learned man, and to know all that the doctors teach. Abandoning his imaginary projects, and resigning a life of asceticism, he took his place in the elementary schools, first of Barcelona, and then of Salamanca, and commenced the study of the first rudiments of the Latin tongue. He resolved to persist in his new employment, to yield to every task that was assigned to him, and to submit to every chastisement which was inflicted upon boys making no more progress than himself. His purposes were answered; he applied himself day and night to his books with intense assiduity and astonishing success. Whatever he had been before, this prodigious empire over himself shows that he was an extraordinary man.

Fully resolved to gain all the knowledge that was necessary for the fulfilment of his mission, he repaired, after finishing his course at the grammar-school, to the institution where science at that time attracted so many inquirers, the University of Paris. There he devoted himself to the study of philosophy and theology; found the means of carrying into effect the cherished purpose of so many years; was convinced that he was chosen of God to establish a company of apostolic men, and

sure that it was destined to have its origin at that seat of learning. His associates in study, accordingly, became the first converts to his system. He had for his room-mates, in the college of St. Barbe, two young men. The one was Pierre le Fevre, a shepherd of the Alps, of humble birth, but of insatiable thirst for knowledge. Ignatius studied his character, dealt cautiously with him, after a time revealed his project, and at length succeeded in effecting his conquest. The other was Francis Xavier, a nobleman of Biscay, proud of his birth, handsome, accomplished, learned, covered with academic laurels. Him Loyola praised and flattered, and by his peculiar mode, completely gained. Several others of the same age, and engaged in the same pursuit, joined him; undergoing, in their turn, the same irresistible power of fascination. They were Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadella, Rodriguez—all men whose names stand foremost among the founders of the society. Though it was not to all alike, nor to all with the same ingenuousness that he opened his bosom, yet to all he imparted something of that great work which they were called to carry forward; and communicated it in such a manner as to lead them to feel the high destiny which was unfolding before them. He was careful, however, not to hasten the work; he gave them more than two years to mature their resolutions and complete their studies.

At length, on the 15th of August, 1537, the long concerted scheme was accomplished, and the determined vow taken. Montmatre was the scene of the ceremony; a hill near Paris, consecrated by the blood of martyrs—whence its venerated name. In a sepulchral chapel, rendered illustrious as the spot where St. Dionysius, the apostle of France, was decapitated, the disciples with their master assembled. The day chosen for the dedication of themselves was the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, selected that she might be specially invoked, and claimed as the future protectress of the order. Le Fevre, being the only consecrated priest, said mass, and gave to them the “body of the Lord;” while they ate, they swore over the consecrated host the vow of confederacy. They promised to go to Jerusalem to convert the Turks; or should they be defeated in that design, to throw themselves at the feet of the

Pope, without reservation or condition, to undertake any service to which he should appoint them.

The war having broken out between Christians and the Turks, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was impracticable. When the little band seemed disappointed that they could not embark for the villages and solitudes of Judea, Ignatius showed them another place of combat, and pointed to Luther, Calvin, the Anglican Church, Henry VIII., all of whom were besieging the Papacy. Captivated with the idea of such warfare, he, in accordance with his former profession, called the society "*The Company*," like a company of soldiers that do battle against their enemies; and for the purpose of attraction and renown, added the sacred name "*of Jesus*;" "because," said he, "we are to fight against heresy and vice under the standard of Christ." To inspire his disciples with encouragement, he related a vision lately enjoyed, in which the eternal Father appeared to him by the intercession of the Virgin, and placed him with the eternal Son, and said, "I will be propitious to thee at Rome." He himself had no fear; the man who had overcome every obstacle for fifteen years could look the future in the face, and resolve success. He wished his chosen band to feel as he did; to dispel every doubt; and to excite their enthusiasm, he exclaimed, "Ought we not to conclude that we are called to win to God, not only a single nation and country, but all nations and kingdoms of the world? Can we achieve any thing great, if our company does not become an order, capable of being multiplied in every place, and of being continued to the end of time?"

Application was made on their arrival at Rome, to Pope Paul III. for a bull of constitution. The Pontiff thought well of it. He saw heresy boldly advancing—Germany almost wholly Protestant—England severed from the Papal allegiance—Switzerland, Piedmont, Savoy, and all the adjacent countries "infected"—France suffering from the "distemper" brought from Geneva—the "venom" penetrating the south of Italy, and advancing towards Rome. If such had not been the state of Europe, Ignatius would probably have only founded an order that would have been a mere fraternity of worshippers of the Virgin. But the religious innovations which were abroad gave to his

enthusiasm another direction, and to the court of Rome a readiness to accept the succours that were offered. That court perceived that the lazy monks and mendicant friars were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church assailed on every side; that the inquisitive spirit of the age required a society more active and learned to oppose the progress of error; that the decrees of councils, the decisions of cardinals, and the bulls of the Popes would avail but little, if there were no active agents employed to enforce them. Such agents it found in Loyola and his companions; men resolute in their adherence to the doctrines and ritual of the church, full of energy, determined in the performance of the most arduous duties, highly accomplished in sacred and secular literature—the very instruments needed in this dangerous crisis.

Thus estimating the prodigious importance of the auxiliaries, the Pope assented to the proposal of recognition, and issued his bull for the constitution of the society on the 27th of September, 1540. Besides the three usual vows of poverty, chastity, and monastic obedience, there was a fourth of unlimited and unconditional submission to the Pope, whose supremacy and infallibility they were always to maintain, and whose commands they were promptly to obey, in going whenever and wherever he pleased, without pecuniary reward or support. These privileges were afterwards enlarged; more than forty bulls followed, by which the society in time procured exemption from all jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical, and from all tithes and imposts on themselves and their property.

The society being instituted, Ignatius, who had never ceased to be a soldier, nor wholly resigned his martial spirit, deemed it necessary to begin with electing a commander in chief, or "General," for his company. The little troop was summoned at Rome for the purpose; the votes were collected; the choice fell upon Loyola. It was natural that he should be chosen; he who had been so favoured of Heaven; he who had been enlightened to see so many mysteries; who had "been associated by God the Father with God the Son." But Ignatius, like Cæsar, refused the dignity, and gently pushed away the proffered diadem. He was amazed and distressed in learning the mind of his colleagues—he felt himself entirely too small,

and unworthy of the burden and honour. Strange that they should think of *him* as General of the Society of Jesus; him who had led such a life before his conversion, and who had since, abounded in so much weakness; him to rule over others, who could so ill govern himself! After four days in prayer and penance, a second election was held, and the result followed by the refusal, was the same. Time passed on; and there was danger that the infant society would be dissolved for want of a leader. Under this apprehension, Ignatius agreed to submit the matter to the decision of his confessor. It is unnecessary to add that the confessor told him that in resisting the office, he was resisting the Holy Ghost, and fighting against God; he commanded him, on the part of Christ, to accept it. His installation as General was conducted with extraordinary solemnity in the church of St. Paul; where the vows were renewed before the altar of the virgin; where Loyola administered the communion to his brethren; where they swore unqualified and absolute obedience to him, and he, the same obedience to the Pope. In this manner, like Octavius, he reached the goal of his life's ambition; and the better to seize and the surer to retain it, began by being indifferent, and even repulsing it.

We have thus traced the history of Ignatius to the time when his Society received the sanction of the Pope; we now proceed to consider more particularly the nature of the institution; its *constitution, government, and laws.* This we are able to do from authentic acknowledged records. The statute book which was long concealed has been discovered; it was brought to light in the course of the celebrated suit of Lionci and La Valette, in France, in 1761.

The paramount and professed object of this order was to win back the countries that were lost to the Church of Rome, and to augment them by new accessions; to restore the absolute and universal supremacy of the Pope; to check the progress, and entirely destroy the principles of the Reformation. The war contemplated was not one merely of defence, it was also aggressive; suitable instruments were to be employed to dare and to do great things, and to strike terror into foes. Hence the Jesuits, who were to do this work, held a middle rank

between the monks and the secular clergy. They resembled the monks in this, that they lived separate from the multitude, and were bound by certain religious vows; but they were exempt from stated hours of worship, and numerous services which were burdensome to other orders, that they might devote the time to different duties. Designed for action; vigorous, persevering, wide-spread action, they had special immunities and privileges which qualified them for their peculiar vocation. While the primary object of other monastic orders was to separate men from the world, the design of this was to make themselves masters of the world; they were sent forth to watch every transaction, civil or sacred, that affects the interests of the see of Rome; to engage, as far as that object is concerned, in secular business, and to trade largely and extensively with the nations of the earth.

The order is divided into three classes. The first comprehends the professed members, who live in what are called the "professed houses;" the second contains the scholars; and to the third belong the novices, who reside in the houses of probation.

The professed members, besides the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, that are common to all the monastic tribes, are obliged to take a fourth, by which they solemnly bind themselves to go, without delay, wherever the Pope shall see fit to send them. They constitute what is called the "Power of the Congregation"—sometimes the "General Congregation;" are the bones and sinews of the society, and have the privilege of electing the General. They have always been few in number, and are generally men of wisdom and learning; dexterous in all kinds of business, from long experience; with much natural penetration and sagacity. Ignatius had an object in view in restraining their number.

The scholastic, or scholars, are those whose future position in the society is to be determined by their respective qualifications; and if they have satisfactorily passed through the course of their studies, they become approved scholars. The novices are those who are admitted on trial, and whose probation last two years, during which they are trained in spirituality, and taught the import of the vows which they are about to take.

Besides the coadjutors spiritual, who are simple priests, there is another class called coadjutors temporal, composed of the laity; the companions and associates of the order, who formally join them and assume their name, but who are little acquainted with the secrets of the society. This last privilege was adapted to all places, reached other orders, and extended to the laity in every situation, whether single or married, male or female; to lawyers, physicians, merchants, artisans, soldiers; even to kings and princes. Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, and his son Ferdinand III. were enrolled in their register. Sigismund III., King of Poland, the Duke of Savoy, the Queen Consort of Charles IX. of France, and the mother of the Emperor Rudolphus, were all, in this respect, members of the society. It led the Jesuits to boast—"these kings and queens rejoice more in being of this body than in the crowns which decorate their brows; for other titles are proofs of their dignity, but this of their complete happiness."

It became essential to the society that its constitution should be monarchical; that the whole exercise of the authority should be in the hands of a single chief. A General chosen for life possessed supreme and independent power, extending to every person and case; by him all the provincials, rectors, and other officers were appointed, and by him removed at pleasure. By his disposal all the members were located; upon them he could, by his mandate, impose any task, or require any service; to his command they were required to yield, not only outward obedience, but also the inclinations of their wills, and the sentiments of their understandings; to his injunctions they were to listen, as if they had been uttered by Jesus Christ himself. Under his direction they were to be only passive instruments, like clay in the hands of the potter, or mere machines incapable of resistance. The same unqualified submission to his superior is required of all, without exception, through the entire course of probationary exercises, and through the whole period of life. To him must be surrendered understanding, will, conscience, according to the express language of the constitutions—"the novice must devote himself to the service of God, leaving the care of all other things to his superior, who doubtless holds the place of Christ our Lord." Such stress did Loyola lay upon

this, that at the close of life he added the following to the “Spiritual Exercises”: “I desire that the company should know my last thoughts upon the virtue of obedience. Let every one persuade himself that they who live under obedience should permit themselves to be moved and directed under Divine Providence by their superiors, just as if they were a corpse, which allows itself to be moved and handled in any way; or as the staff of an old man which serves him whenever, or in whatever thing he who holds it in his hand pleases to use it.”

Such blind, implicit, unquestioning obedience to the superior is the grand principle on which the whole society rests. The trust reposed in the General of the order, required that he should be intimately acquainted with the powers and dispositions of the agents over whom he possesses such unlimited control. Accordingly, every possible security was taken for the acquisition of such knowledge; inspection of the minutest kind was maintained; reports from every district were multiplied; and tributary streams of information were incessantly rolling into the great reservoir of Rome, to which the head of the society alone had access. In these communications, the Provincials were required not to confine themselves to the state of their society, but also to present the civil and political circumstances of the countries in which they resided; which latter statements were to be conveyed by a particular cypher, known only to the writer and the General.

The society being fully organized, composed of men of no ordinary stamp, and endowed with privileges conferred upon no other order, let us now *inquire into its success*—let us follow these eight men into the world, and learn what they accomplished. After the company was fully established by the Papal mandate, no time was to be lost. Ignatius at once displayed the most consummate skill in the dominion which he exercised over the conventual house at Rome, the centre of government to the society; and issued his orders in such a manner, as showed that he expected his monarchy to be universal. Soon, all his disciples were in action, overspreading the world. Francis Xavier was dispatched to India, as Apostolic Legate; Lainez was sent to Venice; Le Fevre to Madrid; Bobadilla and Le Jay to Vienna; Salmeron and Brouet to Ireland.

The first church which the society erected, and which it could call its own, was in the city of Rome, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, where Ignatius preached with great effect, and where multitudes resorted to him as a skilful physician of souls. All who were scattered abroad seem to have commenced their work in like manner, and employed the same weapons which the Protestants were using so successfully; they preached to the people in their own style, and with great earnestness; and never was such preaching heard before in the Romish church; it was such as produced at first breathless silence, then tears, then sobs, then prostration at the feet of the preacher, accompanied with confession of crimes, and ardent pleadings for mercy. Other means, united with this, soon made them popular, and caused them to be well received in the countries whither they went. John III., king of Portugal, opened his kingdom to them. Rodriguez entered in, was successful in instituting a college at Coimbra, in providing funds, and in having it liberally endowed. Barcelona, Valencia, Alcala, and Salamanca, soon enjoyed the same privilege. In Germany, dissensions among the Protestants gave advantage to the Jesuits, and imparted to their operations additional vigour and success. They were supplied with houses, furnished with chapels, and provided with pensions; and, in one instance, there was handed over to them an endowed school, which had been governed by a Protestant regent. Vienna, Cologne, and Ingolstadt, were the three metropolitan centres, whence they radiated over the length and breadth of the land. With untiring purpose, endless expedients to meet every emergency, strict discipline in personal conduct, undeviating method in tuition, and above all, perfect unity in will, they conquered the Germans on their own ground, and wrested from them a part of their land, which to this day has not been reclaimed. And why? Because the Reformers were not agreed among themselves; were fighting each other with reckless fierceness; were not magnanimous enough to tolerate minor differences of doctrine and discipline. In the different parts of Spain, Portugal, Germany, Italy, and Sicily, houses of their order were founded upon a firm basis, over which were placed well qualified Provincials.

While his colleagues were abroad, labouring incessantly and successfully, Ignatius was at Rome, promoting various reforms, and founding ecclesiastical institutions. Among these, was the Roman college, which he designed as the model of all others; in the institution of which he spared no pains nor expense; in which were taught not only Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also all the sciences, by able instructors and professors. He presided over it, and did everything to bring it into a state to captivate and allure. Every hour he made inquiries respecting the studies: to animate the scholars and teachers, he appointed intellectual contests in the classes, at which he aided, accompanied by Cardinals and other men of rank; and, to give perfection to the scheme, he obtained permission from the Pope for the students, after due examination, to be Masters of Arts and Doctors.

At an early period Ignatius found it necessary to take a step which tended much to the reputation and permanency of the society; to suppress all hopes of individual ambition; to prevent the members from the reception of individual dignities; to have the vow strictly fulfilled, "to live and die in the society." Other orders were but a stepping-stone to the honours of the church; a kind of storehouse of ecclesiastical functionaries. Not so, however, with this society. The General perceived, that if once one of his colleagues were allowed to accept of a bishopric, or if such preferment were the reward of eminent ability, he could no longer hold in his hands the hearts, or control the services of those who had the least degree of worldly ambition. If this were tolerated, the society would soon be regarded as an open way to mitres and emoluments, and in a little time would cease to fulfil its high intention. An instance occurred of an offered episcopate, which gave the founder an opportunity of expressing his opinion, and of opposing the offer with all his energy. The Bishopric of Trieste became vacant. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who had the nomination, offered it to the Jesuit Le Jay. The king, the Pope, and the Cardinals, were all of the opinion, that he was the very man to fight the cause of Romanism on the brink of the "heretic land," Luther's Germany; and they craved the boon at the hands of the General. He, however, firmly refused

to give his consent—it was contrary to the constitution of the society—it was manifestly inexpedient to the company. Should the precedent once be established, the order might in time be deprived of its best men, and ultimately become extinct. In a letter to the king, he reminded him that the company had been formed with but one object, fixed in the mind of every member, namely, to penetrate all regions of the globe, at the will of the Pope, in behalf of the Catholic faith. The head of the church had approved their efforts, and God himself had fixed upon them his seal of approbation. Let him look at the results of their enterprise. To remain as they were was a guaranty of the duration of their company; to permit an innovation in the original constitution would be its ruin. Hence he might clearly see what an injury it would be, if the order were permitted to make Bishops. By such, and similar other arguments, he freed himself from the honours offered to the society, persuaded the court of Rome to yield, and thus avoided the extreme peril. Not long after, Bobadilla refused a similar honour, the Bishopric of Trent. This settled the matter; and it was determined that no Jesuit, in ordinary cases, should be Bishop, Archbishop, Cardinal, or Pope; that he should receive no such ecclesiastical dignities, unless imperative circumstances made it expedient. In the case of Bellarmine it was so decided; and declared that his elevation would decidedly advance the common cause.

But while Ignatius rejected all such marks of superiority, he encouraged among his followers high distinction in courts. When Gonsalez was invited by John III. king of Portugal, to be his confessor, he was inclined to refuse the honour. But the General favoured it, saying, “a member of the Society of Jesus should always be ready to promote the good of others, whether they be beggars or princes; should turn aside from no office of charity, whether in cottages or palaces.” In this case, he acted consistently; and while he rejected ecclesiastical honours, he gladly accepted for his followers the most influential employments in the courts of kings.

The society gained no little reputation from its representatives at the Council of Trent. Two were selected for this purpose as the Pope’s legates, Lainez, and Salmeron—young men

in years, but mature in experience, eminently gifted for such a service, who had already shown themselves able combatants in the controversies of the times. Ignatius gave them instructions fitted for the occasion, displaying his habitual tact and dexterity, and indicating his full conviction of his supreme power and influence—"In the Council, you must be rather slow than eager to speak—deliberate and charitable in your advice on matters doing, or to be done—attentive and calm in listening—applying yourselves to seize the mind, intention, and desires of the speakers—so that you may know when to be silent, or to speak. In the discussions which shall arise, you must bring forward the arguments of the two opinions in debate, so that you may not appear attached to your own judgment. You ought always to manage, according to your ability, so that no one leaves, after your speech, less disposed to peace than he was at first. If the matters which shall be discussed are of a nature to force you to speak, express your opinion with modesty and serenity, always conclude with these words—'better advice, or everything other equivalent, excepted.' In hearing confessions, think that all you say to your penitents may be published on the house-top. By way of penance, enjoin them to pray for the Council. In giving the exercises, speak as you would in public. You will visit the hospitals by turns every four days—each once a week, at times not inconvenient to the sick. You will soothe their afflictions, not only by your words, but by carrying to them, as far as you will be able, some little presents. In fine, if to settle questions, brevity and circumspection are necessary, so as to excite piety, we ought, on the contrary, to speak with a certain degree of diffuseness, and in a kindly manner. Another point remains, which concerns the care of watching over yourselves, and guarding against the shoals to which you will be exposed. And though you ought never to forget the essential of our Institute, you must nevertheless remember, above all, to preserve the strictest union, and most perfect agreement of thought and judgment."

These instructions were strictly fulfilled; and the representatives took a high position in the Council, as the champions of the Pope and of orthodoxy, and at the same time, the indirect advocates of their own order. When the General of the Augus-

tins attempted the modification of the Papal dogma distinguishing between justification inherent, and justification applied and imparted, asserting the latter alone to be the Christian's confidence and hope, Lainez opposed him with all his force, produced a volume of arguments to sustain his position, and was gratified to find his commentary enrolled in the acts of the Council. To him belongs the credit of having then received, the Molinist, or what was afterwards called in Holland the Remonstrant doctrine ; a system which he contended was "temporibus accommodatior"—more suited to the times. He also took a prominent part in the discussion on the eucharist, making an overwhelming display of theological learning, and dexterous ingenuity. While thus establishing his reputation, he injured his health ; and was compelled by sickness to withdraw from the assembly. The Council suspended its sittings until his recovery, showing the estimation in which he was held, and the high honour that was reflected upon the society.

When the Council afterwards resumed its sittings, in 1562, Lainez was again conspicuous ; a lofty pulpit was assigned to him, that the members might lose nothing of his harangues ; and from that elevated seat, he made an address of two hours long, on the Episcopal authority and duties. He and his partisans openly opposed the Bishops, and maintained that they derived their power not immediately from God, but entirely from the Pope, on whom they were dependent ; while they publicly propagated the theory of the entire absoluteness of the Pontiff, and threw the divine right over every part of his prerogative. The consequence was, no honour was denied them by the Pope's party.

It was by these and other similar means that this system, in a few years, so widely spread. Other orders arose gradually, and by degrees attained reputation and success ; but this sprung at once from the brain of Ignatius, full-grown, armed, and ready for battle ; from the beginning, it fought manfully and effectually, and far exceeded the expectations of its founder. The disciples of Loyola recommended themselves everywhere by their name ; by the declared disinterestedness of their motives ; by the lofty end which they had in view. They were the popular preachers and fashionable confessors ;

cherished by popes, fondled by princes, beloved by the people ; eminent for the development which they gave to science, for their indefatigable exertions in the education of youth, for their extensive missions at home, and abroad. In fifteen years after the establishment of the order, it had penetrated almost every part of the world ; and no achieved kingdom was ever left by a monarch in greater prosperity than this was on the death of its founder. There were twelve provinces : nine in Europe ; three in Asia, Africa, and America—one hundred colleges, in which fifteen hundred were engaged in tuition—in all, at least, two thousand in the company, with novices, scholastics, and laymen, of all trades and avocations—some stationed in towns—some flying from city to city—and others wandering in the wilds of Africa, Asia, and America.

Though in general they were received by all nations with open arms, yet France was an exception ; their conquests in that country were effected with difficulty. Notwithstanding the favour shown to them by Henry II., by Cardinal Lorraine, and by the Court, the French clergy had a deep suspicion of the new order, and opposed it ; both on account of its sentiments respecting the Pope's infallibility and superiority to councils, and on account of the probable exclusion of other orders which its permanent establishment would produce. All his colleagues urged Ignatius to furnish to the church and the world a formal refutation of these charges. But he knew his part better, and instead of complying with their advice, enjoined on them, and on himself, patience and silence. "Truth," he said, "will prevail over that temporary illusion which, just now, leads the doctors of the Sorbonne to misrepresent and oppose the society ; she will avenge herself and us in due time." The result showed that his advice was wise. By yielding to the storm, its vehemence in time abated, and the society crept on until it obtained as firm a footing in France as elsewhere.

On the last day of July, 1556, Ignatius died, unexpectedly to his brethren and medical attendants. On the night before, he called for his secretary and said, "My hour is come ; go and ask the Pope for a blessing for me, and an indulgence for my sins, in order that my soul may have more confidence in this terrible

passage. And tell his Holiness, that if I go to a place where my prayers avail aught, as I hope from the Divine mercy, I shall not fail to pray for him, as I have done, when I had more reason to pray for myself." The secretary delayed until morning. Ignatius passed the night alone. In the morning he was found sinking. Thinking that he was faint, his friends wished him to take something, but he whispered in dying accents, "there is no need of it;" and joining his hands together, raising his eyes upwards, pronouncing the name of Jesus, he calmly breathed his last. He departed in the 65th year of his age, and died uncanonically; without the last sacraments; without confession, without absolution from any priest, without extreme unction—a singular fact in a church that regards these things of paramount importance; the omission of which would, at one era, have deprived him of Christian burial.

While considering what Ignatius accomplished within thirty years, and remembering that in that short period he saw the members of his order raised to the right hand of princes, swaying the destinies of nations, and filling the world with terror, we can, from these high achievements, form some idea of his character. All that he effected proves that he possessed a powerful intellect which must ever command the homage of the world. He was the inventor of a scheme essentially his own; and though he found the elements ready to his hand, yet he had sagacity to perceive and skill to mould them to suit his purpose; and having formed the system, he breathed into it the vital force which carried it over the world, and gave it perpetual existence. He exerted a mighty influence over those with whom he associated; even those who were superior to him in mind and accomplishments; he knew what to make, and how to mould them: and having formed, he knew precisely how and where to engage them. He had an orator for one enterprise—a statesman for another—a philosopher for this object, and a high-toned moralist for that. With such acute penetration united with an indomitable will and an unshaken perseverance, he could not fail; success was the natural consequence of power acting against comparative weakness, in circumstances which he always made favourable. On one occasion, when an impediment was thrown in his way, he exclaimed—"if by ordinary

means, I cannot succeed, I will sell myself rather than disband my phalanx." Religion he made the basis of his monarchy, and to motives derived from God and a future state he continually appealed—and if he recommended prayer, he tells us how it is to be performed; that Divine assistance is to be implored, as if Heaven were to do everything, and natural means used, as if the event depended entirely on human assiduity; saying, "let us pray as if we had no help in ourselves; let us labour as if there were no help for us in Heaven." His devotions were frequent and ardent—were they *Christian?*—"The Lord knoweth them that are his."

But his influence was not confined to his followers; it seemed to extend to all classes and conditions. They resorted to him for counsel, for relief, for instruction, for succour; and all felt that he was a monarch who had a right to reign because of his native supremacy, to whom they should yield an unhesitating allegiance—a conviction expressed on his tombstone, in the inscription written by his disciples: "Whoever thou mayest be who hast portrayed to thine imagination Pompey, or Cæsar, or Alexander, open thine eyes to the truth, and let this marble teach thee how much greater a conqueror than they was Ignatius."

After the death of the founder, the "Congregation," consisting of twenty members, assembled to elect a General for the Company of Jesus. Lainez, whom we have seen at the Council of Trent, was chosen for life, contrary to the expressed wishes and orders of the Pope, who would limit the appointment to three years. He was the oldest of Loyola's companions; the one who had the greatest share with him in the formation of the Society, and the one who more than any other was consulted, employed, and trusted. We have not time to dwell upon his character. It must be acknowledged that he possessed extraordinary abilities, natural and acquired; that he was well acquainted with the whole compass of theological literature, and with all the moral sciences of his age; and that he was a subtle and skilful politician. Nor have we time to speak of his immediate successors; Francis Borgia, Faber, Aquaviva, and others—men worthy of being the successors of Loyola—

men of rare powers, both of endurance and action—remarkable for their industry and labour, genius and learning.

According to our design we must pass on, and consider the mode of education adopted by the Jesuits.

One of the principal means employed by Ignatius to extend his system, to win back all that the Popedom had lost, to effect a complete restoration of the Romish faith, was the educational scheme. This occupied much of his time and attention, and was so connected with his whole system that without it, it could not be carried into effect. He perceived that the fruits of the other functions of the society would be only temporary, unless he could perpetuate them through every rising generation; he therefore required every professed Jesuit to bind himself by a special vow to attend to the instruction of youth. Borgia prosecuted the object with great vigour, and spared no pains or expense in the establishment of schools and academies. His successors were inflamed with the same emulation, and strove to have their literary institutions excel all others, and to be in the foremost rank in all departments of knowledge, whether human or divine. In looking at this object, pursued through nearly three centuries, we perceive some diversity of details; but we find the main object the same, and similar means for the attainment of the like design.

There was a particular reason why this desire should be felt, and this effort made. The period when the order appeared was the time of the revival of learning. Europe had tasted of the tree of knowledge; light was spreading on all sides, and making such rapid progress that none would directly oppose it. The design, therefore, of the Jesuits was not to attack science, but to manage it in a way that would not injure them; to satisfy the universal desire that was prevalent, and yet to cultivate that kind of knowledge which would not endanger the Papal power; so to comply with the taste and spirit of the age as to acquire the character and renown of the best educated and the most learned personages in the world. This they in time effected. Following the maxim of Lainez, the Company required that all who undertook the task of tuition should devote their whole life to the employment; thus giving them the benefit of long experiment, and making every year's expe-

rience so many steps of advancement towards perfection. In this department the same activity was required as in the other operations—unflinching industry, inventive self-possession, thorough perception of human character, and a manner calculated to allure and attach. The consequence was immediate success; persons of all conditions, from the scions of royalty to the sons of peasants, flocked to their institutions; parents recalled their children from other schools and sent them to the Jesuits; everywhere the people were startled at the results, and the cry was raised that the pupils in these new places of education learned more in a few months than others did in whole years of instruction. In their “Ratio studiorum” and “Modus docendi” they exhibit their course of studies. We have not time to dwell upon it; we shall only remark that it is in many respects worthy of admiration and imitation; that its main characteristics are the adaptation of subjects to the students’ capacity, frequent repetitions, an ability to inspire a spirit of industry, and a capability of bringing forth every hidden gift of nature. For nearly two centuries, the Jesuits had under their care the greater part of the schools and colleges of Europe, and therefore it is to be expected that they would have sent forth many and ripe scholars—linguists, orators, mathematicians, philosophers, poets, critics, artists, and others distinguished for taste and erudition.

But if we closely examine the nature and tendency of this system of education, we shall find them stinting the growth of such branches of knowledge as could bear fruit dangerous to the Papal power, or bending, directing, or grafting upon those branches much that tends to the advancement of their order, and the extension of Romanism. By inspiring a taste for classical literature, profane history, and mathematics, they contrived dexterously to extinguish the relish for inquiry, and the spirit of investigation. The philosophy which they taught was no other than the scholastic system revived and corrected, suited to present circumstances, and applied to the controversy with the Reformers. All that relates to the moral improvement, to the ennobling of human nature, seemed to be omitted, and that was retained and insisted on, which rendered theology, as well as philosophy, a barbarous system of useless, and even

ridiculous subtleties. While, then, we give the society credit for the service which it has rendered to certain parts of literature, we are compelled to admit that other parts were kept entirely in the dark, or its avenues so obstructed that nobody could enter them; that the system was so incomplete and partial as to set the mind in a wrong direction; so brilliant in one respect, and yet so obscure in another, as to exercise the imagination and memory, to the neglect and sacrifice of thought and reason.

With respect to the study of religion, it was entirely confined to books composed by their own casuists and moralists; and if the Gospels sometimes appeared in their works of devotion, they were accompanied with interpretations and alterations suited to the views of the society. The Bible, as a whole, was unknown in their schools; they seemed desirous to conceal it, as if their condemnation were there recorded. Their system, then, was not calculated to form men, in the full acceptation of that term; there were wanting those solid principles which are needful to make good citizens and sincere Christians—and if any have become good and useful citizens under their tuition, they have become so in spite of their system and management.—How different from the mode of instruction pursued by the Reformers!—how different from that adopted by Port Royal! Rollin's “Ancient History” and “Treatise on Belles Lettres,” have thrown more light upon what is really useful, and have done more for boys in fitting them for the duties of men, and the privileges of Christians, than all the school-books which have ever issued from the press of the Jesuits. Are these the men to whom a State will choose to confide its rising hopes and expectations? these the guides who are to form the minds, direct the consciences, and elevate the principles of our youth? Our country answers—No!

The Company of Jesus boast not only of its system of education, and the many illustrious men it has educated, but also of its *Missions*; that which, in the estimation of some, has conferred upon them Apostolic glory. Let us consider this peculiar feature, for which the society has been distinguished.

As the object of this order was to obtain supreme influence in all parts of the world, and as the General had a right to

send his men wherever he pleased, they, at the very beginning, directed their attention to the countries which were beyond Christendom, and followed out their scheme with invincible perseverance. The times were favourable for their project. A passion for conquest seized the Spaniards and Portuguese in the sixteenth century, which they had an opportunity of gratifying. The former seized a part of America; the latter overran South Africa and the continent of India, conceded to them by the Papal Bull. When the scheme of Christianizing these nations was conceived, and regarded necessary for the subjection of the natives, application was made to the Pope for missionaries. The Jesuits, the essence of whose vocation is to traverse every part of the globe, furnished them in abundance, and sent them out into foreign lands—to the barbarians of the East, and the cannibals of the West.

What is the nature of these missions? Candour requires us to say, that they conveyed a partial civilization into many provinces of America, and made known to large portions of the East, it is true, a debased Christianity, but still a religion far superior, in its comforts and morals, to the blood-stained doctrines and licentious ceremonials of idolatry. No one can read with impartiality their letters and journals, though he is continually disgusted with many things related, without admiring the adventurous spirit, and determined self-sacrifice of these missionaries; without admitting that they did good to humanity, softened the oppressive chain of the savage, and, for a time at least, meliorated the condition of the semi-barbarous. Who can read the life and know the labours of Francis Xavier, the first that was sent by them to preach Christianity in India, without admitting his intrepidity and boldness; his earnest and benevolent, though often misguided, zeal in the cause of his Master? We cannot but admire the Christian, and do honour to the man, though we have no respect for the Jesuit; we see that what he did, he did heartily, though too consistently with the blighting superstitions of his society; we behold his soul borne onward, through distress and danger, without ever being subdued; we hear him exclaiming—"this I dare to say, that whatever form of torture or of death awaits me, I am ready to suffer it ten thousand times for the salvation of a single soul."

But, though we make these concessions, there is no doubt that the injuries done by these missions more than counterbalanced the advantages gained; that the wounds inflicted upon religion and the state were deep and dangerous; that their exertions in the different parts of the globe paved the way for their sovereignty, and laid the foundation for the throne of universal empire which they laboured to erect.

The number of missionaries in foreign lands was great. The Jesuits could say to the king of France in 1594—"We have colleges in Japan towards the East—in Brazil towards the West—in Lima and the furthest part of Peru—and in the extremity of the Western regions; in Mexico, which lies between them; towards the North, in Goa, a town and country forming two-thirds of the distance between Lisbon and Japan, a journey of six thousand leagues. We have colleges in many parts of the East and West Indies; and where we are without regular colleges, our members are to be found in the regions of Mount Libanus, and of Egypt, of Africa, and of China."

If, in contemplating these vast acquisitions, they could say, in the words of Virgil:

"Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?"

we may, without a breach of charity, reply, by another quotation from Juvenal:

"Quando uberior vitiorum copia?"

A large and respectable part of the Romish Church accused them of sinister views, and unworthy practices in the prosecution of their missions, and looked upon them as a dangerous and pernicious set of apostles. It was said that in instructing their proselytes in the doctrines of Christianity, they taught them a corrupt system of religion and morality that sat easy upon their consciences; that they tolerated in their new converts profane opinions and superstitious rites; that by commerce, conducted with rapacious avidity, and other methods not consistent with probity and candour, they acquired overgrown opulence; that they were inflamed with the thirst of ambition, and were continually grasping at worldly honours and prerogatives; that they employed the arts of adulation and the seductions of bribery to insinuate themselves into the friendship of men of power; and that wherever their views were obstructed or disap-

pointed, they refused obedience to ecclesiastical authority. These heavy and grievous accusations were well attested; confirmed by striking circumstantial evidence, as well as by a number of unexceptionable witnesses; by many of the most respectable and illustrious members of the Church of Rome, whose testimony cannot be imputed to the suggestions of envy, or to the effect of ignorance.

In Japan they everywhere excited disturbances, meddled with the affairs of state, in time brought down persecution upon the Christians, and at length ruined the cause of Christianity. In China they taught a debased form of religion, and allied Christianity with the idolatrous worship of Confucius. In Madura, within the Ganges, Christianity was introduced by Robert de Nobili, an Italian Jesuit, who took a singular method of rendering his ministry successful. Knowing that the inhabitants held in the highest veneration the order of the Brahmans, as descended from the gods, he assumed the appearance and title of a Brahman who had come from a far country; and by besmearing his countenance, and imitating their austere manner of living, at length persuaded the people that he was in reality a member of that venerable order. By this stratagem, he gained over to Christianity twelve eminent Brahmans, whose example and influence engaged a prodigious number of the people to hear the instructions and receive the doctrines of the missionary. And this Nobili was regarded by the Jesuits as the chief apostle of India, after Francis Xavier. They applauded his "pious intention," and justified his conduct; asserting that the rites were merely civil observances, that they had nothing in them of a religious nature, and that they were essential to the propagation of Christianity in India. In Mala-bar they gave liberty to their female converts to wear the image of the god Pilear, provided a crucifix was cut in it, so as not to be discernible. In the island of Chio, they permitted to their proselytes the exterior of Mahometanism, on the condition of their retaining an inward Christian faith; they allowed them to go to the mosques and prostrate themselves before the false prophet, provided that at such a time and in private, they directed their thoughts to Jesus Christ; and they administered the sacraments regularly to those who lived in this criminal

dissimulation. In Paraguay they aimed at establishing an independent empire, subject to their society alone. To prevent the Spaniards or the Portuguese in the neighbouring settlements from acquiring any influence over the people within the limits of their own province, they inspired the Indians with perfect hatred and contempt for those nations, cut off all intercourse, and prohibited any private trader from entering their territories. In Japan, when persecution arose against the Christians, in consequence of the conduct of the Jesuits, it was declared that no one should remain, unless he showed his abhorrence of Christianity by casting the crucifix on the ground and trampling it under foot. The Jesuits, wishing not to renounce the commerce which they had long profitably carried on, complied with the condition, but pretended that they only offered an affront to the material of which the crucifix was made, and that they withdrew not their regard, in any degree, from him whom it represented—an instance of the magical effect which attended the secret direction of the mind, and which operated as a quiet salvo to the conscience.

We mention one or two instances of the manner in which they made Christians in India, as specimens of what occurred elsewhere, and almost daily.

In the island of Cyrono several natives had assembled in a grove of palms, to indulge in their idolatrous rites. To these poor Pagans, two of the Jesuit priests, Almeida, and Correa, were sent, together with a certain lawyer, Juan Fernandez. They were circumvented while engaged in their religious ceremonies and ordered to be seized. Under the influence of terror, one of them cried out—"what's the use of binding us?—let us be made Christians." All were disposed to acquiesce; and some rushing from one side, and some from another, shouted and declared that they were ready to embrace the cross. By repeated accessions, the numbers so increased that five hundred candidates presented themselves for baptism. They marched in a long train with the Christian banner and drums, entered the church of the Virgin, and were baptized: and to show the sincerity of their conversion, they learned on the next day to make the sign of the cross.

In Goa the method pursued was different. Missionaries

were out by twos, perambulated the city, and the neighbouring villages, explained the gospel, gathered the boys together by the sound of a bell, gave each a green bough to carry in his hand, and marched them into the church, singing loudly and joyfully. The result was that crowds of the Pagans assembled for the sake of the sight, or through the solicitations of acquaintance, or through the love of pomp and revelry. Six hundred composed the first company of converts—the numbers daily increased—and multitudes rushed with eagerness to embrace the Christian faith, and to profess it by a Christian rite; so that in 1559, no less than three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three were baptized in the church of St Paul's at Goa.

The same ease and rapidity of making converts were seen in several parts of America. Soon after the establishment of the mission in Brazil, Louis Grana began his ministry by baptizing in less than a year thirteen hundred and nine idolaters. But his companion Antonio Rodriguez surpassed him in his evangelical expeditions, and baptized during the same period five thousand, five hundred and thirty-nine. These reports were sent to Europe, to blaze abroad the glory of their missions. But the subsequent history shows that these boasted proselytes were neither happier nor better for the ceremonial aspersion; that their Christian teachers sowed divisions among them which made them an easy conquest to their enemies, and rendered them more perverted and base than they were before.

It was to be expected that apostacy from Christianity would take place with a precipitancy equal to the renunciation of Heathenism. We adduce but a single instance, which is a fair sample of what occurred in many other parts of India. In 1701 arose a persecution of the Christians in Tanjore, caused by a public outrage on the idols of the country, during one of the processions in Pondicherry. How did the converts of the Jesuits act? To the shame of their Christian character, not one was ready to seal his faith with blood; they flocked by thousands to the pagodas, renounced Christ, and received the indelible mark of Vishnu branded on their shoulders—evincing that their profession was but a vain phantom of Christianity, without any real or practical faith.

The missions which were conducted by the French Jesuits in
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North America, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, have been a subject of much boasting to the society—the missions at Hudson Bay, among the islands of the St. Lawrence, at the sources of the Mississippi, on the prairies of the Illinois, and the Missouri. It is true that some of those who were employed were interesting men; they bore their sufferings and trials with heroic constancy, and became martyrs to the faith, under the blows of barbarians, or amid the fires of the stake. But we know enough of their mode of instruction to be persuaded that the means used for the conversion of the savages were far from being scriptural; that it was “another gospel” which was preached. A Catechism exists in the Iroquois language, with a French translation, containing the principles in which they were instructed, and the cases of conscience which refer to their conduct. Nothing could be more puerile; nothing more untrue than the descriptions of heaven and hell by figures drawn from savage life; nothing more loose than the morality recommended and enjoined. How different from the instruction given to the Indians by Eliot, and Mayhew, and Brainerd!

In thus considering the rapid progress which Jesuitism made, and the supreme ascendancy which it acquired, we find that it scrupled at no instruments which promised to aid its accomplishment; that its interests were to be promoted by all possible means, and at all possible expense. This will be more clearly perceived, while we next examine *their tenets and principles—the peculiar system of morals for which they are distinguished.*

That any flagrant recommendations of vice should appear in their constitution and rules, we do not assert; on the contrary, we admit that they contain many excellent principles and maxims. The slightest acquaintance with human nature must convince us that no code professing to lay down rules of action could appear with hope of being received without some good and useful sentiments; that the feelings of mankind exact this homage to virtue; and that the policy of the lawgiver concurs with the requisition. We accordingly find that no code likely to be accepted has failed to recognize and recommend some great principles of morality; that it was so anciently, and is so now; that it is apparent in the system of Confucius, and in that of Mahomet. That error should be

conveyed with any prospect of success, it must be sheltered under the cover of some sound doctrine; it must have such a mixture of truth as may render it palatable. It is so with the system of the Jesuits; it is the good inextricably blended with the evil which stamps it with its unenviable originality. To persons of strict morals, they studied to recommend themselves by the purity of their doctrine, and even the austerity of their lives. But to acquire an ascendancy over persons of different principles—over those of worldly rank and power, they propagated a system of the most relaxed morality, which accommodated itself to their passions, justified their crimes, and admirably suited those who were “lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God.” Wholly absorbed by one idea, the supreme aggrandizement of their society, they consulted what was expedient rather than what was lawful, in attaining their object. In this way they succeeded, at the very beginning, in acquiring a wonderful ascendancy. By their modified system, they supplanted in the palaces of the great, and in the courts of princes, those rigid doctors who had formerly held there the tribunal of confession and the direction of conscience, and engrossed to themselves an exclusive and irresistible influence in those retreats of grandeur from which issue counsels that govern and regulate nations. All this was permitted, and even recommended, by their casuists, who wished to rival those of other orders, and who far exceeded them in the despicable art of deceiving the conscience; who in the closet invented or expanded their endless definitions and distinctions in the matter of sin, until it was found difficult to transgress the law of Christian morality; until by their specious sophistries, and subtleties, and hair-splitting distinctions, they succeeded in changing the pure precepts of the gospel into an “evil full of deadly poison.” Emmanuel Sa, Cornelius à Lapide, Gaspar Hurtado, Gordonus, Suarez, Sanchez, Filiutius, Vasquez, Henriquez, and Toledo, led the way, or were contemporary with the far-famed Escobar. They employed all the force of their subtle distinctions to sap the foundations of morality, and in proportion as their works were read and studied, they opened a door to all kinds of iniquity. They maintain that persons void of the love of God may expect

eternal life, provided they be impressed with a sense of the divine anger, and filled with the dread of future punishment; that those may transgress with safety, who have a probable reason for transgression—that is, a plausible authority in favour of the sin, derived from the opinion of some learned divine; that actions intrinsically evil, and directly contrary to the divine law, may be innocently performed by those who have so much power over their own minds as to join a good end to a wicked action, or who are capable of directing their intention aright; that philosophical sin, that is, an act contrary to the dictates of nature and right reason, done by one ignorant of the written law of God, or doubtful of its true meaning, is of a very light or trivial nature, and deserves not the pains of hell; that the transgressions committed by a person blinded by the seduction of passion, agitated by the impulse of tumultuous feeling, and destitute of all sense and impression of religion, however ruinous they may be in themselves, are not imputable to the transgressor before the tribunal of God, and that such transgressions may often be as involuntary as the actions of a madman; that the person who takes an oath, or enters into a contract, may elude the force of the one, and the obligation of the other, by adding to the form of words that express them, certain mental additions and tacit reservations. These, and other enormities of a like nature, make an essential element of the system of morality inculcated by these casuists. One of them, Casnedi, says: “We are never more free from the violation of the law than when we persuade ourselves that we are not bound by the law; for he who says that we are bound by the law, rather exposes himself to danger of committing sin. Perhaps he who has thus persuaded himself will not fall into sin; but he who says that the law is not binding cannot sin. He, therefore, who follows the less rigid and less probable opinion, cannot sin.” Suarez says: “If any one has promised, or contracted without intention to promise, and is called upon oath to answer, he may simply answer, *No*—and he may swear to this denial by secretly understanding that he did not sincerely promise, or that he promised without intention to acknowledge it.”

Sanchez says: "It is lawful to use ambiguous terms to give the impression a different sense from that which you understand yourself. A person may take an oath, that he has not done such a thing, though in fact he has, by saying to himself, it was not done on a certain specified day, or before he was born, or by concealing any other similar circumstance, which gives another meaning to it. This is extremely convenient, and is always very just, when necessary to your health, honour, or prosperity." Similar to this is the language of Filiutius: "With what precautions may we equivocate? By pretending to use only material words. A person may begin to say, *I swear*; he can add this mental restriction, *to-day*, and in a whisper he may repeat, I say, and then resume his former tone—*I did not do it.*" Emmanuel Sa says: "It is not a mortal sin to steal that from a man which he would have given, if asked for it. It is not theft to take any thing from a husband or father, if the value be not considerable." To this agrees Cardenas: "Servants may secretly steal from their masters as much as they judge their labour is worth, more than the wages which they receive." Bonacina says: "A mother is guiltless who wishes the death of her daughters, when, by reason of their deformity or poverty, she cannot marry them to her heart's desire." What says Fagundez? "It is lawful for a son to rejoice at the murder of his parent, committed by himself in a state of drunkenness, on account of the great riches thence acquired by inheritance." And again: "Christian and Catholic sons may accuse their fathers of the crime of heresy, if they wish to turn them from the earth, although they know that their parents may be burned with fire and put to death for it." Similar to this is the opinion of Escobar: "Children are obliged to denounce their parents or relations who are guilty of heresy, although they know that these relations will be burned. They may refuse them all nourishment and permit them to die with hunger, or kill them as enemies who violate the rights of humanity." With respect to treason the following is the sentiment of Philopater: "All theologians and ecclesiastical lawyers affirm that every Christian government, as soon as it openly abandons the Romish faith, is instantly degraded from all power and dignity; all the subjects are absolved from the

oath of fidelity and obedience which they have taken; and they may and ought, if they have the power, to drive such a government from every Christian state, as an apostate, heretic, and deserter from Jesus Christ, and a declared enemy. This certain and indubitable decision of all the most learned men is perfectly conformed to the most apostolic doctrine."

We might present many other quotations of a similar nature, to show that this system makes void and practically nullifies every commandment of the Decalogue and every precept of the Redeemer; that it is a foul attempt to consecrate impiety, to justify vice, and to erect a temple of worse than heathen corruption on the ruins of Christianity.

But it may be asked, "does the society, *as such*, permit its casuists to propagate such opinions and maxims, and does it set its seal of approbation on the books in which they are contained? Does it permit such a system of morals and religion to be taught in its seminaries and theological schools? Does it suffer such dangerous and pernicious sentiments to be acted out in the closet of the minister and the cabinet of the prince?" It not only permits, but *requires* it. Here is the regulation: "A confessor must apply himself to the study of moral theology and cases of conscience; especially upon those difficult topics—restitution of stolen property, marriage, and censures. For this purpose he must be familiar especially with the works of Layman; Busembaum's Medulla, as enlarged by Lacroix; the practical theology of Ilsung, and all the works of Tamburinus."

The writings from which we have quoted, and others containing equally corrupt maxims, must necessarily be authoritative, claimed as such by the order, and published under the sanction of the superintendents, agreeably to the regulation: "he who has talents for the composition of books may compose them; but he must not compose them before the General has seen them, and caused them to be examined." By these works we are to determine the character of the society; according to the rule, "the doctrine of the Jesuits must be judged only by their books, and not by their speeches." Besides, there is something so peculiar in the society, so different from any other, that there cannot be any essential difference among the members. One of the strongest oaths which the Jesuit takes, is to

hold no private or peculiar opinion of his own ; no doctrine different from that of his superior ; no sentiment varying from that of the entire body. "If any member," says the Constitution, "hold a sentiment different from that of the Church and our doctors, he must submit his mode of thinking to the definitions of the society. Every one, whatever scruples or difficulties of any kind he may experience, must abandon his own opinions to the judgment and conform to the sentiments of the society." It requires that there should be but one way of thinking, one doctrine, one rule of conduct—entire unity of judgment, and, if possible, of will. It requires them, as a body, to defend the opinions of the individual members. Of such uniformity they have always boasted. What said Le Moine in 1726 ? "It is not a slight testimony in our favour that in these troublous times not one among us has changed or wavered. Uniformity on this point will always remain the same." These peculiarities among the members are not confined to any one nation ; they have nothing to do with the countries of which they were natives, nor with the people among whom they laboured ; they are the essential principles of the system, without which they could not belong to the order.

But were these sentiments and maxims carried out into action ? The whole history of the Jesuits declares that they were. We perceive it at an early period, even in the conduct of Ignatius, in the "Constitution," the "Spiritual Exercises," and the private duties he enjoined. Does he recommend flagellation as a religious exercise ? Here he uses artifice—"Let us make use, in this exercise, of small twine, which wounds the skin, skimming over the exterior without reaching the interior, so as not to injure the health." Does he recommend an unworthy member of the society to be set aside ? "Let him be dismissed, not for his own sake, nor so much on account of his sins, as for the purpose of removing the scandal he has brought upon us." Does he urge his disciples to attract men to virtue, and to fight the enemy of their salvation ? He tells them—"employ the same arms which Satan uses to destroy you." What blasphemy ! When did Paul or his Master ever stoop to imitate the devil in his manœuvres ? Did he desire to be the General of the order, that he might exercise supreme

dominion over his followers? We have seen how, to conceal his ambition, he declined the appointment again and again, until forced by his confessor to accept it. Would he, when he entered upon the office, be adored and almost deified by his subjects? He tells them how he had "seen the Holy Virgin, with the infant Jesus in her arms, and the sacred Trinity, and God the Father placing him with God the Son." Was he asked on one occasion by Lainez, whether it was true, according to report, that he had an archangel for his guardian spirit? He blushed, hung down his head, and said nothing—silence yielding assent.

His followers trod in his steps, and closely imitated his dexterity and craft. Did they wish to extol the "Spiritual Exercises?" They declared that "the book was truly written by the finger of God, and delivered to Ignatius by the Holy Mother." Did they, in order to glorify their society, desire the canonization of their founder, and could it be effected only by attested miracles? A new life was issued, exposing a vast number of miracles which he had wrought, and excusing their previous omission, because there was not at first certain and sufficient testimony. Did they in their writings maintain the sentiment, and continually reiterate it, that the end justifies the means? So many instances of this pernicious and dangerous maxim occur, that it is difficult to make a selection—we mention two or three.

The "League," that was such a scourge to France for so long a period, originating under Henry III., and intended to crush the Huguenots, owed much of its rapid development to the intrigues of the Jesuits. The one who was employed by them, to visit the different Catholic princes to discover the prospect of affairs, was Samnier. He was admirably qualified for his business, and could transform himself into any object; was dressed sometimes as a priest, sometimes as a soldier, sometimes as a country clown; could play at dice and cards, as well as preach and pray. Thus changing at pleasure his name, his garb, his profession, he visited successively Germany, Italy, and Spain, proclaiming that the Catholic religion was in danger, and that the king was secretly favouring the Protestants.

When the celebrated ecclesiastic, Parsons, first penetrated England, he pretended that he was a captain returning from Flanders. His dress was of bluff, overlaid with gold lace, with suitable hat and feathers. He not only assumed the dress, but imitated most successfully the character of the officer. "Full of strange oaths," he swaggered away, and became the soldier so completely as to baffle the keen-sighted sagacity of the English searchers. All this, according to the Jesuit writers, was "a wonderful manifestation of God's care and protection." Who can tell how many oaths he uttered before he reached London? Soon followed his companion, Campion, in the disguise of a pedler, with his box of laces and jewels. Who can tell how many falsehoods he told, before he reached the assembly that deliberated on the means of depriving Elizabeth of her crown, and of restoring England to Rome? When, in 1574, an attempt was made to introduce Popery into Sweden, a Jesuit, by the name of Nicolai, a Norwegian, was sent from Rome by the Company, under the disguise of a Protestant. He presented himself to the Lutheran preachers, and told them that he had spent his life in the study of the high sciences, in which he had made considerable progress; for his proficiency in which he had gained high reputation in several universities; that having heard that the king was establishing a new college at Stockholm, he had come to offer his services in giving instruction. The trick succeeded, and the professorship of Theology was given to him. He commenced his instructions, and by his manners and learning gained the confidence and affection of his pupils; and at length, in his lectures, adroitly attempted to sap all the foundations of Lutheranism. The rector of the college detected and exposed him. These deceptive and fraudulent means were not only approved, but applauded by the Company, because the actor was promoting a "good end."

For two centuries, this people had enjoyed the most unparalleled prosperity. Years rolled on, and their celebrity and reputation increased; their fame, like the lamp that illuminates the universe, blazed brightly and intensely. Their influence extended far beyond the pale of religion, and reached almost every region of the globe, and every department of action;

they presided over the fortunes of empires, undertook the negotiations of princes, and achieved commercial exploits hitherto unknown. In these circumstances, they were exposed to great temptations, arising from their high and unprecedented prosperity; but of these dangers they would not be aware; they had grasped at too much for mortals to hold, but they would not relax their grasp. Their lofty eminence would naturally excite the jealousy of men; this, however, would have had no effect, if, as was the case with Daniel, "they could find no occasion against" them, "except concerning the law of God;" but this feeling would be exchanged into righteous indignation, when the objects of suspicion were found to be the subjects of guilt. It was so with the Jesuits; and yet it was long before they were discovered. For more than a century and a half, the organization, constitution, and rules of the society were concealed from the world; few even of its members were permitted to know them; but at length all was revealed. Before this discovery, Pascal, in his "Provincial Letters," had exposed their corrupt maxims; and his successors in this work, Nicole, Arnauld, Perrault, Berthier, and others, made more extended extracts from their writers, and in the language of those who were regarded as oracles, exhibited to the world their whole system.

The time was now come for action; the apathy of men ceased; the complaints against the Jesuits were loud and long; the abuses of the company were openly spoken of; but they would consent to no reformation—they refused to yield a hair's breadth, and in their pride and self-sufficiency, rejected every compromise which bore the slightest appearance of change. In this infatuation, nothing remained but open warfare against an abused ecclesiastical dominion, and a corrupt system of morals and religion. Worn out with their rapacity and ambition, their treachery and stratagems, their intrigues and cabals, their destruction of public morals, and disturbance of social order, their incitement to rebellion, and instigation of murder, all, of every religion, and of every country, united their efforts to sweep them from the earth. Having lost the respect and confidence of the world, they hastened to destruction; and their downfall was almost as precipitate and marvel-

lous as their rise. In this crisis, the honour and glory of the Papacy demanded the sentence of abrogation; and on the 21st of July, 1773, Pope Clement XIV., after a full and solemn examination, issued his bull of suppression. In it he says, "After a mature deliberation, we do, out of our certain knowledge, and the fulness of our apostolical power, suppress and abolish the said Company, abrogate and annul its statutes, rules, customs, decrees, and constitutions, even though confirmed by oath, and approved by the Holy See, or otherwise. We declare all, and all kind of authority—the General, the provincials, the visitors, and other superiors of the said Society—to be for ever annulled and extinguished, so that the name of the Company shall be, and is, for ever extinguished and suppressed. Our will and pleasure is, that these our letters should, for ever and to all eternity, be valid, permanent, and efficacious, have and obtain their full force and effect, and be inviolably observed by all and every whom they do, and may concern, now or hereafter, in any manner whatever."

Though they were formally abolished by this bull of suppression, yet they were not in reality extinct or disbanded. In Russia and Silesia, an asylum was opened to them, where they laboured with assiduity; while many were dispersed through the world as chaplains, teachers, professors and authors, waiting for the time when they should re-appear, in the fulness of renovated strength and energy. That time in the course of years arrived. At the period when Jesuitism was passing away into oblivion; when its obnoxious doctrines and criminal practices were beginning to be forgotten; when all nations were breathing freely because the millstone of ecclesiastical despotism had been taken from their necks, the system suddenly revived, and in 1814, the Pope proclaimed by a bull that the order was restored. What adequate reason could be assigned for such an act? From what place was he able to dig up some musty record of the virtues of the Society? In what quarter of the globe did witnesses start up to show grounds for the resuscitation of that extinct monster, whose obsequies the wise and good of all kindreds and tribes had sung with satisfaction and joy? Why weave anew the fatal web of political and religious intrigue? The Pope, Pius VII., in his decree of restoration, says,

"we should esteem ourselves guilty of a great crime towards God, if amidst the dangers of the Christian republic, we neglected the aids which the special providence of God has put at our disposal; and if, placed in the bark of St. Peter, tossed and assailed by continual storms, we refused to employ the vigorous and experienced labourers who volunteer their services in order to break the waves of a sea which threaten every moment shipwreck and death." He then proceeds, "in virtue of the plenitude of apostolic power, and with perpetual validity," to decree the restoration of the order, with all necessary powers, that all states "may freely and lawfully receive all who desire to be admitted" into it; with power to the members "freely and lawfully to apply themselves to the education of youth, to decree colleges and seminaries, to hear confessions, to preach, and to administer the sacraments."

Strange that the Pope and his adherents should have learned so little from the history of past ages! Strange that they should not have perceived that the crimes and evils imputed to the Society were chargeable upon the nature of the institution itself; that the consequences complained of must naturally have arisen from its fundamental principles, that the order is to be maintained at any expense, and that the end sanctifies the means. Strange that they should not have believed with the world that it was a public nuisance, and that they should not have feared that by letting it loose upon society, they would be chargeable with high treason against the common interests and happiness of man! It is a fact worthy of notice that the Pope who revived the order of the Jesuits, re-established the Inquisition, that monstrous engine of intolerance, tyranny, and bloodshed.

It is unnecessary to say much respecting their *progress and operations since their revival*. They have effected comparatively but little. They have laboured as hard as did the Jesuits of old, but they have not had the same opportunities for success. Instead of being everywhere encouraged, as the order once was, they have met with deserved opposition. In 1816, they were banished from Russia, and have not been permitted to return. Since then they have been expelled from France, Bavaria, Austria, some parts of South America, and even from Rome itself; but they would not allow the sentence of ejection long to

remain, and were soon re-admitted. Even under the decree of expulsion, they remained working, unseen, unknown, unsuspected, as a hidden disease, or as a mine, ready at any moment to be sprung. From their history it would appear that they have lost no part of their distinctive character; that they have grown no wiser by misfortunes; that they are still aiming at the pinnacle of supremacy; and that if they had the power, they would gladly desolate afresh the nations of the earth.

In retracing what we have said, we perceive that no society can permanently exist that acts upon the principle that the end to be achieved can justify the means that are employed. This was the fundamental principle of the sons of Loyola, upon which their order was established. We have seen that to effect their purpose, they everywhere resorted to disguise and prevarication; that they courted obscurity and darkness; that they carefully concealed from the gaze of men their motives and objects; that secrecy was their principal strength; that when fully trained, they had the same instinctive love of intrigue as the experienced gamester has for play. How repugnant is all this, not merely to the genius of Christianity, but to the manly spirit of the world! Our wonder is, not that they were discovered and brought down to the dust, but that they were permitted so long to flourish and deceive the nations. This trait in their character, now known, and covering them with obloquy, will prevent them, we have reason to believe, from ever again attaining any high ascendancy; for whatever is ingenuous and honourable wins approval, and carries force. It will be found, we think, sooner or later, that the cause of Romanism will not ultimately be promoted by the revival of Jesuitism; that its spirit has a natural tendency to dissolve any body into which it is diffused; that as a noxious weed, it will insinuate itself into the loose stones of a decayed building, and bring it to the ground.

In guarding against this society, let us ever remember that its members can, like Proteus, change their forms at pleasure; that they can pursue a course of conduct for one place, and adopt the opposite for another; that the privilege was given them by Paul III. in his bull of 1543, which authorizes

them “to adopt such rules as they might judge fit; with power, as well with respect to the rules already adopted, as to those which should be made in future, to alter and annul them, according to the difference of the time and place, and the quality or diversities of things; and to form other rules, which, by special favour, shall be, *ipso facto*, considered as approved by the Holy See.” Taking advantage of this privilege, they will change their policy in this enlightened and agitated age, and will seek to rule the world, not so much from the depths of closets and the cabinets of statesmen, as by immediate communication with the people; not by that silent intrigue which draws near to the throne, and whispers in the ears of princes, as by that active dexterity which will sway the multitude, and bring them under their absolute control. For this purpose they will crowd into those countries where free institutions exist, and pursue a policy suited to the form of civil government.

We had intended, at the close, to show the changes which this society had introduced into the Romish Church, the new doctrines, and the novel practices which it had from time to time admitted; but we have time to consider only one—*the great stress which it has ever laid upon the worship of the Virgin Mary*. We acknowledge that this practice existed long before the origin of Jesuitism; that, though wholly unknown in the first three centuries, it was introduced gradually, and at a comparatively early period.

It has been made a question how far the Church of Rome is necessarily an idolatrous church. That the Liturgy recognizes a worship of the Virgin admits of no doubt; but the decrees of the Council of Trent do not *require* it; they only say that it is “good and wholesome”—the subject is expressed in a vague and ambiguous manner—the terms are cautiously chosen to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the literal sense of the word. Availing themselves of these decrees, and of the compendious Confession of Faith drawn up by order of Pius IV., many pious Catholics, we doubt not, both individuals and communities, while exercising the highest regard and reverence for the mother of our Saviour, have not given her that worship which is due only to God. Not so, however, with the Jesuits;

no one can read their history without being convinced of their entire devotion to her, almost to the exclusion of God. It was so from their origin. Ignatius was the "knight of the Virgin"—his system, "our Lady's institute"—Mary its Divine patron. The society was formed at the festival of the "assumption of the Virgin," chosen for that purpose. When Loyola was inaugurated General, he and his colleagues renewed their vows "before the altar of the Virgin." When the formula was afterwards adopted, the members engaged to live and die in the society "in presence of the most Holy Virgin." When Aquaviva was elected General, he was, they all declared, "chosen by the Virgin." When Lainez was afterwards elected to the same office, "a sermon was delivered by way of thanksgiving to the Holy Virgin." When the "Council or Office of Charity" was instituted in Sicily, in 1555, the members assembled to recite only "the Office of the Virgin." In their schools and colleges, the pupils are required to "pray frequently to the Holy Virgin." Many of the Jesuits dated the year of grace from the *Mother* rather than the *Son*, and commenced their letters by "*the year of the Virgin God-bearer;*" or by another formula—"post virginis partum"—after the delivery of the Virgin. The books which are dedicated to her by their writers are almost innumerable; the manner in which many of them have spoken of her is blasphemy. Several have been so daring and impious as to say that she is at the Divine tribunal as a mistress rather than a servant; that she has full dominion over her Son; that she preserves and governs all things, and has everything under her control. The Jesuit, Alphonso de Liguori, a writer of no little authority among them, plainly and without equivocation, substitutes Mary for Christ, in the plan of salvation; and teaches that as a woman introduced death, so a woman introduced life; that as Eve brought in condemnation, so Mary brought in salvation; that as the former was the first sinner, so the latter is the first Saviour; that as the former was the author of the moral disease, so the latter is the only author of the spiritual remedy. If others who are not of this order worship the Virgin, yet it must be acknowledged that this Society (and they are always ready to boast of it) have done more than

any others to promote such worship, to give it encouragement, to increase its depth and intenseness, and to make it in many places entirely exclusive. The sentiment of the fathers is the opinion of the children. All who now visit Rome and other parts of Italy, testify that it is everywhere the chief devotion; that Mary is the principal object of adoration, and Jesus Christ only secondary; that the Jesuits have done, and are are now doing, all that they can to increase the worship; to have the Saviour utterly dethroned from his priesthood, and a creature exalted to his place, as more worthy of affection, confidence, and homage.

The Jesuits are abroad in all parts of the world; and are multiplying their numbers and resources in our own land. Though vigilance shall not be wanting on our part, yet we shall not fear them. We shall watch over all their attempts to insinuate their subtle poison into our families, our schools, and our civil institutions; and re-burnishing our spiritual weapons, shall boldly contend with them, and not be afraid. They have never conquered the Anglo-Saxons; and God helping us, never shall. Other nations have been subdued; but these have never been under their sway. They fought bravely for domination in the land of our fathers; and though on some occasions they succeeded in corrupting kings and princes, yet they were unable to seduce others; though the 2d Charles and the 2d James were the successful subjects of their intrigues, yet they could not obtain a spiritual conquest over Parliament, or deprive the people of their dear-bought liberties. They will not be discouraged by those defeats there, nor by any they may meet with here; they will labour on with the same unshaken purpose as did their fathers; but we venture to predict that they shall utterly fail. In the warfare, a fair and moral intellectual warfare, which we shall continue to wage against them, they shall be overcome; they cannot, as long as we have any moral principle, extend among us a system so corrupt, and which has within it the elements of its own destruction. It would be a disgrace to fear them; but it is not presumption to believe that they shall be routed and put to flight by the energy of God's Spirit. They shall be scattered by the breath of the Almighty,

with all their wiles and deceitful policy, as the Spanish Armada, the everlasting monument of their treachery and cruelty, was scattered by the winds of heaven. “Fear shall take hold upon them—the depths shall cover them—the Lord shall reign for ever and ever.”

ART. IV.—*The True Barrier against Ritualism and Rationalism.*

The Authority of God; or, The True Barrier against Romish and Infidel Aggression. Four Discourses, by the Rev. J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D. D., President of the Theological Institute, Geneva. With an Introduction, written for this edition. Author's complete edition. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

DR. D'AUBIGNE has won for himself a standing as a Christian author, which will of course ensure readers for whatever he may publish, without any “letters of commendation” from us. This little volume is enlivened by that evangelical ardour, and that fresh and racy style, which give a charm to his histories, and a *vis vivida* to all his productions. As we should expect, he views the topics handled in these discourses largely from the historical stand-point, and thus adds to their strength and value. He, however, does not fail to sustain the plenary inspiration and divine authority of the Bible, by arraying those arguments, which are always conclusive on the subject, with great skill and force.

And surely the occasion of these discourses demanded that he summon to the defence of God's truth all the resources of Christian learning, logic, and love. It was no less than the defection of his associate in the Theological Faculty of Geneva, Professor Scherer, to the ranks of those who deny the normal authority of the external word, *i. e.*, the Scriptures, by asserting that the inspiration of its authors differs not in kind, but only in degree, from the spiritual exercises of ordinary Christians. Consequently, so far as *authority* is concerned,

the Scriptures stand on the same footing as the writings of Baxter, Calvin, or Edwards, and indeed the fancies and preferences of every individual; *i. e.*, they have no real divine authority to command the conscience, and require faith and obedience. Thus we have the so-called intuitional theology, derived from our own intuitions and preferences, instead of the Divine Word. We become a law unto ourselves, instead of having a law of our faith and practice in any external revelation from God. This is unmitigated infidelity, however it may disguise itself under the appellatives of Christianity. And we regret to say that it is in this highly specious, seductive, and dangerous form, the current infidelity of our time, for the most part, shrouds itself, and deceives multitudes of the simple and unwary.

But we will let the author's account of the origin of these lectures speak for itself, and at once confirm and illustrate these remarks. He says, p. 34, et seq.

"I must say a few words concerning the occasion of these discourses. A man of much talent, whose person I love, and whose character I esteem, while I deplore his errors, wrote a letter to me in November, 1849, which was published in Paris, in May, 1850.* The following extracts from this letter, which are quoted verbally, are necessary to be known, for the full understanding of my discourses:

'No supernatural intervention has removed the authors of the books of the New Testament from those causes of error which they could not avoid without an intervention of this kind.' 'The New Testament nowhere declares itself inspired.' 'These writings are the productions of great saints, or of great religious heroes.' 'The action of the Spirit in the Apostles does not differ in its nature, from that which every believer has a right to expect—a duty to desire.' 'In other words, the inspiration of the Apostles is purely religious; it only exempts them from error in the measure in which sin brings forth error, and holiness, knowledge.' 'I do not see what harm can arise to piety, from changing the letter of a code to the living products of apostolic individuality—an

* "La Critique et la Foi; Deux Lettres par Edmond Scherer." Paris: Chez Ducloux.

authority to a history; and, to say all I think, a cabalistic ventriloquism for the noble accent of the human voice.' 'In the ancient Church, they had recourse to the authority of an inspired code, just as they had recourse to the episcopacy, and to the magical virtue of the Sacraments, because the spirit which animated the primitive believers was either changed or withdrawn. They had to create an *authority*—to substitute an external, literal, tangible rule, to that impulse of life and spirit which the apostle himself formerly opposed to the economy of Scripture.' (2 Cor. iii. 6.) 'The Reformation of the sixteenth century, after having begun, in the person of Luther, with great liberty, and great spirituality of views upon the subject, was arrested in its development, and finished by preserving, besides many other things, the remains of that system against which it had arisen. Protestantism remains a mere system of authority; the only difference between it and Roman Catholicism being, that it has substituted one authority for another—the Bible for the Church.' 'For the simple believer, the Bible is no longer an *authority*, but it is a *treasure*.' '*Biblicism* is not merely a theological error, but it is a plague upon the Church.' 'The Holy Spirit, after this enfranchisement, will again occupy that place which belongs to Him in the life of the Church and of the believer; for the reign of the Spirit and that of the letter are two hostile and incompatible sovereignties.' 'We will again raise to honour a precious truth, which Quakerism has long represented alone, and of which the Christians of our days seem again to have some idea.' 'Instead of sending a poor proselyte to the articles of a code—to the formulas of dogmatism, and to the leaves of I know not what mysterious oracle, we would send him to the great prophets of all ages—to the living teaching of the Church—to the Word of God personified in His servants—to the Spirit and its manifestations—in short, to the immediate contact of the heart with truth.'

"The letter in which these assertions were made, being communicated by the author to some of his friends, was soon circulated, in manuscript, in Geneva and elsewhere. The question of the Inspiration and Divine authority of the Scriptures became a subject of general interest. The author of the letter

delivered public lectures, in which he developed his system. It became necessary that the truth concerning these important questions should be publicly professed in the Church. Such was the occasion of the first two discourses, which were delivered on Sundays March 17th and 24th, at special services of the Evangelical church of Geneva. The third was delivered June 26th, in the General Assembly of the Evangelical Society, over which the author was called on to preside. The fourth was addressed to the friends and students of the Theological College at Geneva, October 2d, at the commencement of the session."

We need not say that our author has refuted this malignant heresy not only with his wonted learning and logic, but also with that Christian tenderness and wisdom, which alone could have been equal to a crisis at once so delicate and so urgent. But he does not confine himself to impugners of the authority of the Bible from the infidel side. The authority of God in his word is far more widely overborne from the Papal and prelatical side. Here the authority of the Church, in the form of tradition, or the decrees of infallible Popes or Councils, is set up to overshadow and overbear the authority of the oracles of God. Dr. D'Aubigné, therefore, devotes a part of his discourses to this class of assaults upon the Bible. Here he finds occasion to develope the scriptural doctrine of the Church, seeing very clearly with the Reformers, that if the Church of the New Testament be any visible society or corporation on earth, then it must have the attributes of truth, sanctity, infallibility and unity, which the Scriptures, in divers ways, ascribe to the Church. The logical conclusion is inevitable, with such premises. Whatever such a visible body declares to be the truth, through its appropriate organs and representatives, must be true. Thus we have a standard of truth above the immediate word of God, and Protestantism dies. We do not remember to have seen any brief deliverance on this subject more to our mind than the following, p. 19, et seq.

"It is a fundamental principle of the blessed Reformation, that nothing which is external—nothing which man can give or take from man, constitutes the communion of the soul with God, or

salvation; this communion proceeds solely from the act by which the soul, without any intervening object, attaches itself to Jesus Christ, by means of justifying faith.

“It is a natural consequence, that the Church—which is the body of the Lord, and out of which there is no salvation—is not any society whatever governed by men, and of which human decisions and a written constitution rule the admission, the conditions, the extent. The true Church is solely the communion of all those who have Jesus Christ for head, His word for rule, His Spirit for the principle of life. In vain would a pope, bishops, even synods, presbyteries, councils of churches, disown the members of this body, and excommunicate them; they are the Church, because they are of Christ: ‘I believe in the communion of saints.’”

“Here, then, are two important principles.

“The first is, that Christ and His word are the only absolute authorities for the Christian. The second is, that the relation of the saved soul with Christ, is an immediate relationship; no human mediation is necessary to establish and maintain it.

“These two principles are disowned by the Papacy. Rome recognizes many authorities—many mediators. The visible Church, with the multitude of its institutions, slides in between the soul and Jesus Christ, as authority, as a necessary mediator. The Reformation destroyed these excrescences of the human self, which, instead of leading to Christ, remove from Him. All the Evangelical Church should beware of making them re-appear in the smallest degree.

“The most natural leaning of the human heart is to desire to be something. A particular church—a church government cannot escape from it. If the clergy were abolished, the Evil One would endeavour to turn the laity themselves into clergy: ‘What I say unto you, I say unto all: watch.’”

“One of the greatest evils of Protestantism has arisen from this, that the idea of the spiritual invisible Church—of the *Body of the Lord*—has been put into the shade; that the sovereign importance of it has not been sufficiently felt; that every one has sought again and again to attach himself essentially to the corporation—to the sect of which he was a member. The Papacy—softened, mitigated, doubtless, but always

preserving some of its essential features—has thus returned, in many places, into the bosom of the Reformation.

“The errors prevalent in the English Church date far back; unknown in the Apostolic ages, they commenced very early in the Church. In the third century, some divines began to confound the true spiritual Church—the Body of Christ, *σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*,—with the visible or empirical Church. That was applied to the external Church, which is Christianity, which belongs only to the internal Church, to the assembly of those ‘whose names are written in heaven,’ Heb. xii. 3. *Unity* and *sanctity* are two predicates or attributes of the spiritual Church—of the *Body of the Lord*. The desire was to apply these in an absolute manner to the visible Church. Now these two attributes, which can perfectly be united when applied to the invisible Church, mutually exclude each other when they are applied to external Christianity. If you wish that the visible Church be *one* externally, you must certainly tolerate in it many members who are not *holy*. If you wish that a visible Church be composed only of *holy* members, you must break the unity, and form a little Church separate from the great one.

“From that time we find two parties in the Church; those who exalt the unity at the expense of the sanctity, or the *Catholics*, and those who exalt the sanctity at the expense of the unity, or the *Sects*. Cyprian was the first apologist for the outward unity of the Church in a book on the ‘*Unitate Ecclesiae*.’ He pretended, like some divines of our days, that out of this external Church, in which, according to him, was the episcopal succession of bishops, no one could have part in the influence of the Holy Spirit. The Montanists, the Novatians, and some other sects, were apologists for the absolute sanctity of the external Church, and maintained, that every Church of which some members are not holy members of the body of Christ, is not a true Church. The truth lay neither with the one nor with the other. Unity and sanctity are the necessary attributes of the spiritual Church, to which we must, above all, belong—out of which there is no salvation. But as for the visible, or empirical Church, unity and sanctity are the attributes towards which it ought to tend—which it ought to

endeavour to attain, without, perhaps, being ever able completely to come up to them."

Having sufficiently indicated to our readers the general drift of the volume before us, we will now offer a few reflections in regard to the nature and causes of these two leading and all-inclusive forms of unbelief—the ritualistic and rationalistic—superstition and infidelity.

In that hideous portraiture of heathenism, which Paul gives in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, we find not only a graphic sketch of its vices in detail, but also of those radical sins and errors which underlie and produce this monster growth. It will be observed, that he attributes to heathenism those foul iniquities and worse than brutal abominations, the very mention of which shocks all sense of morality or decency. But all those pollutions are uniformly represented as flowing from a single cause, viz: renouncing, ignoring, or perverting the truth concerning God. Thus verse 21, et seq. "Because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful. * * * And changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man—*wherefore* God gave them to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts," &c. So verse 26, et seq. "Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. *For this cause* God gave them up unto vile affections," &c. Now, wherein did this rejection of God and the truth concerning Him precisely lie? It did not lie in abjuring all belief in a Supreme Divinity, or the obligation to render to such Divinity due homage. It did not lie in rejecting the whole truth concerning God. This would have been too monstrous to impose even upon their own sin-blinded souls. It was entirely another process. They *changed the truth of God into a lie*. They did not reject or ignore it altogether. This were impossible to rational beings made in the image of God, howsoever that image may be marred by sin. They retained so much as this; that there is a superior order of being, to which men owe homage and worship, and on whose favour or wrath depends their happiness or misery. Is not this now vital, fundamental truth? Surely. Among the school of modern pantheistic, and we know not what

other progressives, it would entitle its holder to Christian fellowship. Yet they so held this truth, as to change it into a lie. They denied other associated truths, no less vital, which were essential to any right reception of this. They ignored or denied the unity, supremacy, independence, holiness, truth, spirituality, infinitude and perfection of the Godhead. They recognized and worshipped God's creatures and works as true divinities. "They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things." So they "worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator." Thus holding the great truth that there is a Divinity, which we ought to worship—they changed it into a lie, by rejecting connected truth, and superinducing upon it abominable errors. Now this is the radical and characteristic feature of all forms of apostacy from God, Pagan, Mahomedan, Infidel, of rationalistic, ritualistic, superstitious, and other forms of degenerate and apostate Christianity. All kinds of false religion rest not on the utter denial of *all* truth, but on half truths turned into lies, by the admixture of positive or negative errors.

Since man is so constituted that he cannot rest long without some semblance of religion, so the great mass of the heathen world, and indeed of all the world who reject or know not the gospel, make up their religious system of certain truths which, by perversion, are turned into lies. Let us look at this momentous fact, in the principal forms in which it exists, in its causes, and in some of its practical consequences.

1. All religious error, the world over, whether mixed with the truths of Natural Religion or of Christianity, and be each error greater or less, runs in one of two directions; either toward superstition or scepticism; therefore, when mixed with and falsifying Christian truth, in the line of ritualism or rationalism. Now, there is in each of these grand currents which bear along fallen humanity, an element of truth, although so mixed with error as to be turned into a lie, and as to turn all other truths interblended with it into lies.

Superstition undertakes to propitiate God by rites and ceremonies often rigid and austere, and relies on these to ensure a good estate with him, while it leaves the heart uncleansed, free

to indulge its ungodly feelings and evil lusts. The peculiarity of superstition is, 1. That it makes religion, or that whereby we are made acceptable to God, to consist of ceremonies rather than inward moral excellence. 2. It makes a fund of merit out of these services, whereby they are conceived to deserve the favour of God. 3. It has little regard to their reasonableness or unreasonableness, to their fitness to promote piety, or honour God, or to their having been commanded or not commanded of him. Superstition, as it is connected with a degenerate Christianity, usually clings to the cardinal Christian mysteries of the Trinity, incarnation, atonement, original sin, regeneration. It shrinks from no mysteries in religion. It holds them all often in their utmost completeness. Moreover, it rightly holds that God is to be honoured by worship, and that he can never be pleased with those who do not render him homage; and withal, that if God reveals any truth, or commands any duty, it is not for us to inquire whether or not it accords with the dictates of our own reason. It must be reasonable, whether we see how or not, if it emanates from the Supreme Reason. But these truths are turned into lies by the error superinduced upon them. First, by losing sight of, and ignoring, as often as is convenient, the great fact that no ceremonies or sacrifices can be acceptable to God, which he has not himself appointed, and that even such as he has appointed cannot be pleasing to him, unless offered with a right spirit and pure feelings. Even sacrifice and burnt offering, divinely appointed services for God's ancient people, he desired not, unless accompanied with a broken and contrite spirit. Thus superstition, however earnest it may make one, even till he becomes a complete devotee, yet substitutes ceremonies and penances for a humble, penitent, holy heart and life. Next it vitiates all these services, however otherwise good they may be, by making them meritorious; giving them a character of self-righteousness, in derogation of the righteousness of Christ, and the ruin of that humility which alone is consistent with right feeling in fallen beings. It changes the truth of Christ's one and only sacrifice into a lie, not by denying it, but by making its efficacy dependent upon our sacrifices and works. It operates in the same way upon his priestly office by making it dependent on the intervention of a

human priesthood. It overthrows his kingly office, not by denying it, but by transferring its exercise to popes, patriarchs, or other supposed vicegerents of Him whose name is above every name. It destroys the prophetical office of Christ, not by denying it, but by erecting the Pope, or Church, or Councils, into infallible expounders of this will; whose decisions all are bound to believe and obey, whether they agree or conflict with the sacred word. It subverts the work of the Spirit, not by denying it, but by making baptism, and other rites administered by human hands, the sure and indispensable instruments of regeneration, so that men are born to newness of life, not by the will of God, but of man. It can grant indulgences to the robber or the adulterer, and reward bead-counting, genuflexions, and paternosters, with a title to heaven. Admitting that worship is due only to God, it can yet encourage creature worship to the Virgin and departed saints, as those who bear the special impress of the Almighty. So does baptized superstition hold the truth, at least a great deal of it, yet so hold it in unrighteousness as to change it into a lie.

Of this fatally distempered religion, the Pharisee was the model type. The scathing delineations of his character, given by our Saviour, present the great outlines which are constantly showing themselves in all the superstitious forms of apostate Christianity. The same slavish precision and punctiliose ness in observing rites and ceremonies, made to cloak all sorts of moral dereliction, are alike flagrant and loathsome in them all. Thus the Pharisees tithed mint, anise and cummin, but neglected the weightier matters of the law. They devoured widows' houses, but for a pretence made long prayers. They compassed sea and land to make a proselyte. And when made, he was two-fold more the child of hell than themselves. They shut up the kingdom of heaven, neither entering in nor suffering others to enter in. They built the tombs of the prophets, and garnished the sepulchres of the righteous, while they were ready to crucify any living teacher of righteousness who appeared among them. In short, they were whitened sepulchres, glossing over their inward corruptions by an ostentatious ritual. They were precisely what the Papal, Greek, Armenian, all apostate, superstitious, hierarchical churches,

bearing the Christian name, are at this day. Like these, they claimed to base their religion on the word of God. Like these, too, they did actually embrace many of its truths. Like these, too, they made the word of God and its holy truths of none effect by their traditions.

Looking now at Rationalism, it reaches the same goal, though by travelling in a contrary way, as all extremes, starting in opposite directions from the zenith of God's truth, meet in the nadir of soul-destroying error. As its name indicates, it enthrones human reason above God's word. It repudiates, or ignores, at all events, it will not accept or credit, whatever of the testimonies of God's word and principles of Christian doctrine it cannot explain into accordance with its own modes of reasoning and feeling. That is Rationalism which rejects any manifest teachings of God's word, any plain Christian doctrines, because they are repugnant to the judgment or feelings of the rejecter. It differs from technical infidelity in that it regards the Bible as in some sort a revelation from God, while infidelity, in the technical sense, discards it as an imposture. But it exhibits the spirit, power, and venom of infidelity in this, that it will not accept what the Bible manifestly teaches; not so much because God does not declare it to be true, as because when judged at the bar of its own intellect and feelings, it ought not to be true: *i. e.*, seems unreasonable, or incomprehensible, unworthy of God, or injurious to man.

Following this lead, some go a little way, some a great way, and multitudes go all lengths, till they have made havoc with every distinctive article of the Christian faith, everything that is either incomprehensible to the narrow, or unpalatable to the corrupt mind of man. It is only by a happy inconsistency, that any who start on this track, stop short of this dread finality. The principle, if good for anything, is good for everything. If justly applicable to one, it is justly applicable to all the doctrines and precepts of the Bible. Nothing can arrest this destructive process when once begun, but the potent veto of whatever vigour of conscience and purity of feeling yet remain in the soul. But whether partial or total, it is, in its nature, and as far as it goes, one and the same. And it is evermore marked by the following features.

The Rationalist acknowledges the Bible to be, in some sense, the word of God, but in no such sense that it is to be deemed authority for any doctrine repugnant to his own judgments and feelings. He also acknowledges that there is a species of truth in the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. He will usually receive them, or most of them, at all events, so far as their titles are concerned; and generally in somewhat of their meaning, discarding, however, so much of them as is either deemed to be inexplicable, or felt to be unpalatable; *i. e.*, all in them that is distinctively divine and Christian. Rationalism claims to receive them so far as they have truth in them, or for substance of doctrine. It would only, forsooth, free them of the unwarrantable dogmas in which they have been encrusted, which hinder their acceptance and efficacy among men, which confirm the prejudice and disbelief of the impenitent, and embarrass the faith of simple disciples; which, indeed, appear to be affirmed in the Bible, if we interpret it literally, and have therefore found their way into the creeds; but which, nevertheless, when adjudged at the bar of what it calls right reason, right feeling, common sense, philosophy, the enlightened spirit of the age, and we know not what other terms used to shroud the same revolt of the unsanctified soul against God and his truth, must be condemned as intolerable. In this way Rationalism declares impossible to be true, what God pronounces true. Yet, like heathenism and Christian Ritualism, it holds some part of God's truth, but so denies what is incomprehensible or unpalatable in connection with it, as to change that truth into a lie. Sometimes it carries this destructive process into one class of truths, sometimes into another; and once beginning, unless checked, will sooner or later put it through them all.

In illustration of our meaning, take the doctrine of salvation by Christ. All calling themselves Christians, admit most surely, that this is a true and cardinal article of the Christian faith, and still further, that he died for our sins. But then how did he die for our sins, and in what sense was his death efficacious therefor? The Scriptures, they confess, teach that Christ in his sufferings and death endured the punishment of our sins; the chastisement of our peace was upon

Him: He became a curse for us; and so they teach that the first and immediate object of his sufferings and death was to release us from personal punishment, by direct substitution for it. But, says the Rationalist, this cannot be strictly true. It is monstrous to suppose that God could accept the woes of innocence in lieu of the woes of guilt; or that he can desire any sacrifice or suffering as a condition of reconciliation to a sinner who is truly penitent. These scriptural representations must be taken, therefore, to be merely figurative, intense, hyperbolical, or artistic statements, designed merely to awaken pious feeling, and deepen the sense of our extraordinary obligations to Christ. He died as a martyr simply, when on a benevolent mission to reclaim men to truth and virtue, by his holy teachings and spotless example. This was the primary and direct object for which he appeared on earth. His death was not the primary object, but was merely incidental to it, and a signal proof of his devotion to it; just as Paul's martyrdom was no direct object of his mission, but incidental to his great object of winning men to God by his holy teachings and example. Now, it is true that Christ died as a martyr. Is that the only or chief sense in which he died for the sins of men? Then is Paul as truly and as much our Saviour, our Redeemer, our atoning sacrifice, as Christ! Thus this most vital truth of salvation by Christ is turned into a lie, not by rejecting everything connected with it, but by rejecting what is vital in it. We might readily show, if it were necessary, how a similar process has been applied to the Trinity, incarnation, justification by faith, original sin, regeneration, election, every distinctive doctrine of Christianity, till even in some of the most ancient and renowned churches, Puritan and Reformed, defections have occurred which retain little beyond the principles of natural religion, with Christian titles annexed to them.

We have selected this particular doctrine, because it is the very corner-stone of the Christian religion, as regards faith and practice, and because, of late, those have arisen in communions nearly allied to us, who are disposed to apply this annihilating process to this and other correlate doctrines. Rationalism is an extremely insidious as well as dangerous leaven to introduce in any degree into our religious reasonings.

As the ancient Pharisees were the representatives of a divine religion paralysed by being overlaid with superstition, so the Sadducees, who denied the resurrection, were the representatives of the same religion paralysed by rationalizing unbelief. And we shall do well to heed the charge of our Saviour and of his holy Apostle—Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit. Touch not, taste not, handle not. For a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.

Superstitious formalism turns the truth of God into a lie, not so much by believing too little, as by adding to it human inventions which spoil it. Rationalism rejects these inventions of superstition, and so far is right; but it also rejects more or less vital elements of revealed truth, without rejecting every feature and ingredient of that truth, and so turns it into a lie.

Moreover, it is true as Rationalism contends, that the truth of God is supremely rational, as God himself is the Supreme Reason. But it perverts and misapplies this truth, and so turns it into a lie. Whatever God is, or does, or ordains, must be right, simply because he is perfect, because he is God. To deny this is Atheism. But does it hence follow, that puny, short-sighted, sin-blinded mortals can fathom the divine counsels, and completely survey the universe, all time and all space, and determine what it is wise and right for Infinite Goodness and Wisdom to do, or to pronounce aught false or absurd which God has pronounced true? Is God to give an account in any of his matters to worms of the dust, or are they competent judges to review, annul, or condemn any of his procedures? Never! We cannot recognize such a being, as our God. Such a being, amenable to, capable of being measured by a race who must first become fools that they may be wise, could never be a legitimate object of adoration or religious worship.

But it is said that he who made the Bible made the human mind: that truth revealed by him through the one channel, can never contradict truth revealed through the other: that, therefore, the Bible cannot reveal anything contrary to the intuitive decisions of the human mind. But to say nothing further—What are intuitive decisions of the human mind? Those things which the whole race intuitively perceives to be

true, with as much certainty as they perceive their own existence. But this cannot be applicable to the denial of any of those great Christian truths which Rationalism rejects: for the people of God, a multitude whom no man can number, have believed them, and thousands have sealed their faith with their blood. If any one says that the mysteries of godliness are denied by his intuitive convictions, he simply mistakes his own sinful prejudices, and the pride of his narrow intellect, for the intuitive decisions of the human race. They are truly rational who are satisfied to take the attitude of learners, not of judges, before the Infinite and Unerring Mind; who take the yoke, and learn of Christ. They find that the truth of God, however mysterious in some aspects, alone satisfies the wants of their moral, intellectual, and spiritual being; that it harmonizes with divine Providence and devout feeling; that all departures from it for the sake of shunning difficulties, do but multiply the difficulties they would thus shun, going from labyrinth to labyrinth, "to find no end in wandering mazes lost!"

These two dangerous routes, two principal tracks of the broad road which so many travel, have their origin in that evil heart and evil conscience which inhere in fallen humanity; a heart averse to God and propense to all evil, a conscience charging guilt and threatening the wrath of the Almighty, which is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness. According as one of these predominates over the other, while neither is cleansed by the blood and Spirit of Christ, will the drift of the soul be towards either superstition or infidelity, which, mixed with Christian truth, respectively become formalism or rationalism. So far as the conscience is active and charges guilt, so far it will crave some method of appeasing God; and, so far as the evil heart persists in its love of sin at the same time, it will crave some method of propitiating God, which will not interfere with its sinful indulgences and idols, but rather sanctifies them. Therefore it will crave superstitious rites and ceremonies, hoping to atone by strictness in these things for license in all others. Such are the beggarly elements to which mankind in all ages have been driven, who have not bowed to Christ's easy yoke, pacified their consciences through his blood, and by faith purified their hearts, thus cleansing them from

all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God. And in this state of mind, people will not stop to inquire whether the yoke of ritual and hierarchical bondage under which they come, is reasonable or scriptural. They prefer to assume it with a sort of blindness, since they deem ignorance the mother of devotion; and if their religion be scrutinized too narrowly, it may be found not to serve their purpose. "Man," says a celebrated writer, "cannot renounce either his sins or his God." His evil heart binds him to sin; his evil conscience makes him afraid directly to approach, and yet afraid altogether to forsake his Maker. Superstition is the result. The same causes in other circumstances generate Rationalism, which usually prevails among those who have learned how senseless and worthless rites and ceremonies not ordained of God must be, and how vain any rites, even divinely authorized, must be, when divorced from moral purity. In these circumstances, what will he, whose heart is averse to the God of the Bible, but whose conscience will not suffer him utterly to break loose from God and Christianity, do? He will make God altogether like himself, *i. e.*, he will in a sense accept the Bible and Christianity, while yet he will contrive to explain away and repudiate so much of them as is repugnant to his own unhumbled mind and heart, meanwhile flattering himself, and as many others as choose to believe it, that he still accepts the substance of the whole; at all events, that he accepts enough for the soul's salvation. This may be true in some cases; it certainly is not in others. But whether true or not, he will be sure to think it is so, and to esteem all in the highest degree intolerant and bigoted who do not agree with him. He can tolerate all forms of religious belief in others, for there is truth hid under them, which he is large-minded enough to perceive and acknowledge. He is only disturbed when others have not a like charity for his own views; when they deem the principles he assails, so important that they will not receive him within the circle of Christian fellowship. In its full development, in modern Pantheism, Rationalism leads men to avow that they can believe everything, "as many creeds as are offered;" *i. e.*, that they in reality believe nothing; and this more especially, because it is a radi-

cal principle with them, that moral evil is a stage in man's training for goodness, and so, that in its place, it is in itself good. As Rationalism is essentially negative, denying positive truth, instead of having anything positive itself to propagate, so it lives comfortably amid all forms of belief, so long as it is itself quietly tolerated. It takes no offence, till it is itself condemned and disowned. And disowned it must be, wherever there is a living, positive faith, which in its very nature strives to live and reign, and overthrow all antagonism to itself. Says McCosh, "A negation can exist anywhere; it is slippery, easy, accommodating; but that which is positive must have space and room, and it would drive out that which resists it."

Every man is by nature something of a rationalist and something of a ritualist, for every man is by nature sinful, and so guilty, blind, averse to holiness and truth, which yet his conscience will not suffer him utterly to repudiate. So long as the best of men are imperfectly sanctified, so long they will need to watch, lest some residuum of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees still work within them, to turn them from the simplicity that is in Christ. The difference between those, who, calling themselves Christians, respectively belong to Christ and Antichrist, is often not that one class holds fundamental truths which the other rejects, or that one class holds errors while the other is free from error; but that the one class, whatever may be their errors, hold them in such proportion and subordination to the truth, as not seriously to impair its integrity, vitality, and authority; while the other hold errors of such magnitude and in such admixture with the truth, as to paralyse it, and turn it into a lie. This criterion will hold good even of those merely speculative believers of the most orthodox creeds, who hold the truth in unrighteousness. For all these discern not, and of course believe not in, that divine beauty of spiritual truths which alone can attract the heart. So rejecting what is most vital and essential in them, they turn the truth of God into a lie.

It follows from all this, that an individual, or a communion, may cling to fundamental saving truth and hold fast the Head, while yet weakening and deforming, but not destroying, that faith by manifold errors and "doubtful disputations;" and, on

the other hand, that the truths of the gospel may be held in name and in a sense, but so held with superincumbent fatal errors, as to be utterly subverted. Hence the plausible and universal plea of heretics, that they hold so many precious truths in common with the orthodox, that they ought not to be *disfellowshiped*; or that by spreading a drag-net through Christian literature, they can fish up nearly the whole brood of their own heresies, one here and another there, is of no account. The question, Ought not those who hold in common a great number of fundamental truths to walk together? is too much loaded with ambiguity to admit logically of an unqualified affirmative or negative answer. Like many other questions *ad captandum*, put by partisan sciolists in ethics and divinity, we can only answer them safely after the manner of the old theologians in such cases, neither yea nor nay, but *distinguimus*. The mere theist holds a great deal of precious fundamental truth. Is he, therefore, to be recognized as a Christian? The Socinian holds a great deal more in common with us, albeit he denies that our Lord is God, and hath purchased the Church with his own blood. Shall he then be brought within the sacred circle of Christian fellowship? The Papists hold vastly more, even most of the distinctively Christian mysteries. Shall they then be countenanced as true Christians who turn the truth of God into a lie, by making all grace dependent on the intervention and pleasure of the priesthood for its efficacy, substituting ceremonies for holiness, and making all subservient to hierarchical domination? Or suppose that all else be held "according to the straitest sect," but that vicarious atonement, or spiritual regeneration, or eternal punishment be contemptuously abjured, does, or does not, one such heresy so derange all associated truths, as to turn them, either at once or ere long, into a lie? There can be but one answer to these questions in the light of Scripture, history, or logic. It is possible out of a hundred related facts, to state all accurately, only omitting a single one, and, by that omission, to falsify all the rest. What sort of an account would he give of man, who should state everything truly about him, except simply that he has a moral nature, or, stating this, should ignore its fallen state? The question then in these cases is, not merely how many and what truths others

hold in common with us, but whether they so hold them, or other things in connection with them, as virtually to neutralize them. In our present imperfect and fallible state, there surely is a broad field in which Christians must agree to differ. But there is another sacred enclosure which cannot be invaded. To reject the fundamental doctrines of Christianity is to reject Christianity. Here there can be no compromise. It is well, the very instincts of the gracious soul demand it, that those who have hereunto attained, and agree in holding the head, should walk by the same rule, and combine their strength in a common cause against a common foe. In this behalf, and *pro hac vice*, they may well forget their differences, justly feeling that their points of agreement are vastly more important than their points of difference. When the friends of God summon us to associations of this sort for the purpose of promoting our common Christianity, but not of protecting its impugners, we hear their voice, for it is not the voice of a stranger, but of the true Israel. Then will we gather to the "sacramental host of God's elect." But how often do heretics and reckless innovators make the welkin ring with the same watchwords, for the manifest purpose of screening their heresies and arts from detection and exposure ! These we will not hear. For although the voice be the voice of Jacob, the hands are the hands of Esau.

As we have seen, the truth is turned into a lie by being incorporated with positive or negative errors which produce the transmutation. It is a necessary consequence, that the surest defence against, and remedy for this fatal tendency, is to hold and teach the truth as it is in Jesus, in its utmost fulness and simplicity; for all parts of the system of divine truth mutually support and brace each other. The removal of any part, therefore, although it be not the foundation, weakens and imperils the whole edifice. This must be so, as God is its author. It is so, as all experience testifies. We are persuaded that such could be shown, historically and logically, to have been the effect of losing faith in doctrines so remotely connected with Christian experience, as the imputation of Adam's sin, and the scriptural idea of the Church. Therefore, whatever connections we may form for promoting our common Christianity, with those who cannot yet digest the strong meat of what is

peculiar to the system called Calvinistic, we must not in any wise fetter our liberty to maintain them boldly in every appropriate sphere. To bind ourselves not to teach all things whatsoever Christ hath commanded us, is treason to him and his truth, therefore, to our common Christianity. We sum up all in the celebrated aphorism of Augustine:—*In necessariis unitas; in non necessariis libertas; in omnibus caritas.*

ART. V.—*Thoughts for the Ministry.*

EIGHTEEN centuries ago, the command was given to the Church, “Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.” Here is at once the *charter* of her territory, and the *compend* of her duties. The earth is hers by the grant of Heaven, just as fast as she is ready to occupy it; and the end of her being as to this world, is, through the occupancy of her domain, to bring all mankind to the knowledge of the truth. That she has hitherto failed in both respects, is, alas, too manifest to require even an assertion. She has suffered the enemy to retain long and almost undisputed possession of large portions of her territory; while in the meantime countless millions of those whom it was her duty to have reached, have descended, unevangelized, to their graves, and to the miseries of death eternal. Solemn truth!

Nor is she now, we fear, with all her activity, awake to her duty, or prosecuting her work in a way likely to be very soon successful. The population of the world grows much faster than Christianity spreads, and the resources of the Church are not developed and applied as they actually exist or accrue. Increasing numbers, abounding wealth, divine commands, promises, invitations, and influences, have not given her that progressive impulse which might have been expected, and which doubtless is indispensable to her success. She tarries yet on the borders of her rightful possessions.

That the responsibility of this delay does not rest with God, all will admit. His command is and has been uniformly the

same—"Go up and possess the land." His promises have held out unfailing encouragement to obedience. "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." "My word shall not return unto me void, but shall accomplish that whereto I sent it." His Spirit has accompanied every faithful effort; and his providence has not only wrought with, but gone before the Church, beckoning her forward, as with a visible hand or an audible voice. While, therefore, as a Divine Sovereign, he doubtless has his reasons for permitting this delay, yet is he no more responsible for it than when unbelieving Israel refused to enter the land of promise after the return of the spies. It was their duty to have gone up then, without delay. They committed a two-fold sin by refusing, namely, distrust of God's love, faithfulness, and power, and disobedience to his command. So has the Church, in not taking possession of the world.

It is equally obvious that the responsibility of this delay does not rest solely, or even mainly, with the enemies of the Church and of God. Israel was not delayed by the strength of her enemies, but by her own imperfections. With her own heart right, and with God as her helper, no matter what opposition she encountered; it was nothing. The combined forces of kings, and the strong walls of cities, were alike powerless in her presence. No matter whether she had a numerous army, or simply Gideon's band; her success depended not on the proportionate adaptation of her means to the end to be accomplished, nor on the weakness of her foe as compared with herself. Her failure always arose from the imperfections of her own spirit. When she departed from God, he left her a prey to her adversaries. When she looked unto him, he always helped her.

So with the case in hand. The Church has not failed or been delayed because her enemies were so numerous or powerful—because the work to be done was so vast, *i. e.*, so large a world to be evangelized; or because to persuade men to submit to Christ is so difficult; nor yet because her numbers or her resources have been so limited; but because of her own deficiencies. While those who have withheld or disregarded her, have of course their responsibility to bear, yet she herself is the great sinner, for not having gone up to possess the land.

If this be true, (and we think it will not be questioned,) it throws upon her a tremendous responsibility. The blood of millions stains her garments—it cries to God against her. She ought with the utmost anxiety and haste to seek the cause or causes of her failure, and to put them away. Into the notice of all these we cannot now enter. They are various, no doubt. But whatever they are, or have been, we confidently believe that the *ministry* is mainly responsible.

Without enumerating just here what we conceive to be the great defects of the ministry, let us notice some considerations which seem to show that, so far as the Church has failed in doing her duty, the guilt lies mainly with them. Our first argument is drawn from analogy. They are the rulers and leaders of the Church, just as civil or military officers are of a nation or an army. Now the whole history of the world shows that the success or ruin of governments and armies has generally been dependent on their leaders. With honest, faithful, competent rulers, very few governments, if any, have ever failed; with able, brave, and devoted officers, very few armies have been conquered. With the right men at the helm, prosperity has been the rule; adversity the exception. With improper men there, whatever may have been the spirit of the people, disappointment and overthrow have been their lot.

Not only is this true of the past, but the world is full of living illustrations of the same point—the extent to which the destiny of nations is in the hands of their rulers. Look at England, France, Russia, Spain, &c., &c. How completely are the people in the hands of their governments! What could not these governments do for the good of their subjects, respectively, if from the highest to the lowest, every official agent were actuated by a patriotic spirit? What deeds of oppression and iniquity can they not perpetrate with impunity, when banded together? What can the people do, while bound hand and foot by ambitious, mercenary, and corrupt rulers?

In a republican government like ours, (more analogous to the government of the Church,) the destiny of the nation is not so completely in the hands of the rulers as in those mentioned above; but even here it is sufficiently so to illustrate the point in hand. Who does not see that notwithstanding our excellent

constitution, settling the general principles of the government, and limiting very minutely the authority of our rulers, yet a tremendous power for good or evil is necessarily thrown into the hands of the administration? It must be so in the very nature of the case. The very idea of government implies power in the hands of the rulers. With the greatest limitations compatible with its existence, it is still immense. Hence the responsibility to which we rightfully hold each successive administration. Hence, too, the anxiety with which every sincere lover of his country watches the character of the men placed in authority. With *faithful and competent rulers*, we are safe. With unprincipled demagogues presiding over us, feeding upon us, we may be ruined before we are aware of our danger. Here is the rock on which our gallant ship will split, if she ever founder. Our unprincipled aspirants after office are the worst enemies of our country, and the most execrable beings in the world. The Lord deliver us from their devices!

But to apply the illustration, already too much protracted. If it be true of civil governments and armies, that their leaders control their destiny, and are held responsible accordingly, why is it less so with the Church? Why may we not with equal confidence expect the influence of her rulers—her ministry—to be felt for good or evil through all her borders? What should make her an exception from all other associations of men? We can devise no reason. With the same confidence, therefore, that we look to a good government for the prosperity of a nation; or the same indignation with which we denounce a bad government for the woes of the people, may we look to the ministry of the Church, and hold them responsible for her condition. If she does not thrive, it is because they do not rule her properly. If she does not march forward, and conquer as she goes, it is because they do not properly arm and lead her forth.

We argue to the same point, again, from the history of the Church, under both dispensations. In reading the Old Testament, we cannot fail to observe, that the prosperity or adversity of Israel was determined very generally by the character of her rulers; and, moreover, that their piety or wickedness is almost uniformly spoken of as the ground on which the Lord

blessed or punished the nation. When the rulers "walked in the way of the Lord," it went well with the people; when they "did evil in the sight of the Lord," the curse fell upon the people, as well as themselves. This was not less the fact, too, with spiritual than with civil rulers. When their priests and prophets were holy men of God, the nation felt the blessing; when they were the selfish, lying tools of oppressive rulers, the blight fell upon all the kingdom.

Nor does the history of the Christian Church speak less emphatically on this point. When faithful apostles preached the gospel, it spread with irresistible power and amazing rapidity over the earth; nothing could stay its progress. When corrupt teachers came in, perverting the truth, or preaching another gospel, they tarnished the glory, and retarded the progress of the true. When good and great men here and there arose, like Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Origen, Chrysostom, and Augustine, they were like suns, around which the smaller orbs were gathered, and together served to preserve the Church from utter corruption. When these had departed, and the priesthood as a mass became corrupt, then came the "dark ages" of the Church. What light could beam upon the people, when corrupt priests, laden with their own sins, sealed up the Bible, veiled the Sun of Righteousness, and lied concerning the way of life? They covered the earth with Papal darkness. This continued until the Reformation. Then under the guidance of men called of God as was Aaron, such as Luther, Melancthon, Zwingle, Calvin, Knox, and others, the Church, by the grace of God, arose to put on once more her beautiful garments. Thus her past history shows how deeply the character of her ministry has affected her prosperity, and therefore how great has been their responsibility in conducting her affairs.

But we need not go back to remote history. We may argue the same point, the paramount influence and responsibility of the ministry, from actual observation. In looking over the Christian world at the present time, we cannot fail to see that the various denominations, both as to *doctrine* and *spirit*, are very much what their ministry has made them. Chalmers, and a few others, whose heads and hearts were filled with heavenly

truths and divine emotions, by the help of God communicated their spirit to the devoted men who came out of the Scottish Establishment a few years since. And these, under God, have made the Free Church of Scotland what she is. Wesley and his colleagues, perceiving the deficiencies of a corrupt and imbecile Establishment, struck out with new fervour to preach Christ among a people perishing in a formal religion. And their spirit, as it has been communicated to others, has made Methodism what it is. Pusey and his deluded associates, losing sight of the simplicity of the gospel, of the true nature of the Church, and filled with a mistaken zeal for forms and ceremonies, have communicated to a part of "The Church of England" a spirit which is fast uprooting true piety, and hurrying them back to the embrace of the mother of harlots. It was not the people who brought the ministry up to these things, but the ministry who brought the people. It is not the people who keep the ministry, but the ministry who keep the people. Take away or corrupt the shepherds, and what must become of the flocks?

We may narrow our observation, too, to the condition of individual congregations connected with the various denominations existing in our own land. Do we not see around us, that wherever a particular church enjoys the presence and services of a faithful and competent minister, whatever its state when he came to it, it soon begins to prosper? Do we not see on the other hand, that wherever a church is cursed with an unfaithful or incompetent minister, whatever its former prosperity may have been, it soon begins to decline? Do we not, in reference to such a church, rejoice when a change is effected, and they obtain a minister under whom there is some hope of a resuscitation? Do we not commiserate the church which has been mistaken in the choice of her pastor? What do these things prove but that the ministry mould the churches, and are therefore responsible for their condition?

The same conclusion is forced upon us with greatly increased evidence of its truth, when we consider the end or design for which the ministry was appointed. It was "to feed the flock of God;" to edify the Church; to lead her forward in the discharge of duty; to bring her, under God, to possess the world.

This is the business of the clergy—for it they have every necessary facility. The position which they occupy, the estimation in which they are held “for their work’s sake,” and the solemn truths they have to publish and defend, are eminently adapted to the end contemplated. They stand as ambassadors for Christ between God and men. They are regarded as the safest expositors of revealed truth. In fulfilling their work, they have access to the houses and hearts of the people. They deal in the most interesting, important, and solemn matters that can claim the attention of rational beings. They profess to be called of God to this work, *i. e.* to study and preach the word—to commune with God in secret and through the Scriptures—to drink from the pure stream of life, and then go forth to display its excellencies, explain its nature, and proclaim its freeness. In short, to tell what the Bible reveals of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—to discourse of time, of eternity, of sin, of holiness, of life, of death, of heaven, and of hell.

They go too, to a people not only having a susceptibility of being impressed by these sublime truths, but having an inward conviction of their importance, and even a sense of vacancy or want until they are understood and embraced—to a people who, notwithstanding all the degradation and corruption of sin, yet cry out with a longing heart, “who will show us any good?” to a people sensible of woes here, which no earthly panacea can cure, and dreading greater woes to come, from which only God himself can save them. They go, as Heaven’s accredited agents, to bring the only remedy that can reach the wants of our ruined race—a remedy which claims the power of overcoming all opposition. They have the promise of their Master, “Lo, I am with you;” and they have the Comforter, the spirit of promise, whose work it is to “convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment.” And they have the power of discipline by which they may remove that which cannot be cured.

That they may give their undivided attention to this work, they are authorized to expect the supply of their temporal wants from the Church. Thus relieved of distracting cares, provided with almighty help, and sent forth for a specific object, if the Church is not fed—so fed that she grows, becomes strong, and

accomplishes her mission, the responsibility of her failure must fall first and heaviest on her leaders. Say not that the people are very worldly. Say not that the Church is very lifeless. All this is true. But what is the ministry for, but to meet, and, with the help of God, to correct these very evils? Have they not a divine remedy, with never-failing promises of all necessary aid from their chief Shepherd? Does not their success depend rather on his presence and blessing, than upon the state or character of those to whom they minister?

All these considerations (and others, too, which might be mentioned) force us to the conclusion, that so far as the Church has failed or is now failing, the ministry is mainly at fault. The Church is and always has been just what they have made her; good by God's grace dispensed through them, or bad, by their neglect, incompetence, or wickedness. And if she does not now arise to take possession of the land, it will be because they do not rightly instruct her and lead her forward. Brethren in the ministry! this solemn truth throws a tremendous responsibility on us—a responsibility to which we are held alike by the enlightened judgment of the world, by the Church we serve, and above all, by God himself. Would that we felt it as we should!

As to the particular defects of the ministry, in so large a class of men, and requiring such various gifts, it is impossible of course to embrace all under a few specifications. Certainly in no two denominations, nor perhaps in any two individuals of the same denomination, will there be found a precise correspondence of character. It must vary, as in other classes of men, almost indefinitely. We have felt it desirable, therefore, to establish as clearly as possible, the general proposition, that they are mainly responsible for the state of the Church, and leave it, as the work of close self-examination and prayer, for each one to determine what are his defects, and what his share in this solemn responsibility. Each individual case will thus be much more certainly and effectively reached than by an enumeration of defects which in the nature of the case must be partial, and in some points impertinent. If every member of the order would seriously ponder the questions, What are my defects? what is there that hinders my usefulness? and then set

himself prayerfully to correct or remove them, the work would soon be done, and the Church soon begin to move with new life and energy. To this, therefore, we affectionately exhort. Without it, specifications are of little value.

At the same time, and by way of assistance to any who wish to follow the subject farther, we will venture to mention a few general points which are worthy of attention. 1. While we will not slander the ministry by even raising the question, whether the vast majority of them are truly converted men, or whether true piety is regarded as an essential qualification, (taking all this for granted,) we yet fear it is too true that the importance of *eminent piety* has not been felt as it should, nor that attention given it which it deserves. There can be no question but that successful preaching depends more on this than any other qualification. It gives the preacher power with God. It gives him the power of God working through his ministrations. It gives him the clearest views of evangelical truth which men ever attain. It gives him the right state of soul to present that truth. It gives him true and heavenly emotions, which put him in tender sympathy with his hearers, and them also with him. It makes him earnest, natural, affectionate, and forcible. Who has not felt its power, in listening to others?

But is it cultivated as it deserves? We fear not. There are many things which interfere with its cultivation:—a sinful nature, an imperfectly sanctified heart, in common with private Christians; a tendency to formality, to convert his reading and study of the Bible into a mere professional employment, so that the precious soul-cheering aliment of the truth is overlooked as to his own heart. His very familiarity with truth and sacred duties tends, in this corrupt state, to beget insensibility, against which it is not easy to guard. The collision of different denominations is apt to give a sectarian or controversial turn to his studies, rather than practical. The ill judged compliments of his people may stir up and feed a spirit of pride which is fatal to growth in grace. The gayety and worldliness of the community, and especially of the Church, has a tendency to lower his standard of piety, both as to his judgment and personal practice. Being reluctant to think his people worldly,

his very love leads him to excuse them as far as possible. Thus while making charitable allowance for them, his standard of Christian character is almost imperceptibly lowered, and he himself, thus beguiled and affected by their contagious example, falls in on the same platform of Christian life, which he has designated for others.

In some such way his piety suffers; and with it his usefulness is necessarily diminished. In a cold state of heart, he does not attempt much that he would undertake and accomplish were he more like his Master. Trifling difficulties become insurmountable barriers in his way. Opportunities of usefulness, which an expanded heart of love would see and embrace, are passed unheeded. He cannot preach as he would in a different spiritual state. The most overwhelming of all views of truth, suggested by a personal experience of its preciousness and power, are hid from his blind and torpid heart; and even the amount of truth which he may present, does not come with that unction to his hearers which his own overflowing soul would have given it. How much of the power of preaching is thus lost, no tongue can tell. Not only is the present impression of truth lost, time and strength wasted, but careless habits of hearing are formed among his people, which serve to harden their hearts and increase their natural insensibility to truth. And, worst of all, the Spirit of God, whose presence he might have enjoyed, is grieved away—away from the very instrumentality Heaven has appointed for reaching the hearts of men, and that by the weak and sinful agents who know that all their success depends on his presence! It is the more important, too, to consider this defect, because it seems to be the father of almost all others. It carries with it a legion. If corrected they would necessarily be removed. If it remain, it is vain to expect their correction. If all would only cultivate that spirit of eminent piety which is so essential to their office, there would be but little occasion to urge other qualifications upon them.

2. Another, and we fear a growing defect of the ministry, is a failure to preach the gospel in its simplicity, exhibiting Christ and his cross as the centre of the system, presenting and insisting on the true nature of discipleship as involving an unreserved consecration of soul and body to the Lord, accompanied with an

earnest desire to honour him and benefit mankind by bringing all to the knowledge of the truth. We do not insinuate that these things are never preached. They undoubtedly are; but not, it is to be feared, with that frequency and plainness which they deserve. There are several obvious reasons why they are neglected. One is, that it flows as a natural consequence from the defect just named—a want of eminent piety. This is attained only by dwelling much on Christ. And he who has failed as to himself in doing this, will hardly be remarkable for urging it upon others.

Another is that we live in a controversial age, in which the conflict of truth with error, and especially the conflict of one denomination with another, turns the attention both of ministers and people to sectarian landmarks and fortifications, rather than to Christ, as the Saviour of sinners. That such preaching is wholly improper, in the present state of the Church and of the world, we would not say. But that it has been carried to undue length in many places; that it has been characterized by undue asperity, and that it does turn aside from the simple gospel of Christ, is no doubt true.

A third reason for this defect is, that we live in an age when money, fashion, and pleasure, have a most powerful influence in the Church. There is a love of money, a devotion to its pursuit, a subjection of sense and religion to fashion and show, which seem to be bearing the community away, as on the current of a mighty stream. This tendency is seen, among other things, in the style of dressing and living, in the erection of splendid churches, and in the character of our church music, which is growing more and more artificial and theatrical. To withstand this current is no easy matter. To float with it, and try to regulate it, is much easier, and more in accordance with carnal wisdom. This the ministry seems to be doing, in an unwarrantable degree. They have not set themselves abreast the stream, with the banner of the cross high unfurled, calling on the church to stop. They have not insisted on the inconsistency of such things with Christianity, nor endeavoured to correct them, by preaching the pure, humbling, self-denying doctrines of the cross. Their preaching

partakes rather of a character to conciliate by concessions than to christianize by the truth.

And still another reason (perhaps more operative than any yet mentioned) for leaving Christ out of the gospel, is that we live in an unusually intellectual age. There have been, it is true, great minds in almost every age, and some in former ages perhaps superior to any that now exist; but as a whole, there is more intelligence, more true mental cultivation and refinement now, than ever was seen before in the world's history. Many seem to think that the plain and simple truths of the gospel are not adapted to reach intelligent minds—that the attention of such is much more easily gained through the refinements of philosophy, the abstractions of reason, the flights of imagination, or the fascinations of style. After these there is a tendency to run, to the neglect of Christ and his cross. That this is a mistaken, as well as wicked policy, we need not stop to show. The fact that there is this tendency to supplant the cross is what is now before us. This fact finds its corroboration, and at the same time its withering reproof, in the oft-repeated remark of Daniel Webster, that "ministers now-a-days take their texts from the Bible, and their sermons from the newspapers."

There are no doubt other reasons for such a course, which cannot here be noticed. Without pretending to assign all, the result is that the gospel is not preached with that simplicity and earnestness which are so essential to its highest success. He whose own standard of piety is low, will seldom preach so as to lead his hearers higher than himself. He whose mind is excited and biased by controversial study, will weave in sectarianism as the filling of his discourse, whatever the warp may be. He who bows to the world, will not easily persuade the world to bow to Jesus. He who thinks to substitute the lofty conceptions of his own mind, or the more exciting topics of cotemporary history, for the plain truths of Christ, will only disappoint and condemn himself, while he feeds the flame of worldliness and pride which is already consuming his hearers.

That there are very many noble exceptions to these remarks, we rejoice to testify. Christ is not banished from the pulpit.

The sermons of many are pervaded and tinged with the doctrines of the cross, like the altars of old with the blood of their sacrifices. May God perpetuate and multiply such preachers! But still we cannot escape from the painful impression that there is a tendency to omit the cross with some, and with others to seek for original, profound, or philosophic views, even when Christ is preached, rather than to give the simple milk of the word.

3. Intimately connected with this, and in a great measure growing out of it, is another defect which deserves attention; it is the failure to deal plainly, earnestly, and affectionately, with the *conscience* of their hearers. They are not only to preach the gospel with all simplicity and love, but to "reprove, rebuke, and exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine." This is especially true in regard to the members of the church, of which they are, in virtue of their office, invested with the oversight. They not only *may*, but *must* "reprove, rebuke, and exhort" where there is occasion for so doing. But are they doing this difficult and delicate work as they should? Do they point out and characterize the sins of the Church with sufficient clearness? Do they insist on that elevated standard of piety which is binding on all the followers of Christ?—that love to God and man which is the fulfilling of the law—which makes everything tributary to the interests of Zion? Do they present and insist upon the law of benevolence, the grace of giving, as it deserves? We fear not. And as a consequence the Church neglects her duty, and the world suffers loss, through their failure.

We are not here recommending a scolding or overbearing ministry, one that lords it over God's heritage. Far from it. What we recommend is a ministry that first of all lives up to, and then preaches, the truth in plainness and in love—that can say "thou art the man"—that so preaches as to make the conscience of the hearer say, "I am guilty before God." This may be done without scolding, and in a way that will rarely give offence. Let the people see that their minister loves them, that he is sincerely desirous to do them good, that he tries to live as he preaches, that he reproves because he dare not be silent, that he prefers duty to every other consideration, and

they will not only bear his keenest words, but honour him for his fidelity.

It is to be feared, however, that many preachers are wanting in this respect. There is with some a natural timidity or a tender shrinking from imparting pain, which holds them back. With others, a consciousness of personal delinquencies which prevents their boldness, upon the familiar and homely maxim, that "they who live in glass houses should not throw stones."

4. Another, and perhaps the most serious defect of the ministry of this age, lies in the construction and delivery of their sermons. They partake too much of the essay style, and are *read* too often in an inanimate manner. As essays they may be very chaste, logical, and scriptural, and may be so read as to secure the approbation (or even the applause sometimes) of a promiscuous assembly. But as sermons they fail to reach and impress the heart, as should be done where such momentous interests are at stake, and such soul-stirring truths are the theme for discussion. This is a great defect where it exists. But taking our country at large, there are probably one hundred sermons delivered without writing, where there is one read. Even those ministers who write most regularly, are called upon constantly at lectures and funerals to speak without writing; and the vast majority of the ministry of our country and of our Church seldom or never write their sermons. We have small respect for the outcry against written sermons. In nine cases out of ten it comes from those who are unwilling to take the labour to write. A carefully written sermon is the work of from three to six days. An unwritten sermon, in a majority of cases, is the work of less than half as many hours. It is no wonder, therefore, that there should be a large majority against writing. We, however, are willing to admit that few men deliver discourses from manuscripts with the power they infuse into unwritten sermons; and that if the same amount of labour could be secured for the preparation of unwritten sermons as of those which are the work of the pen, we should be glad to see written discourses banished from the pulpit. This, however, is very seldom done; and, therefore, what is called extempore preaching commonly loses all power over an intelligent audience. Whatever may be said about the different modes of

preaching, there is no doubt a great defect in ministers as preachers, whether they use notes or not. What is the cause of this defect? Some are disposed to refer it to our prevalent modes of theological training. That training is said to be too little practical. It tends to make theologians rather than preachers. We believe there is ground for this objection, though it is no doubt exaggerated, and arises from an erroneous conception of the design of professional training. The defect, however, so far as it exists, the Church is endeavouring to correct by the appointment of experienced men as professors in our several Seminaries, with a special view to the training of preachers.

It is not here so much, however, as in the neglect of the heart, that the evil of our theological discipline lies. If our ministers give character to the Church, our professors give character to the ministers; and we admit that here a weight of responsibility truly fearful rests. No one of them probably will be found, who is not ready to acknowledge how far short he comes, and what a blessing to the Church would be a larger measure of God's Spirit poured on our theological professors.

It is, however, to the want of adaptation to the popular mind in constructing and delivering sermons, that we would direct more particular attention. The training must of necessity be an intellectual exercise. The mind must be developed and furnished in some good degree by close application. This being done, the harness is then buckled on, and the work becomes practical. The question now is, How shall I go to work? How bring the truth to tell upon men with the greatest power? How gain the greatest influence over them? The young lawyer, asking himself very much the same questions, at least so far as his success is concerned, is led to associate in a free and familiar manner with the people, to study their character, the best way to arrest their attention and affect their mind. At the same time he does not neglect his books of authority, or the profound study of the deepest principles of law. He feels it to be all important to be well read, a profound as well as a practical common-sense man of the people, if he would gain their confidence and patronage. He must thoroughly understand his cause and the jury; and in presenting the former must have

constant reference to the latter. Thus discovering what are the really strong or weak points of his case, he brings them out or conceals them, as may serve his purpose; and understanding the sympathies, prejudices, capacities, or habits of his jury, he plays upon them with all his ingenuity.

Is it not true that many ministers fail in this respect, *i. e.*, in studying a proper adaptation to the people? They do not associate with men, and study human nature, with a view to reaching and controlling it through the pulpit; and in their public performances, often fail to arrange their discourses so as to present distinctly the points on which the whole discussion turns. The lawyer is continually saying, "here, gentlemen of the jury, is a point of great importance; give it, if you please, your special attention. Here too is another, and here another, either of which is enough to decide the case in favour of my client." Thus, by emphasis and repetition, he *compels* the jury to see and remember where the stress lies. But with very many sermons, alas! there are no points to be urged; or if there are, owing to the smooth and flowing style in which they are written, or the hasty and unimpassioned manner in which they are read, they are not impressed on the hearers. Ministers, especially those who read closely, do not, like lawyers, make prominent the strong points of the case, and then illustrate and repeat them, until they cannot be overlooked or forgotten. In this, we verily believe, lies one great secret of unimpressive preaching. Nothing definite is presented to the mind; no fixed impression made on the hearer. The congregation, most of whom, like the jurors, are plain, uneducated people, with minds little used to abstract reasoning, and memories not accustomed to be burdened with logical sequences, leave the church with only an indefinite recollection of a general strain of pious remarks, beginning from some particular text, which they try to remember, but poorly able to call up what the minister said, or even aimed at precisely.

This enumeration of defects might be greatly prolonged. We might speak of the want of zeal, the want of an enterprising, persevering spirit, such as the times demand—the prevalence of indolence, ambition, vanity, levity, and the like. But it is not necessary. Enough has been said, we trust, to start

the mind of the conscientious on a course of serious self-examination. Let this be done, and the whole subject will then be properly surveyed. We are therefore much more concerned about the main point of these pages, viz., that the ministry is responsible for the state of the Church, than about the specification of defects that has been made. We may have been mistaken as to the causes of their failure, and as to the best way of removing these causes; yet if our general proposition be correct, (and we think it cannot be questioned,) they occupy a solemn position; one which should make them tremble. No men on earth have such work, such difficulties, such responsibility. The Church depends on them for edification; the world looks to them for the gospel; and Christ himself expects them to disciple all nations.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Life of Archibald Alexander, D. D., first Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey. By James W. Alexander, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau street, 1854. 8vo, pp. 696.

The intimate relation sustained for many years, both by the subject and the author of the above memoir, to this Journal, as well as the intrinsic value and abiding interest of the work itself, demand for it an extended notice in our pages. It was in the hope of presenting such a notice in our present number that we passed it in respectful silence on its first appearance. We have not abandoned the hope thus indicated, and the design of the present notice is not to apologize for the non-performance of a grateful duty, but simply to account for an unavoidable delay. As the work is already known in every part of our land, it needs no announcement; and as it is already regarded as a model memoir, it needs no commendation. All we can hope to accomplish in an extended notice, is to enrich our own pages with a reflection of the image of the venerated father as it has been portrayed by his gifted son.

Morning and Evening Exercises, for January, February, and March. By William Jay. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 560.

Do. do. for April, May, and June. Pp. 601.

Do. do. for July, August, and September. Pp. 668.

Do. do. for October, November, and December. Pp. 700.

Each of these handsome volumes is furnished with an index, both of subjects and texts. The plan and character of the work are well known to our readers. It will, we trust, long continue to be a channel of truth and pious feeling to an increasing circle of Christian readers.

The Woodcutter of Lebanon, and the Exiles of Lucerna. By the author of "The Morning and Night Watches." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 246.

The design of this work is to give a view of "Hebrew customs, scenery, and life."

More Worlds than One; the Creed of the Philosopher and the Hope of the Christian. By Sir David Brewster, K. H., D. C. L., &c., &c., &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854. Pp. 265.

It is a painful fact that science is to a great degree arrayed against the Bible. The speculations of such charlatans as Gliddon and Nott, who have no standing among men of science, and no force of any kind to give their ribaldry effect, are of no account. Much more injurious are the views of such men as Agassiz, who, under the influence of a one-sided culture, venture to throw out theories which may answer the facts of natural history, but are utterly inconsistent, not only with the Scriptures, but with other departments of science. There are two great evils to be deprecated in reference to these assaults on Revelation. The one is, an unreasonable opposition to natural science itself. Because scientific men assail the Scriptures, a certain class of theologians assail science, and thus expose themselves to ridicule, and injure the cause of truth. The other is, the attempts of sciolists to answer men of science. Let every one adhere to his own sphere. Let Christian philosophers answer infidel philosophers, and let not the cause of truth suffer by ministers reading up for a conflict with men whose lives are devoted to special studies. It is refreshing, therefore, to see such men as Miller and Brewster, holding the front rank among men of science, appearing as the defenders of scriptural truth. We commend this little work of Sir David Brewster to the perusal of all our readers.

The Words of Jesus. By the author of "The Morning and Night Watches," &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 131.

A series of devout meditations.

Emblems Divine and Moral. By Francis Quarles. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 323.

Quarles lived under Charles I. and II. His Emblems are a work *sui generis*. A quaint device constitutes the emblem; under which follows a poetic exposition. The originality of thought, the quaintness of expression, the pungency of wit, the flavour of piety, by which these effusions are characterized, have kept them alive for centuries, and will cause them to live probably for centuries to come.

Eclectic Moral Philosophy. By James R. Boyd. Fourth (Revised) Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers, No. 329 Pearl Street. 1854. Pp. 423.

The author states in the Preface: "The present edition, compared with the third, has been greatly improved—chiefly by substituting new articles on the Voluntary Principle,

(pp. 34—40,) on the Moral Qualities of Human Actions, (pp. 99—104,) and on American Slavery, (pp. 363—376.)

The Harmony of the Gospels in the Greek of the Received Text; on the plan of the author's English Harmony; with the most important various readings, brief grammatical explanations, select biblical references and chronological notes. By James Strong, A. M. New York: John C. Riker, 129 Fulton street, 1854. Pp. 370.

This appears to be a book prepared with great labour. The extended title, which we have copied, informs the reader what he is to expect. The author has availed himself of the most recent helps, and has furnished a work which students will find both useful and convenient.

The History of Minna and her Lambs and Doves. Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 75.

The Blind Man and Pedler, or the Scoffer Convicted. Blind Betsey, or Comfort for the Afflicted. Philadelphia: Board of Publication. Pp. 72.

The History of Peter Thompson. The Premium. The Dying Sheep, and The Bible the Best Book. Philadelphia: Board of Publication. Pp. 72.

Memoir of the Rev. Joseph W. Barr. By the Rev. E. P. Swift, D. D. New edition, adapted to Sabbath-schools. Philadelphia: Board of Publication. Pp. 132.

Anne Bell. The Hated Task. The Red Berries, &c. By Charlotte Elizabeth. Philadelphia: Board of Publication.

Sister Agnes; or, the Captive Nun. A Picture of Convent Life. By a Clergyman's Widow. New York: Riker, Thorn & Co., 129 Fulton street. Pp. 412.

Ministering Children: a Tale dedicated to Childhood. New York: Riker, Thorne & Co., 1854. Pp. 415.

Hermann and Dorothea. From the German of Goethe. Translated by Thomas Conrad Porter. New York: Riker, Thorne & Co., 129 Fulton street. Pp. 168.

A prose version of one of Goethe's celebrated poems; elegantly printed. The author says truly, in vindication of his use of prose in the translation of a poem, "A golden statue wrought out with curious and elaborate skill by the hand of a master, loses, it is true, its artistic worth and beauty in the furnace, but the gold remains; so Goethe's rhyme, when melted into English prose, is Goethe still—the idyl is still idyllic."

Letter on the Divinity of Christ, from a Father to his Son. Albany: J. Munsell, 78 State Street. Pp. 18.

This letter evidently presents the workings of the writer's own mind, and is the exhibition of the evidences of the divinity of the Redeemer, on which his own convictions rest.

The Claims of Virginia upon her Educated Sons. An Address before the Union Society of Hampden Sydne College. By Rev. A. B. Van Zandt, D. D.

An earnest appeal to Virginians to devote themselves to the development of the resources of their own State, which God has so highly favoured with the gifts of nature.

The Inauguration of the Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Tenth President of the College of New Jersey, Wednesday, June 28th, 1854; and Dr. Maclean's Inaugural Address. Princeton: John T. Robinson. Pp. 52.

The College of New Jersey has a history which gives a place in the veneration and love of our country, and especially of Presbyterians, to which no institution of less antiquity can lay claim. The inauguration of a new President, therefore, was an occasion of solemn interest. The Institution has commenced its career under Dr. Maclean with the most encouraging prospects, and everything promises that the future history of the college will be worthy of the past.

The Divine Origin and Authority of the Christian Religion, in a connected series of familiar discourses, giving a concise view of the historical argument for the truth of the Bible. By William Neill, D. D. Philadelphia. Pp. 273.

We heartily agree with the venerable author of this little volume, that no apology is requisite for an addition to our list of works upon the evidences. There is, perhaps, no field of theological discussion, or of popular instruction, in which there is so great a demand for varied and repeated labour. The doubts to be removed are so diverse in origin and character, and the modes of presentation so indefinitely variable, that a constant succession of such works, judiciously prepared and specially adapted to popular rather than professional use, would not outrun the real wants of the public. Besides these general considerations, the attentive reader of this little work will find abundant reason to approve of its appearance, and to wish for its extensive circulation. To the author's many personal friends throughout the Church it will afford a pleasing proof of what is known already to those near at hand, to wit, that his declining years are still actively employed in the good work to which a long life has already been so faithfully and usefully devoted.

Leila Ada, the Jewish Convert. An authentic Memoir. By Osborn W. T. Heighway. Revised by the Editor. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chesnut street. Pp. 230.

Leila Ada was the lovely and accomplished daughter, and only child of a wealthy Hebrew gentleman residing in Wales. From the earliest years of her life, she seems to have been under the

influence of the Holy Spirit, leading her to long after God and holiness without any clear view, at first, even of the true Jewish faith. From the Talmud she was led to the Old Testament Scriptures, from the Old Testament to the New, and thus to Christ. The narrative of her experience is even more interesting than that of her sufferings as a confessor. She died at the age of twenty, in the joyful hope of salvation through grace by faith in Jesus Christ.

The Child's Catechism of Scripture History. Deuteronomy to Judges. Parts III. and IV. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The Millennium: An Essay read to the General Convention of New Hampshire, June 1853. By Nathan Lord, President of Dartmouth College. Dartmouth Press, Hanover. 1854. pp. 56.

We believe no opponent of Millenarianism has ever succeeded in stating the doctrine to the satisfaction of its advocates. From some cause, either subjective or objective, they have always been misunderstood. This offence has been visited with such chastisement by tongue and pen, that he must be a bold man who would venture to say what Millenarianism is, unless he be a believer of the doctrine. Those who wish to learn what the theory is, as held by President Lord, can find it set forth in this pamphlet. We would, however, even with this authority in our hands, rather upset a bee-hive than to undertake an exposition of the doctrine.

Brief Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Astronomy: in three Lectures. By Albert Taylor Bledsoe, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the University of Mississippi. Philadelphia, 1854.

Three Lectures on Rational Mechanics; or, the Theory of Motion. By Albert Taylor Bledsoe, Professor, &c. Philadelphia, 1854.

The Way of Peace. By Henry A. Rowland. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, 1853.

This work is designed "to enable one who thinks that he has found acceptance with the Saviour to satisfy himself on this point, by means of suitable evidence; and also to show how he may preserve his religious affections in their proper purity and strength, and continue ever to live in peace with God and in the enjoyment of his love."

The Heavenly Home; or, the Employments and Enjoyments of the Saints in Heaven. By Rev. H. Harbaugh, A.M. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1853.

Essays on Summer Hours. By Charles Lanman. Third edition, revised. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1853.

Odd-Fellowship examined in the light of Scripture and Reason. By Joseph Cooper, Pastor of the Second Associate Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: William S. Young, 173 Race street, 1853.

Open Communion; or, the Principles of Restricted Communion examined and proved to be unscriptural. By S. W. Whitney, A.M., late pastor of the Westport Church, New York. New York: M. W. Dodd.

Well Watered Plains; or, Instructive Lessons from the History of Lot. By H. N. Brinsmade, D.D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Witnesses for Christ: the Poet, the Hero, the Statesman, and the Philosopher. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

A brief account of Cowper, Haldane, Wilberforce and Chalmers.

Family Prayers. By the author of "Morning and Night Watches," &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854. Pp. 356. 16mo.

Besides a collection of prayers for the morning and evening of each day in the week, and varied for each week of the month, this volume contains a series of occasional prayers, appropriate to a considerable variety of cases, most likely to come up in the experience of the private Christian, and also an appendix, entitled "The Faithful Promiser," in which an attempt is made to sustain devotional meditation, very much after the manner of Jay's well known Meditations, excepting that the passages selected are generally, perhaps uniformly, of the nature of a promise, and the object is to strengthen the faith and increase the fervour of the worshipper.

Abbeokuta; or Sunrise within the Tropics. An outline of the origin and Progress of the Yoruba Mission. By Miss Tucker, author of "The Rainbow in the North." New York, Robert Carter and Brothers, 1854, pp. 278. 18mo.

The Claremont Tales; or Illustrations of the Beatitudes. pp. 363. 24mo.

Clara Stanley; or a Summer among the Hills. By the author of "Aunt Edith." pp. 383. 24mo.

The first of these little volumes, is an instructive and deeply interesting narrative of the establishment of Christianity within the Yoruba Nation, near the Bight of Benin, on the West Coast of Africa. A good deal of collateral information is given, touching the slave trade, the Niger expedition, and the conflicts of the hostile natives with the Christian settlements on the coast; together with striking characteristics of the native African tribes, both before and after they came under the influence of the Gospel.

"The Claremont Tales," is a miscellaneous collection of stories, designed to illustrate the nature and power of religious

truth in moulding the character and determining the life; and especially in relation to the great questions of duty and happiness.

Scripture Natural History: Containing a description of Quadrupeds, Birds, Reptiles, Amphibia, Fishes, Insects, Molluscous animals, Corals, Plants, Trees, Precious Stones and Metals, mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1854.

An important addition to the popular understanding of the Scriptures. The descriptive letter press gives only the most general characters of the classification, with a fuller popular account of the objects designed to explain and give force to the allusions and references of the inspired narrative. The apologetics of the volume are skilfully handled, and kept in due subordination to its higher popular and practical uses. The illustrative cuts are remarkably spirited and graphic.

The Problem of the Philosophy of History. By Henry B. Smith, Professor in the New York Union Theological Seminary. Reprinted from the Presbyterian Quarterly Review, June, 1854. Philadelphia. 1854.

A Discourse on the Uses and Results of Church History. Delivered by Robert B. Dabney, May 8th, 1854, at his induction into the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History and Polity in the Union Theological Seminary, Virginia. Richmond: 1854.

This discourse is one which must excite very favourable anticipation of the success of Professor Dabney in his new department. It is characterized by a manly vigour of thought and expression, as well as by an exalted, but not an inflated idea, of the importance of Church History.

Discourses delivered at the opening of the First Reformed Presbyterian Church, Broad Street, Philadelphia, by the pastor of the congregation, by Rev. J. N. McLeod, D. D., of New York, and by Rev. Alexander Duff, D. D. Philadelphia: 1854.

The Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ; illustrated in a series of Expositions. By John Brown, D. D., Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh, author of "Expository Discourses on 1 Peter," "Discourses on the Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah," etc. Complete in two volumes. Vol. I. pp. 646. Vol. II. pp. 599. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

In this new work of Professor Brown a valuable contribution is made to our exegetical literature. The expositions seem to be characterized by sound judgment, pious feeling, and competent scholarship. The author's range of reading, ancient and modern, judging from his references, is very extensive. The volumes before us form a very suitable companion to the work on the Epistle of Peter, already published by our enterprising friends, the Messrs. Carter of New York.

Daily Bible Illustrations: being Original Readings for a year, on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. Especially designed for the Family Circle. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. Evening Series. The Apostles and Early Churches. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1854. Pp. 448.

This is the closing volume of "the entire series of Daily Bible Illustrations," containing a great amount of information in a very interesting form.

Gratitude: An Exposition of the Hundred and Third Psalm. By the Rev. John Stevenson, author of "The Lord our Shepherd," "Christ on the Cross," &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 324.

A sound and devout work.

Lectures on Female Scripture Characters. By William Jay, author of the "Morning and Evening Exercises." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 351.

Old Redstone; or, Historical Sketches of Western Presbyterianism, its Early Ministers, its Perilous Times, and its First Records. By Joseph Smith, D. D. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co. Pp. 460.

Dr. Smith has laid the Presbyterian Church in Western Pennsylvania, and indeed throughout our country, under great obligations, by this valuable contribution to her eventful and important early history. We believe the time is not distant when the people of this country will learn to estimate aright the character of the early Scotch-Irish settlers of Western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. We would not detract one iota from the just praise bestowed on the Puritans of Plymouth Rock, nor would we lessen the commendations bestowed on them for their patience, self-denial, and true religious heroism; but we are reminded by this book that there were others who braved the dangers of the deep, the hardships of the wilderness, and the terrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife, for conscience sake. Irrespective of all adventitious claims to interest, this book intrinsically deserves a wide circulation, and will well repay a careful perusal.

Since our last sheet was sent to press, we have received the following works:

A Complete Concordance of the Holy Scriptures. By Alexander Cruden, M. A. From the Tenth London Edition. Carefully Revised, &c. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1854.

A standard work, in one large octavo volume, handsomely printed. Price, \$3.50.

A Series of Tracts on the Doctrines, Order, and Polity of the Presbyterian Church. Vol. VIII. Philadelphia: Board of Publication.

Letters of the Madiai, and Visits to their Prisons. By the Misses Senhouse. Philadelphia: Board of Publication. Pp. 166.

Devotional Poetry; or, Hymns for the Closet and Social Meeting, selected from Hymns approved by the General Assembly. Tract form. Price 5 cents. Philadelphia: Board of Publication.

The Pictorial Second Book; or, Pleasant Reading for the Young. By Cousin Mary. Board of Publication.

Captives of Abb's Valley. A Legend of Frontier Life. By a Son of Mary Moore. Board of Publication.

Dorcas: A Model Female Portrait. Selected from the writings of Cox and Jay. Board of Publication.

Thoughts on the Resurrection of the Body. By a Layman. Tract form. Board of Publication.

The Closet Companion; or, Manual of Prayer. With an Introduction by Albert Barnes. Fourth Edition. New York: M. W. Dodd. Pp. 306.

Is Christianity from God? A Manual of Bible Evidence for the People. By Rev. John Cumming, D. D. With an Introduction by the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen. New York: M. W. Dodd. Pp. 276.

The Westminster Catechism, with Analysis, Scriptural Proofs, Explanatory and Practical Inferences, and Illustrative Anecdotes. By Rev. James R. Boyd. New York: M. W. Dodd. Pp. 264.

Religious Maxims, having a connection with the Doctrine and Practice of Holiness. By Thomas C. Upham, D. D. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. Pp. 144.

The Twins; or, Conversations on the Importance of the Office of Ruling Elder. By the author of "Why am I a Presbyterian?" Philadelphia: William S. Martien. Pp. 174.



LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

— GERMANY.

G. K. Mayer, *The Genuineness of the Gospel by John.* 8vo. pp. 467. 1 th. 27 ngr.

K. F. Schneider, *The Genuineness of John's Gospel newly investigated.* Part I. *The external testimonies.* 8vo. pp. 61. $\frac{1}{3}$ th.

C. F. Werner is publishing an edition of Bengel's *Gnomon*, translated into the German.

The second edition of Ewald's *Commentary upon Job*, 8vo. pp. 344, $1\frac{1}{3}$ th., exhibits little alteration. It forms the third part of his translation and commentary upon the Poetical

Books of the Old Testament. The first edition appeared in 1836.

The Church-Lexicon, an Encyclopedia of Catholic Theology and its auxiliary Sciences, by Professors Wetzer and Welte, is approaching its completion. In the 4th volume it has reached the letter W.

Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ in epitomen redactus. Curavit H. A. Daniel. This work, begun eight years since, is now completed by the publication of the 4th volume, 8vo. pp. 726, which is devoted to the liturgies of the Greek Church. The other volumes are occupied with the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed Churches, a measure of attention being bestowed upon the Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Maronites, Copts, and Abyssinians. The cost of the whole is 16 thalers.

A Bernauer, (Catholic Priest,) The Freedom of the Human Will; a historico-philosophical treatise. pp. 34. $\frac{1}{6}$ th.

J. Scheinert, The Christian Religion. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 572. $2\frac{3}{4}$ th.

G. Ulhorn, Licentiat and Privat-docent of Theology at Göttingen, has made a fresh attempt to solve the question of the origin and mutual relation of the Homilies and Recognitions of Clemens Romanus. (8vo. pp. 439. 1 th. 20 sgr.) His theory is that the Homilies are the older; and that they in their present form, as well as a prior source which he assumes, are to be traced to Syria, while the Recognitions were composed in Rome.

Abbé Christophe's History of the Papacy in the 14th Century, has been translated from the French into German, by J. J. Ritter. This work, consisting of three volumes, treats in six books of the history of the Popes in Avignon, from the death of John XXII. to the great schism in 1378. The author is everywhere the apologist of the Popes, and spares no pains to make them seem the noblest and most virtuous of men, and to blacken the characters of their adversaries.

D. Erdmann, The Love and Sufferings of the first Christians. Part I. The period of the apostles and the apostolic fathers, 1st and 2d centuries. 8vo. pp. 154. $\frac{3}{4}$ th.

K. Ziegler, The Kingdom of the Anabaptists in Munster. An historical sketch. 8vo. pp. 63.

L. Herzfeld, (Rabbi,) History of the People of Israel, from the completion of the Second Temple to the appointment of Simon Maccabeus as high priest. Vol. I., No. I., 8vo. pp. 160. The whole to be completed in two volumes, or six or seven numbers.

J. Wunderbar, (Rabbi,) History of the Jews in the provinces

of Livonia and Courland, from their earliest settlement to the present time. 8vo. pp. 80. 12 ngr.

Adolph Jellinck continues to publish selections from the earlier Rabbinical Literature. His most recent issues are Contributions to the History of the Crusades, from manuscript Hebrew sources, 8vo. pp. 25, $\frac{1}{2}$ th., and Salomo Al'ami's Moral Lessons, in the form of a letter written to a pupil in Portugal in 1415. 16mo. pp. 32. $\frac{1}{2}$ th.

J. J. Unger, *Poemata Hebraica tam dramatica quam lyrical et didactica.* 8vo. pp. 92. 1 th.

Guericke's Handbook of Church History has reached its eighth edition.

Karl von Raumer's History of Pædagogics from the Revival of Classical Studies until our times, has been completed by the appearance of the 4th volume, 8vo, pp. 371, which treats of the history and present state of the German Universities, including his own academical experience, which has continued with few interruptions since the beginning of the present century as a student in Göttingen and Halle, and since 1811 as a professor in Breslau and Halle. The dates of the foundation of the several universities are given as follow, viz:

In the 14th century—1. Prague, 1348. 2. Vienna, 1365.
3. Heidelberg, 1386. 4. Cologne, 1388. 5. Erfurth, 1392.

In the 15th century—6. Leipsic, 1409. 7. Rostock, 1419.
8. Greifswald, 1456. 9. Freyburg, 1457. 10. Ingolstadt,
1472; removed to Landshut in 1802, and in 1826 to Munich.
11. Tübingen, 1477. 12. Mentz, 1477.

In the 16th century—13. Wittenberg, 1502; removed to Halle, 1817. 14. Frankfort, 1506; removed to Breslau, 1811.
15. Marburg, 1527. 16. Königsberg, 1544. 17. Dillingen,
1549. 18. Jena, 1558. 19. Helmstadt, 1576; discontinued,
1809. 20. Altorf, 1578, discontinued. 21. Olmutz, 1581.
22. Wurtzburg, 1582. 23. Gratz, 1586.

In the 17th century—24. Giessen, 1607. 25. Paderborn,
1615. 26. Rinteln, 1621; discontinued, 1809. 27. Saltzburg,
1623. 28. Osnaburg, 1630. 29. Linz, 1636. 30. Bamberg,
1648. 31. Herborn, 1654. 32. Duisburg, 1655, discontinued.
33. Kiel, 1665. 34. Innsbruck, 1672. 35. Halle,
1694.

In the 18th century—36. Breslau, 1702. 37. Gottingen,
1737. 38. Erlangen, 1743.

In the 19th century—39. Berlin, 1809. 40. Bonn, 1818.
41. Munich, 1826.

J. Frohschammer, Privatdocent (since promoted to be extraordinary Professor in the Theological Faculty) at Munich, has

written a book on the Origin of the Human Soul, 8vo. pp. 232, in which the three views are discussed, of its pre-existence, its immediate creation by God when the body is formed, and its derivation, like the body, from the parents. The last is the view adopted by the author.

The Legends of Merlin. With Welsh, Scotch, Italian, and Latin Poems and Prophecies of Merlin, the Prophetia Merlini, by Gottfried of Monmouth, and the Vita Merlini, a Latin Poem of the 13th century. Published and explained by San Marte. 8vo. pp. 351. 1 th. 25 ngr.

Gottfried of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britanniæ, with a literary-historical introduction and copious remarks, etc., by San Marte. 8vo. pp. 636. 3 th. 18 sgr.

J. A. Messmer, On the Origin, Development, and Significance of the Basilica in Christian Architecture. 8vo. pp. 86. 24 ngr.

H. A. Göll, De triumphi Romani origine, permissu, apparatu, viâ. 8vo. pp. 57. $\frac{1}{2}$ th.

F. L. Hoffman, List of writings which have for their object the history of the art of Printing in Switzerland. 8vo. pp. 11. 6 ngr.

O. Klopp, History of East Friesland to 1570. 8vo. pp. 472. 2 th.

F. Körtum, History of Greece, from the earliest periods to the dissolution of the Achæan League. Five Books, 3 vols.

J. Müller, The Evangelical Union, its essence and divine right. 8vo. pp. 418. 2 th.

T. Mommsen, Roman History, Vol. I. to the battle of Pydna. 8vo. pp. 644. $1\frac{1}{2}$ th.

The third number of Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanscrit Dictionary has appeared, reaching to page 480.

The press is teeming with publications relative to Turkey and Russia, representing every phase of opinion upon the Eastern question.

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